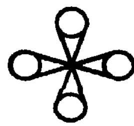
BOLLINGEN SERIES XXXIX



HEINRICH ZIMMER

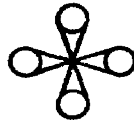
THE ART OF INDIAN ASIA

ITS MYTHOLOGY AND TRANSFORMATIONS

COMPLETED AND EDITED BY JOSEPH CAMPBELL

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELIOT ELISOFON AND OTHERS

VOLUME ONE: TEXT



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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

LIKE *Philosophies of India* and the other books of the late Heinrich Zimmer published in the Bollingen Series, the present work is intended not as a handbook but as an introduction to its subject, to be read from beginning to end. Each section is preparation for the next. Chapter I, presenting as it does a brief historical outline of the transformations of Indian art, as well as a key to the symbology of the forms, can be used as a guide during the first perusal of the pictures. For the reader then wishing to find quickly the several portions of text referring to any specific group of monuments, a copious index has been supplied, together with textual references in the Description of Plates and cross-references in the footnotes. Marginal references to the plates, furthermore, accompany the text. These should make possible an easy and rapid correlation of the materials of the two volumes.

The first two groups of plates in the text volume (Text Plates *A1* to *A16* and *B1* to *B16*) illustrate, for the most part, the anthropological and comparative observations of the text. Included among them, however, are a few photographs that are indispensable to Dr. Zimmer's argument but do not meet the aesthetic standard of the plates volume. On the other hand, the final cluster of Text Plates (*C1* to *C16*) constitutes an independent pictorial appendix, illustrating the miniature and Rājput art of the eleventh to nineteenth centuries A.D. Dr. Zimmer's notes on this subject had not been developed beyond preliminary jottings, and could not be incorporated in any major section of the text. But since there is actually a rather special, very delicate, lyric quality about these paintings on palm leaf and paper, which sets them apart, somewhat, from the tradition of the stone monuments, it is not inappropriate that they should be given a separate place.

I am pleased to have been able to incorporate in the dating of the plates the results of Dr. Walter Spink's researches presented in his doctoral dissertation, "Rock-cut Monuments of the Āndhra Period: Their Style and Chronology" (Harvard University, 1954). The lectures of Dr. Zimmer from which Chapters I to VII are drawn were delivered at Columbia University, New York City, in the winter of 1941 and the notes that supplied the materials for Chapters VII and VIII were made even earlier: obviously, therefore, they could not have carried the new dates. I feel strongly, however, that to publish a work at this time with datings accepted by earlier scholars but now disproved would

be to limit its usefulness. And since the chronological shift for the period extending from the second century B.C. to the second A.D. does not controvert any of the views and explications of Dr. Zimmer, I have not hesitated to adopt it. Where it has been necessary, in one or two places, to adjust Dr. Zimmer's paragraphs, I have stated in a footnote that the dating is that of Dr. Spink, not Dr. Zimmer. Otherwise, in my work of compiling and editing, I have held strictly to the line of Dr. Zimmer's exposition, and I believe that the book represents his thinking throughout. It unites with his *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, *The King and the Corpse*, and *Philosophies of India* * to present the greatest part of his lectures and writings in English from the time of his arrival in this country in 1941 until his death, March 20, 1943. The four publications are facets of a single vision and constitute, practically, a single work.

*

Numerous persons and institutions have helped in a great many ways during the preparation of this work. My intention has been to acknowledge every photographic source and to give the location of every object which is in the possession of a museum or a private collection. This information is to be found in the plate descriptions and the index of picture sources. If these compilations should be found wanting, the responsibility is mine, and I should be most grateful to know of any oversights. I want to mention individually a number of persons and institutions that have given me assistance.

For the materials of the plates volume, I am indebted primarily to Mrs. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Mr. Eliot Elisofon. Mrs. Coomaraswamy very kindly placed at my disposal the archives of her late husband, and so made it possible for me not only to identify many of the references of Dr. Zimmer's text, but also to publish otherwise unobtainable illustrations. The camera studies by Mr. Elisofon of Sāñcī, Ajaṇṭā, Elūrā, Elephanta, Māmallapuram, Bhuvaneśvara, Koṇārak, Tiruvannāmalai, and Aṅkor—which constitute the main body of volume 2—set a new standard for the photography of Indian art, and I am delighted to have been able to present them as a visual complement to Dr. Zimmer's text. Moreover, Mr. Elisofon made a number of visits to the museums of Europe to obtain illustrations for Dr. Zimmer's discussion. I am very grateful both to him and to Mrs. Coomaraswamy for their unstinting co-operation, and to the Editors of *Life* magazine, who gave their generous permission for the inclusion of a large number of Mr. Elisofon's hitherto unpublished photographs in the present work, as well as three photographs of Ceylonese monuments by Mr. Dmitri Kessel.

Two other fortunate accessions not only extended the photographic record of the main periods and transformations of Indian art but also provided superb illustrations of some of the major points of Dr. Zimmer's text. The series by Mme. Gunvor Moitessier, covering the Gupta and Early Cāḷukya monuments of Bādāmī, Aihoḷe, and Paṭṭadakal, as well as the temples of Khajurāho, Halebīd, Belūr, Vijayanagar, and Nepal, supplements

* Respectively, New York and London, 1946; New York and London, 1948; New York and London, 1951.

admirably the fundamental series of Mr. Elisofon. Dr. and Mrs. Walter Spink allowed me to make a representative selection from their fine photographs of the Jaina caves at Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, as well as of the temples of Bādāmī, Purī, and Tanjore. I thank these good friends, both for their pictures and for the assistance that they have given me in the organization and dating of various portions of the pictorial material. I thank, also, Miss Katharine Ordway, who introduced me to their work and Mme. Moitessier's.

I should like to express my gratitude for the great assistance that I received from my friend Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck, who permitted me to draw whatever pictures I pleased from his file, gave me advice in the selection and arrangement of the Rājput series, and allowed me to publish photographs of a number of the rare and beautiful pieces in his magnificent collection. Professor Alfred Salmony likewise opened his files to me and assisted me generously with information. A great many photographs were sent to me through the kindness of Mme. Odette Monod, Curator of the Archives photographiques of the Musée Guimet; she responded repeatedly to my calls for assistance. Dr. Stella Kramrisch kindly sent me the print of the handsome Kṛṣṇa Kāliyadamana (Plate 423) that she is publishing in her own volume, *The Art of India* (London: Phaidon, 1954), and I wish to thank both her and her publisher for their cordial co-operation. Dr. Benjamin Rowland—on whose valuable work *The Art and Architecture of India* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953), I have been greatly dependent—assisted me, at one point, in my search for pictures. Professors Ludwig Bachhofer and Ernst Diez and Sir John Marshall gave me a number of prints that I required, and Professor Bachhofer in addition gave valuable advice in the resolution of certain textual problems. Mr. Martin Hürlimann, from whose India volume, published in 1928 (*Indien: Baukunst, Landschaft, und Volksleben*, Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth), Dr. Zimmer had drawn freely in his lectures, sent a series of indispensable and splendid photographs. Moreover, the famous collection of Dr. Zimmer's friend, Eduard Baron von der Heydt, which is now preserved in the Rietberg Museum of Zurich, contained a number of pieces to which the notes referred; and I thank both him and the Curator of the Museum, Dr. Johannes Itten, for their very generous help. I was fortunate also in receiving from Mr. Ferenc Berko permission to publish his photographs of South Indian bronzes.

The contribution of Dr. Marguerite Block, Curator of the Bush Collection of Religion and Culture at Columbia University, where Dr. Zimmer lectured during his brief residence in America, is scarcely acknowledged by the credit lines of the photographs drawn from the Collection. She greatly assisted me by identifying many of the objects referred to in Dr. Zimmer's notes. And I should like to express my especial gratitude also to the distinguished Director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, M. Louis Malleret, who, as late as May 1954, sent me with his compliments photographs of the art of Campā from the archives of the Hanoi Museum.

The printing house of Martinus Nijhoff, in The Hague, having been looted during the war, the plates of their sumptuous record of Borobuḍur (N. J. Krom and T. van Erp,

Beschrijving van Bārābuḍur) disappeared; our reproductions from that record had to be made, therefore, with the publisher's kind permission, by the Photographic Department of the New York Public Library. Likewise, what few photographs we have been able to reproduce from the collection of the former Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin had to be obtained from other sources.

The names of a number of persons, including the officers of museums, who sent me pictures and information, I should like to mention here with thanks: Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India; Sri M. M. Nagar, Director of the State Museum, Lucknow; the Curator of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā; the Curator of the Indian Museum, Calcutta: Mr. M. Mir Jahan, of the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, East Pakistan; the Director of the Central Museum, Lahore; the Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon; Mr. H. F. E. Visser, of the Museum van Aziatische Kunst, Amsterdam; Mr. A. A. Gerbrands, of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; Mr. K. Müller, of the Verlag F. Bruckmann, Munich; Dr. Hildegarde Klein, of the Frobenius-Institut, Frankfurt a. M.; Dr. W. Bierhenke, Curator of the Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, Hamburg; Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp, of the University of Tübingen; Dr. Andreas Lommel, Conservator of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; Dr. Paul Hinderling, of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel; Mr. Trenchard Cox, of the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, England; the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset; the Keeper of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the Keeper of Oriental Books, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Mr. D. E. Barrett, of the British Museum, London; Dr. Philippe Stern, at the Musée Guimet, Paris; Mrs. Vera Andrus, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Mr. Robert Paul Dart and Mr. David B. Little, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Miss Eleanor Olson, of the Newark Museum; Mr. Sherman E. Lee, of the Cleveland Museum of Art; Mr. Laurence Sickman and Mrs. Alex Izzard, of the Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art, Kansas City; Mrs. Rita W. Buckler, of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.; Miss Andrée Luce, of the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.; Mrs. Emily Hartwell Tupper, of the Seattle Art Museum; Dr. Otto Bach, of the Denver Art Museum; Mr. Ernest S. Dodge, of the Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass.; Mrs. Rena Sherman, of the Republic of Indonesia Information Office, New York; and the Curator of the Museum of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

In addition to these, I wish to express my gratitude to all other institutions and private collectors who have kindly permitted the reproduction of objects in their possession, as well as to the authors and publishers of books from which I have been allowed to reproduce plates. Besides the persons and houses already mentioned, I am grateful to the firm of Bruckmann, Munich: publishers of Emanuel La Roche, *Indische Baukunst;* the Cambridge University Press: *The Cambridge History of India;* Bruno Cassirer, formerly of Berlin: William Cohn, *Indische Plastik;* the Clarendon Press, Oxford: Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa: A*

Monograph; Otto Elsner Verlagsgesellschaft, Berlin: Albert Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha;* the Government of India Press: Sir John Marshall and Albert Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñchī;* Arthur Probsthain, London: J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore;* and the Academy of Oriental Culture of the Tokyo Institute, who held copyright on T. Sekino and T. Takeshima's work on the relics of Jehol.

I wish to thank the following publishers for permission to quote at some length from certain books: Harvard University Press, for quotation from H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations;* Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, for quotation from N. J. Krom, *The Life of Buddha on the Stupa of Bārābuḍur;* Mr. E. Weyhe, for quotation from A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.* The Carnegie Institution of Washington has permitted reproduction of several line drawings from William Hayes Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia,* and the Bush Collection, Columbia University, has kindly made other line drawings available.

*

Above all, my gratitude and admiration must be expressed for the work of that noble scholar upon whose shoulders we all are standing, the late Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, whose indispensable *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* was the textbook of Dr. Zimmer's course in Columbia University and has been my principal guide in the arrangement and editing of the notes. As I have stated, the present publication is neither a handbook nor a systematic review; it has been composed—as were Dr. Zimmer's lectures—as an introduction. To limit its bulk, I have intentionally avoided duplicating the scholarly work of other books readily available to an interested reader. Bibliographies will be found, for example, in the above-named volumes of Dr. Coomaraswamy, Dr. Kramrisch, and Dr. Rowland.

To the officers and staff of the Bollingen Foundation, for the assistance that has enabled me to devote myself for the past ten years to Dr. Zimmer's papers, I give my profound thanks. I wish to express my gratitude, also, to the President and Board of Trustees of Sarah Lawrence College for reducing my schedule of teaching during this period; to Miss Elizabeth Sherbon, who has served as a loyal and meticulous typist for a decade; and to my wife, for her continuous encouragement and many hours of patient help.

New York City, August 24, 1954 J. C.

The review of this work by Dr. Stella Kramrisch in *Artibus Asiae,* XVIII: 3/4, pp. 328–35, and my own trip to the Orient after the volumes had been printed, uncovered a scattering of twenty-odd errors, largely in the dating of plates, which I am pleased to have been able to correct in this second edition — again with thanks to the officers and staff of Bollingen Foundation and Bollingen Series for their generous assistance.

New York City, March, 1960 J. C.

Popular demand, especially in India, has made a new printing necessary. It has been possible to substitute, in plate 495, a new (1963) photograph of the Candi Loro Jongrang, near Prambanam, Java (Indonesia), which shows the temple as it now appears after careful restoration completed in 1955. I am indebted to Robert L. Lambright, M.D., formerly of Kediri, Java, for sending his photograph to Bollingen Foundation. He wrote, "Until the fourteen-story Hotel Indonesia was built in 1962, this was the tallest building in Indonesia."

New York City, December, 1967 J. C.

NOTE

Bollingen Foundation wishes to acknowledge the generous permission of the Editors of *Life* for the publication of photographs of Cambodia and India by Eliot Elisofon and of Ceylon by Dmitri Kessel.

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253 B10*a*. Plaque dedicated by the courtesan Loṇāśobhikā at the Nigathānāṁ Arahatāyalana, or "Shrine of the Nirgrantha Saints"; with Brāhmī inscription, not dated. It shows a Jaina stūpa, standing on a high basement, with approaching steps, a high gate, pillars, and a circumambulation platform. Mathurā, I century A.D. Mottled red sandstone, 2 ft. 4 in. × 1 ft. 9¾ in. *Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.*

P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

244n B10*b*. Plaque showing the temple at Bodhgayā (compare Plate 99), with Kharoṣṭhī inscription. Probably of Punjab origin. Found at the Kumrāhār site in Patna (Pāṭaliputra). II century A.D. Terra cotta. *Patna Museum.*

P: *Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

B10*c*. Medallion of a railing cross-bar, showing a Bo Tree shrine. Mathurā, I century B.C. or A.D. Mottled red sandstone, H. 9 in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* 254

P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

B11*a*. Jehol, China. Pagoda of Yung-yu Ssŭ, in the Imperial Palace garden. Constructed in the fortieth year of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung (1751 A.D.). Destroyed after the Revolution of 1912. 6,252

P: *From Tadashi Sekino and Takuichi Takeshima, "Jehol: The Most Glorious and Monumental Relics" (Tokyo, 1934–37).*

B11*b*. Nara, Japan. Temple of the Hōryūji Monastery. Kondō ("Golden Hall") and wooden pagoda. Suiko period, early VII century A.D. 6,252

P: *Asuka-En, Nara, Japan.*

B12*a*. Kediri, East Java. Gaṇeśa. XIII century A.D. Front view and rear view. On the back of the image is the mask of the demon Kīrttimukha. *Archaeological Museum, Bara.* 315

P: *From William Cohn, "Indische Plastik" (Berlin, 1923).*

B12*b*. Madura, India. The Palace of King Tirumala Nāyyak (1623–1659). The courtyard arcade. XVII century A.D. 285

P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

B13. The Greco-Roman Art of Gandhāra. I century B.C.–III century A.D.:

a. "Taxila puer." Statuette of Horus-Harpocrates, from Sirkap (Taxila). I century B.C. or A.D. Bronze, H. 5¼ in. 342

P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

b. Taxila. Dionysos with a wine cup, on a vessel. I century B.C. or A.D. Silver repoussé, H. 3⅞ in. *Archaeological Museum, Taxila.* 341

P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

c. Yavanī, or Pallas Athene. I century B.C. or A.D. Gray slate, H. 2 ft. 8¼ in. *Central Museum, Lahore.* 347

P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

d. Jamālgaṛhi. Corinthian capital with seated Buddha. II or III century A.D. *British Museum.* 347

P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

B14*a*. Standing Sophocles. *Lateran Museum, Rome.* 345

P: *Alinari, Florence.*

B14*b*. Venus de' Medici. *Uffizi Gallery, Florence.* 207

P: *Alinari, Florence.*

B15. A Daughter of Niobe. III century A.D. *Museo delle Terme, Rome.* 130

P: *Alinari, Florence.*

B16. Parel. Śiva Trinity and Host. Gupta period, *c.* 600 A.D. H. 11 ft. 5 in.; W. 6 ft. 5 in. *Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.* 353

P: *Museum, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

Following page 382: .

197a,385 c1. Miniatures from a twenty-page palm-leaf manuscript. Pāla period. XI century A.D. L. $21\frac{1}{2}$ in.; w. (at center) 2 in. *Collection of Mr. Kaikoo M. Heeramaneck, Bombay.*

P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

197a,385 c2. Nepal. Manuscript of the Mahāyāna Buddhist *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā.* 1110 A.D. Covers: L. $22\frac{7}{16}$ in., w. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., thickness $\frac{9}{16}$ in. Leaves: L. $22\frac{1}{8}$ in., w. $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. *Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.*

P. *Courtesy of the Museum.*

386 c3. Details of a Gujarātī paper manuscript of the Jaina *Kalpa Sūtra.* XV century A.D. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

a. The fourteen auspicious dreams of the queen Triśalā on the night when the future savior, Mahāvīra, entered her womb, to become her son. The dreams are of *1.* a white elephant with four tusks, *2.* a white bull, *3.* a playful white lion, *4.* the goddess Śrī Lakṣmī on a Himālayan peak, seated on a lotus in a lotus lake and sprinkled by elephants (the latter being omitted from the painting), *5.* a garland of flowers, *6.* a full moon (the dark part in the painting represents the markings in the moon), *7.* a red sun, *8.* a banner on a golden staff with a tuft of peacock feathers, *9.* a gold vessel full of water, *10.* a lotus pond, *11.* the Milky Ocean, *12.* a celestial palace, with 1,008 columns, filled with the music of the gandharvas and with many paintings, *13.* a jewel heap, reaching to the heavens and lighting the sky, and *14.* a smokeless fire.

b. The fourteen dreams are expounded to her spouse, the king Siddhārtha. Before the interpreter is a low table, on which are placed the gifts (flowers and fruits) presented to him by the king.

c. The birth of the savior.

d. The savior, Mahāvīra, plucks out his hair, and the hair is caught by the god Śakra (Indra). (Compare Plates 471*a* and *b.*)

e. Mahāvīra preaches in the great preaching hall, *Samavasaraṇa.*

f. The Savior as a liberated soul at the summit of the universe, in the realm called *Siddhaśilā,* "Capstone of Virtue." (Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India,* p. 204.)

386 c4. Rājput (Rājasthānī or Gujarātī) School. Kṛṣṇa's arrival announced to Rādhā. (He waits in the foyer of the palace.) XVII century A.D. Miniature, gouache on paper. *Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.*

P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

c5. Rājput (southern Rājasthānī or Gujarātī) 386
School. Kṛṣṇa expecting Rādhā. She comes into the garden with her companions and with a swarm of bees around her head. Night scene. Gujarātī text: "One of her companions is leading Rādhā forward, the slender Rādhā, branch of love, and many of her friends are with her, creeper and vine side by side; before them is a garden full of trees, and there is Kṛṣṇa, expectant of her coming." XVII century A.D. Miniature, gouache on paper, 7 in. × $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

P: *Courtesy of the Museum*

c6. Moghul School. Kṛṣṇa holding Mount 386
Govardhana. Period of Akbar (1556–1605 A.D.), late XVI century A.D. Illustration from a manuscript of the *Razmnamah, c.* 1575 (one of three). Miniature, gouache on paper. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

c7. Moghul-Rājasthānī School. Kṛṣṇa and 386
Rādhā. Page from a manuscript of the *Rasikapriya,* by Kesava Dasa, *c.* 1600. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

c8. Rājput (Rājasthānī) School. Madhu-mā- 387
dhavī Rāgiṇī. A woman feeding a peacock in a palace garden, attended by maids. Monsoon clouds and lightning. The verse of the text: "Madhumādhavī is a treasure of beauty among women; she wears a green robe over all her body. / Many kinds of jewels adorn her limbs; beholding her, a myriad of sages grow pale and faint. / Coming from the palace, she stands in the garden; heavy black clouds are joyfully gathering. / The sweet, sweet rumbling of thunder is heard; flashes of lightning illuminate the sky. / Birds are disporting themselves with many notes; the princess, beholding all this, stands delighted. / Her body blossoms like a flower for the meeting with her love; she stands entranced. / While she is dreaming of her lord's embrace, there is bliss in her heart." *c.* 1650 A.D. Gouache on paper, 7 in. × $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

c9. Four miniatures from a manuscript presented 387
in 1640 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Archbishop Laud: the so-called Laud Rāgmālā Miniatures. Their date has been variously estimated; most recently, as *c.* 1625 A.D. (H. J. Stooke and K. Khandalavala, *The Laud Miniatures. A Study in Indian Painting and Music,* Oxford, 1953). Their place of origin is obscure. The style, however, points to the Deccan. *Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

P: *Courtesy of the Library.*

a. Megha Rāga (The mode "Lord of Clouds": rāga of the summer solstice; it is supposed to produce rain). Kṛṣṇa is dancing with one of the gopīs.

b. Naṭa Rāgiṇī (a mode of the martial heroic spirit, to be sung in the early hours of the night).

c. Malkaus Rāga: also called Rāga Rāja, "The King of Rāgas" (a mode to be sung well after midnight in January or February).

d. Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī (a mode of melancholy, to be sung after midnight, in the early morning. The sentiment is that of the sorrow and longing of one whose lord is away).

(Notes based on Stooke and Khandalavala, *op. cit.*)

386 c10. Rājput style, Pahāṛī school, Kāṅgṛā branch. Kṛṣṇa Quelling Kāliya, with the wives of Kāliya pleading for his life. XVIII century A.D. Gouache. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

387 c11. Rājput style, Pahāṛī school. Śiva and Pārvatī. She is sleeping on a tiger skin, he watching. His drum and wallet hang from his trident. In the foreground is Nandi. Night scene. Painting with blue borders. Attributed to Mola Rām of Gaṛhwāl (1760–1833 A.D.). *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

83,387 c12. Rājput style, Pahāṛī school, Kāṅgṛā branch. The Nativity of Kṛṣṇa. *c.* 1800 A.D. Unfinished drawing. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

The scene is in the Palace of Kaṁsa, Mathurā. In the upper left-hand section, the child Kṛṣṇa manifests himself to his parents, Vasudeva and Devakī, in his divine form. Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Śiva stand in the courtyard, joining in the parents' adoration. Below, center, Vasudeva, with the child, who is now again in human form, passes between the sleeping guards, on his way to Vṛndāvana, where Kṛṣṇa is to be fostered by Nand and Yaśodā, out of reach of Kaṁsa. The lettering on the picture gives the names of the colors to be used in finishing the sketch.

387 c13. Rājput style, Pahāṛī school, Kāṅgṛā branch. The Hour of Cowdust (*godhūli belā*). Kṛṣṇa, with the cowherds, bringing the cattle home at sundown. The gopīs are bearing water from the river; others are looking from the windows to welcome Kṛṣṇa. In the cowyard are Yaśodā and Balarāma. Nand, with some friends, is in the pavilion above. Late XVIII century A.D. Painting, 8½ in. × 10$\frac{1}{16}$ in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

387 c14. Rājput style, Basohli school. Hunting scene. XVIII century A.D. Painting. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Adolph Studly, courtesy of Mr. Heeramaneck.*

c15. Rājput style, Basohli school. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. XVIII century A.D. Painting. *Collection of Alice H. Heeramaneck, New York.* 387
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

c16*a*. Rājput style, Kāṅgṛā style. Viṣṇu on Ananta attended by Lakṣmī, with Brahmā supported by the cosmic lotus. XVIII century A.D. Miniature painting. 168
P: *Courtesy of the Bush Collection, Columbia University, New York.*

c16*b*. Rājput style, Rājasthānī style. Śiva and Pārvatī, with the Ganges springing from Śiva's Head (Śiva Gaṅgāvatarana). XVIII or XIX century A.D. Miniature, 2.4 in. × 2.5 in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

c16*c*. Purī. Plan with cult pictures, representing the Temple of Jagannātha. Painting prepared for and sold to pilgrims. XIX century A.D. About 2 × 3 ft. *Formerly in the (now destroyed) Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.* 258
P: *Courtesy of the Bush Collection, Columbia University, New York.*

c16*d*. Rājput style. Pendant illustrating the "Ten Avatārs of Viṣṇu." Late XVI century A.D. Enamelled gold; made, probably, in Jaipur by Sikh craftsmen. (The photo is twice the actual size.) *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

Central panel, the dialogue of Kṛṣṇa with Arjuna (theme of the *Bhagavad Gītā*); lower right, Tortoise (*kūrma*); above this, Fish (*matsya*); upper row, right, the trinity of the Jagannātha Temple at Purī (cf. Plates c16*c* and 324); upper row, center, four figures, left to right, Hanuman, Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa; upper left hand corner, the Man-Lion (*narasiṁha*) rending Hiraṇyakaśipu, with Prahlāda in attendance; left center, Boar (*varāha*) with the Earth on his tusk; lower left, Rāma with the Ax (*Paraśurāma*); lower center left, Kalki (with the raised sword); lower center right, the Dwarf (*vāmana*), with the umbrella and water vessel of a Brahmacāri, confronting the royal titan Bali and his queen. (See p. 16, and compare Plate 388.)

c16*e*. Kṛṣṇa, his elder brother Balarāma, and their sister Subhadrā. Figures painted on the lid of a wooden box. Perhaps from Orissā. *Formerly in the (now destroyed) Museum fur Völkerkunde, Berlin.* 258
P: *Courtesy of the Bush Collection, Columbia University, New York.*

DESCRIPTION OF TEXT FIGURES

NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

CONSONANTS

Gutturals:	k	kh	g	gh	ṅ		
Palatals:	c	ch	j	jh	ñ	y	ś
Linguals:	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	r	ṣ
Dentals:	t	th	d	dh	n	l	s
Labials:	p	ph	b	bh	m	v	
Aspirate:	h						
Visarga:	ḥ						
Anusvāra:	ṁ						

SIMPLE VOWELS

Gutturals:	a	ā
Palatals:	i	ī
Labials:	u	ū
Linguals:	ṛ	ṝ
Dentals:	ḷ	ḹ

DIPHTHONGS

Palatals:	e	ai
Labials:	o	au

H combined with another consonant is always aspirated and audible; for example, *th* is pronounced as in boa*th*ook, *ph* as in ha*ph*azard, *dh* as in ma*dh*ouse, and *bh* as in a*bh*or.

The guttural series are the ordinary European *k*- and *g*-sounds and their aspirates (*kh* and *gh*), with a nasal *ṅ*, which is pronounced as *ng* in si*ng*ing.

In the palatal series, *c* is pronounced about like *ch* in *ch*ur*ch* (Sanskrit *ch*, consequently, sounds like chur*ch*-*h*ouse) and *j* about as in *j*udge. The nasal, *ñ*, is like *ñ* in Spanish *señor*. (An exception is *jñā*, which pronounced by a modern Hindu sounds like *gyah*, with hard *g*.) The palatal semi-vowel, *y*, is about as in English, and *ś*, the sibilant, approximately *sh*.

Linguals are gentler sounds than dentals, pronounced with the tip of the tongue bent back and placed against the roof of the mouth instead of against the teeth. The *r* is un-trilled. The *ṣ* is a kind of *sh*-sound.

The dentals and labials are about as in English.

Visarga, *ḥ*, is a final *h*-sound uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel. It is a substitute for a final *s* or *r*.

Anusvāra, *ṁ*, is a resonant nasal pronounced with open mouth.

In general, the vowels are pronounced as in Italian; short *a*, however, is a "neutral vowel," like the vowel-sound of *but*, *son*, or *blood*. The vowel *ṛ* is an untrilled *r*-sound used as a vowel, as in certain Slavonic languages. The vowel *ḷ* is an *l*-sound similarly uttered.

THE ART OF INDIAN ASIA

ITS MYTHOLOGY AND TRANSFORMATIONS

I

THE GREAT PERIODS OF INDIAN ART

INDIAN ART, besides documenting the history of a majestic civilization, opens a comparatively simple, delightful way into the timeless domain of the Hindu spirit; for it renders in eloquent visual forms the whole message that India holds in keep for mankind. Its centuries span some five millenniums, 3000 B.C. to the present, but with large gaps in the continuity, since India's artist-craftsmen usually work in perishable materials. Clay figures, readily broken or dissolved by water, have always been the most common objects of popular worship (Text Plate *A1b*); many are meant for a single brief occasion, few last longer than a few *Pl. A1b* months. The patterns on which these are based are perennial, however, and have influenced the works in metal and stone. Wood is favored for houses, palaces, and temples, and for the sacred images of the altars; all the ancient masterpieces in this medium have vanished. Nevertheless, the spectacular specimens of recent wood carving that survive in the processional cars of the temples of the South afford some notion of what the centuries have destroyed (Text Plate *A2*). In India *Pl. A2* everything not fashioned of brick, stone, or metal is ultimately crumbled by the climate or the unremitting labor of white ants.

The earliest Indian monuments known are a series of brick ruins recently unearthed in the Indus Valley, the most extensive sites being at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā (Map I, p. 391). Prominent among the finds of this so-called Indus Valley civilization are a number of steatite seals bearing animal symbols and brief inscriptions that have not yet been deciphered (Plate 2). Three or four such *Pl. 2* seals discovered in datable ruins in Mesopotamia have made it possible to assign the Indian series to an epoch *c.* 3000–1500 B.C. Their aesthetic quality is impressive. The clarity of design as well as the plastic value of the forms foreshadow the best periods of the Indian art that was to flourish some two millenniums later,

from the last centuries B.C. until the arrival of the image-breaking Muslims, shortly after the opening of the second millennium A.D. Noteworthy also is the appearance among these prehistoric remains of deities and symbols that were to come back in later Hinduism, at first inconspicuously but then with increasing frequency, in association with the household gods of popular belief (Text Plates

Pl. A8, B3 *A8* and *B3*). Apparently the Indus monuments represent an archaic Dravidian civilization of Northwestern India that flourished before the arrival of the warlike Vedic Āryans from the south Russian steppes in the second millennium B.C. We can readily surmise how the cities perished.

Following their fall there is a long gap in the documentation of Indian art. This coincides with a predominantly literary period in religion and civilization, marked by the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads (*c.* 1500–500 B.C.), which were the religious works of the Āryan herdsmen who conquered and settled the North Indian plain. Sanskrit, the language of this sacred literature, is akin to the dialects of the Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic peoples who were entering Europe at approximately the same period—the first two millenniums B.C.—and have since been responsible for what is known as European history. The Āryan feudal warriors and chieftains and their priests developed in India a historical structure of prodigious vitality. Their religion, based on the holy revelations preserved in the Vedas, and their social order, expressed in the caste system, supplied the framework for a powerful and unique civilization. The priests (*brāhmans*) and the chieftains (*kṣatriyas*) made of themselves a new Indian aristocracy, and in the course of the subsequent centuries their fruitful religious insights and philosophical ideas, coalescing gradually with the complex heritage of the earlier, largely conquered races, molded, through a series of creative transformations, that subtle and multifold, extraordinarily flexible spiritual tradition known as Hinduism.[1] During the earliest centuries of their occupation of the Gangetic plain, however, they seem to have made no contribution whatsoever to Indian art: in any case, they have left no visible signs.

The Indus monuments reveal an influence from ancient Mesopotamia, which was the consequence of a continuous sea-borne commerce from the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates to the western coasts of India, as well as of a contemporaneous overland traffic of some kind. During the first period of the Āryan occupation this flow seems to have been interrupted, and it was not resumed until the second half of the sixth century B.C., when the Persian empire had so developed in power and extent that Mesopotamia had become one of its western, and Northwest India one of its eastern, provinces. Gradually the style of Persian

[1] Cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York and London, 1951), pp. 333–463; 560–614.

kingship—its manner of statecraft, its ideals of government, and the art of its courts—became the inspiration not only of Occidental but also of Indian rulers, and a Persian form of despotism modeled on the techniques of the Achaemenid Great Kings superseded the hallowed feudal traditions of the Vedic kṣatriyas and brāhmans.[2] Following the downfall of the Persian empire under the victorious blows of Alexander the Great (330 B.C.), there rose in Northern India the Maurya dynasty (321–184 B.C.), whose kings were kings in the new style and whose art likewise betrayed the influence of the Persian court (Plate 4). Moreover it was precisely this Persian-influenced imperial art that marked the reappearance in India of durable works; for with the celebrated pillars of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (274–237 B.C.) the continuity of the extant monuments in India is resumed. There is a continuous, and immensely various, documented history from that period to the present. Pl. 4

Aśoka was not a Hindu, however, but a Buddhist; hence in the religious art of his empire all the traditional motifs of ancient Indian art and architecture were made to accord with the ideology of the new gospel.[3] The most striking architectural form surviving to us from that period is the stūpa (Plate 6). This was Pl. 6

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 94–98.

[3] *Editor's note:* The reader unfamiliar with Indian chronology may require at this point some assistance. The Indus civilization (probably Dravidian) seems to have flourished *c.* 3000–1500 B.C. and to have been broken by the arrival of the Āryan tribes. These were nomadic cattleherders who entered India by way of the northwestern mountain passes during the second millennium B.C. and gradually made themselves masters of the Gangetic plain. The Vedic hymns (collected in four books: *Ṛg-veda, Yajur-veda, Sāma-veda,* and *Atharva-veda*) constitute the earliest extant remains of these people; they are largely prayers associated with priestly rites of sacrifice and appear to have been fixed in their present forms *c.* 1500–1000 B.C. Appended to the four collections are prose commentaries known as Brāhmaṇas, which were composed in the centuries immediately following the hymns. The Brāhmaṇas contain detailed discussions of the elements and connotations of Vedic ritual and represent an age of meticulous theological and liturgical analysis.

Meanwhile, somewhat removed from the priestly tradition of the sacrifice and perhaps influenced by a surviving Dravidian style of yogic introversion (cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, p. 281), the so-called Forest Philosophers began composing the Upaniṣads: esoteric philosophical dialogues treating of the realization of the transcendent Self. This philosophical movement, which seems to have become prevalent in the eighth century B.C., culminated in the century of the Buddha (*c.* 563–483 B.C.), who himself was but one of the numerous Indian teachers then pointing the way to spiritual liberation (*mokṣa*), absolute illumination (*bodhi*), and transcendent repose (*nirvāṇa*). The Buddha's doctrine, involving a radical rejection of the Vedas, became the foundation of a non-Vedic, anti-Brāhmanical, heterodox tradition, to which King Aśoka (*c.* 274–237 B.C.) gave a secular impetus by imperial espousal. From Aśoka's century forth, Buddhism spread throughout the Orient; nevertheless, in India proper it was reabsorbed presently (*c.* 1000–1400 A.D.) by the more deeply rooted, and by then greatly sophisticated, Brāhmanic orthodoxy.

Since the earliest important body of Indian art surviving to us (following that of the prehistoric Indus civilization) stems from the century of Aśoka, it is predominantly Buddhist. During subsequent periods, however, Buddhist and Hindu (Brāhmanical) themes alternate in rich profusion. The two traditions flourished side by side, even sharing colleges and monasteries, for nearly two millenniums, until, about the height of the Muslim conquest (*c.* 1200 A.D.), Buddhism vanished from the land of its birth. It survives in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Indonesia, Nepal, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan.

originally, perhaps, a burial mound.[4] By Aśoka's time it had become transformed into a shrine, either containing ashes or relics, or else simply standing as a memorial. In the course of the subsequent centuries the stūpa developed variously, particularly following the spread of Buddhism throughout Asia (Plates *472*, *476*, *596*, *609*, and Text Plate *B11*), but in its earliest known examples, at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, the form was that of a moundlike central structure surrounded by a railing with sumptuously carved gates.

Pl. 472, 476, 596, 609, B11

The sculptural panels on the Sāñcī and Bhārhut gates and railings (Plates *6–36*), which contain the earliest known examples of Buddhist iconography, depict events from the biographical legend of the Buddha and scenes from his earlier existences; the lives, that is to say, that preceded the one in which, as Prince Gautama Śākyamuni, he attained enlightenment (*bodhi*), which is the goal of life. In this early Buddhist art the Blessed One himself is never depicted. Though his presence constitutes the center of every scene, he is invisible and is represented only symbolically—usually by the imprints of his feet, marked by the Buddhist symbol of the wheel. These early stūpas offer priceless material for the study of the popular religion of the time. Numerous deities are sculptured on the gates and on the pillars of the railings, where they serve as guardians of the sanctuary. Their postures give evidence of their fervent devotion (*bhakti*) to the world-redeeming doctrine of release and to the Buddha himself, the Enlightened One, the "teacher of gods and men"; nevertheless, in origin these deities are non-Buddhistic.

Pl. 6–36

Second to the stūpas in importance in the art of this largely Buddhist period are the cave chapels (*caityas*) and monasteries (*vihāras*), or rock temples and dwellings of the early Buddhist and Jaina monks (Plates *39–58; 78–85*). The best known of these are in the west of India, near the coast, in the vicinity of Bombay; for example, at Kārlī, Bhājā, and Nāsik; but there is also an important group in the east, in Oṛissā. Such sanctuaries have withstood the vicissitudes of Indian history and the inclemencies of the subtropical climate only because they were carved in absolutely solid stone; for they are not works of structural architecture, but spacious chambers sculptured in the living rock, designed to suggest structural buildings. The most typical forms of their entrances and main halls can be traced back to the pattern of the primitive Indian hut, which still is known among the hill tribes (Text Plate *A3*). The caityas are huge, cathedral-like halls with an apsidal end, having a stūpa as the chief object of worship (Plate *39*).

Pl. 39–58, 78–85

Pl. A3

Pl. 39

Following the fall of the Persian empire a number of the Greek generals of Alexander the Great established kingdoms for themselves in the Orient, so that

[4] See, however, *infra*, p. 257.

Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia came directly under the influence of the Alexandrian Occident. Hellenistic art spread as far as to the borderlands of India in Bactria and the Indus Valley, and there, during the second and first centuries B.C., contending Hellenistic rulers—Demetrius, Eucratides, and their dynasties—waged a complicated war against both the natives and one another. This turbulent Greek adventure closed when Bactria and the Punjab were overrun, in the first centuries B.C. and A.D., by the Scythians or Śakas, and then by the Mongoloid Yueh-chi or Kuṣānas. Under Kuṣāna patronage the art of the Hellenistic colony came to a late flowering in the so-called Gandhāra school, which had its center at Peshawar (Plates *62–70*). It is one of the anomalies of our subject that these *Pl. 62–70* Greco-Buddhist works did not appear until after the fall of the Greek dynasties. They inaugurated a new epoch in Buddhist iconography partly through their sensational style and partly because they introduced new motifs from the Mediterranean sphere. By manufacturing in great quantity Buddha images of their own distinctive type, the artist-craftsmen of Gandhāra made an enduring impression not only on India but on the whole continent of Asia. Their art thus proved to be as inspiring as that of Mesopotamia had been at a much earlier date, and as Persian art in the period of Aśoka.

The robust character of the ruling Mongoloid invaders was being reflected, meanwhile, in portraits of their kings, executed in a manner definitely different from that of the Greeks (Plates *59–61*); and simultaneously, in the city of *Pl. 59–61* Mathurā, which was also under Kuṣāna protection, a remarkable local tradition burst into bloom (Plates *71–77*), where we find a Buddha type radically different *Pl. 71–77* from that of Gandhāra—one imbued with a vitality of gesture and a realism quite its own. The new forces of Mathurā, Gandhāra, and the Kuṣānas combined with the complex, partly pre-Āryan tradition represented in the stūpas of Sāñcī and Bhārhut, and in the course of time there emerged from this interaction a harmonious classical style, distinctly Indian.

During the second century A.D., in the reliefs of the stūpa of Amarāvatī, the disparate traditions were still being presented side by side. Compare, for example, the two renditions of the Great Departure shown in Plates *91* and *92b*. In the *Pl. 91, 92b* bottom panel of the second, which is executed in a vigorous, bold, and animated manner reminiscent of the art of the Kuṣānas, Gautama Śākyamuni, the youthful prince of the Śākya family, is seen abandoning the royal palace of his kingly father to become a homeless mendicant in search of the highest wisdom. Having mounted his favorite steed, he is departing from the palace by night in secret with his faithful charioteer walking ahead, while the goddess of the town (at the upper left) silently unlocks the gate. Divinities of the earth are supporting the hoofs, lest

their clatter should arouse the prince's relatives, or the townsfolk, and these then hinder his departure. A god and goddess watch the solemn, silent exit from mid-air. The other rendition of the same scene in Plate 91 is strikingly different; for here the earlier tradition, which we have already observed at Sāñcī and at Bhārhut, where the figure of the Buddha is never represented, has been preserved. The work is of a delicate and elegant design. Its nimble figures, as though in a scene from some lovely Oriental dance, give us an idea of what Indian art could achieve when proceeding along its old and native, traditional lines. The horse, without a rider, moves at a lively pace, and the parasol of kingly majesty is carried at its side above the invisible Buddha. The coexistence during the first centuries A.D. of these two traditions, diametrically different, and the gradual development then of the classical Indian iconography of the visible Buddha, can be documented from countless images and presents one of the really interesting problems of Buddhist theology and art.

Pl. 91

It was in the Gupta period, during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., when the greater part of Northern India, following the downfall of the Kuṣānas, had been unified under a native dynasty, that Indian sculpture, both Hindu and Buddhist, came to its classical perfection. The image of Plate 102 shows how the animated though sometimes crude realism of the Mathurā and Kuṣāna styles was refined in this period and the Hellenistic elements of Gandhāra were absorbed by a basically Indian principle. In this harmonious work the balanced spirituality of mature Buddhism, as realized in the Mahāyāna,[5] has pervaded the very substance of the stone. The unearthly character of the Enlightened One, the Buddha, the savior above gods and men, shines forth with the radiance of a genuine inward experience, transforming the solid matter into a luminous subtle essence suffused

Pl. 102

[5] *Editor's note:* Two great traditions of Buddhist thinking are distinguished. The first was dedicated to the ideal of individual salvation and represented the way to this end as monastic self-discipline. This was the Buddhism taught by the missionaries sent forth by Aśoka, *c.* 274–237 B.C. (cf. *supra*, p. 5, Editor's note); during the first three centuries B.C. it was disseminated as far southward as to the island of Ceylon. The second tradition of Buddhist thought, which seems to have matured in northern India during and following the first and second centuries A.D. (that is to say, during the Kuṣāna period, *c.* 70–480 A.D., and the Gupta, *c.* 320–650 A.D.), proposed the ideal of salvation for all and developed disciplines of popular devotion and universal secular service. The earlier way is known as the *Hīnayāna*, "the lesser or little (*hīna*) boat or vehicle (*yāna*)," while the second is the *Mahāyāna*, "the great (*mahat*) boat or vehicle," i.e., the boat in which all can ride. Hīnayāna Buddhism is supported by an extensive body of scripture that was set down *c.* 80 B.C., in Pāli (an Indo-Āryan dialect of the Buddha's time), by the monks of Ceylon (the so-called Pāli canon). While the Mahāyāna gave recognition to this canon, it produced, in addition, a body of scripture of its own in Sanskrit (the traditional sacred and scholarly language of Vedic India, which has been preserved with little change to the present day). Among the chief of these latter writings are the so-called *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, the books of the "Transcendental Wisdom (*prajñā*) of the Far Shore (*pāramitā*)." The Mahāyanā spread northward into Nepal, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan; the Hīnayāna survives chiefly in Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand. Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 488–559.

by the inner light of wisdom and perfection. Such inspired and inspiring achievements became the models of all Buddhist art throughout the Indian mainland, and they maintained this position to the end of the first millennium A.D., when Buddhism itself vanished from India proper. Moreover, the same Gupta models furnished the basic patterns for Buddhist art in Ceylon, Siam, Burma, Cambodia, and Java, as well as in the Far East, where the tradition survives with some vigor to the present day. Little is left to us, on the other hand, of the rare jewels of art that must have adorned the cities of India in that golden age: indeed, little remains from the periods preceding; for a succession of invasions by the White Huns (both earlier than and contemporaneous with those of Attila into Europe) converted the whole of North India into a plain of ruins and ashes. The terrible domination lasted nearly a century (*c.* 480–550 A.D.)—and this in itself suffices to account for the scarcity, already noted, of remains from the early epochs of North Indian life and art.

Both Middle and South India had meanwhile been reached, however, by the Āryanized civilization of the North, so that after the second century A.D., which we have seen represented at Amarāvatī, an increasing number of monuments command our interest in those zones. Partly sheltered there by the Vindhya Mountains, which separate the northern plains of the Indus, Jumna, and Ganges valleys from the remainder of the Indian peninsula and consequently serve as a bulwark, Hindu civilization survived the Hunnic catastrophe—just as, five centuries later, when the scimitars of Islam began cutting into North India, *c.* 1000–1400 A.D., and in the end carved out the empire of the Moghuls (1526–1857), in the protected South the Āryanized Dravidian culture-forms survived. A series of powerful Dravidian dynasties is reflected in the temples they left behind: notably those of the Cāḷukyas (*c.* 550–750) at Aihoḷe, Bādāmī, and Paṭṭadakal; the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*c.* 750–975) at Elūrā and Elephanta; the Pallavas (*c.* 600–850) at Māmallapuram; the Coḷas (*c.* 850–1150) at Tanjore; the Hoyśalas (*c.* 1100–1310) at Belūr and Halebīd; and the Pāṇḍyas (*c.* 1100–1350) at Cidambaram and Tiruvannāmalai. The last great centers of the South Indian temple style were the cities of Vijayanagar (*c.* 1350–1565) and Madura (*post* 1565).

Map I shows where the chief Indian monuments are located: the Indus Valley ruins at Mohenjo-daro, Chanhu-daro, and Harappā; the early stūpas at Sāñcī and Bhārhut; the Buddhist cave temples of the Western Hills at Bhājā, Beḍsā, Nadsūr, Mānmoda, Nāsik, Kārlī, and Kaṇherī; Gandhāra, in the borderland, beyond the Indus; and Mathurā in the Indian interior. Near the Bay of Bengal, in Oṛissā, are the caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. Far to the south is Amarāvatī. These are the earlier, mainly Buddhist, sites. The works of the following period, which is

largely Hindu, are centered in Middle India (the Deccan), at Bādāmī, Ajaṇṭā, and Elūrā, and in the deep South, at Māmallapuram, Tanjore, Halebīd, Cidambaram, Tiruvannāmalai, Hampi (Vijayanagar), and Madura.

Hindu temple architecture, like Buddhist, is represented on the one hand by structural buildings and on the other by cathedrals carved into the living rock. The structural series opens with comparatively simple designs, such as that of the
Pl. 141 seventh-century Cāḷukya temple near Bādāmī (Plate *141*), which consists of a porch, main room, inner sanctuary containing the principle image of the god, and surmounting tower. Many of the earliest examples of the sculptured series, on the
Pl. 204–226 other hand, are incredibly complex. The Śiva temple at Elūrā (Plates *204–226*), which was fashioned for the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the second half of the eighth century A.D., is a magnificent, though not quite completed, compound of elaborate edifices sculptured from the flank of a mountain, with towers, upper and lower stories, terraces, pillarlike flagstaffs, and richly ornamented walls.

The principal works of the elegant and gracious Pallava period center about a cluster of comparatively small monolithic chapels that were carved from boulders,
Pl. 266 in the seventh century A.D., at the ocean shore near Māmallapuram (Plate *266*). This little group is surprisingly various in design and, though it was abandoned before completion, is a veritable museum of Indian temple types. It supplies a key, moreover, to one of the main problems of Hindu temple design; for it reveals the meaning of those spectacular towers so prominent in the later cities of both the South and the North. In Tiruvannāmalai we find, for example, a system of four gates built of innumerable stories, and these are of almost no practical use (Plates
Pl. 402–405 *402–405*). They are crowned by vast, tubelike, horizontal roofs, called *vimāna*, which have their forebears in the Pallava chapels and derive ultimately—like the Buddhist caitya design—from the archetype of the primitive hut (Text Plate
Pl. A3 *A3*). Comparably, at Bhuvaneśvara, in the North, in Oṛissā, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, prodigious towers surmount the innermost sanctuaries of the
Pl. 328 temples (Plate *328*). These so-called *śikharas* differ in outline and design from the storied gate towers of the South (their forms being derived from the vegetable realm: they resemble colossal ears of corn); nevertheless, the two types of structure have identical meanings. Both are symbols of the tangible presence of a divine essence. For, as we shall see, although Indian temples are based on a number of traditional patterns, all announce this common theme. Some, like the soaring gates of Tiruvannāmalai, symbolize the central mountain of the universe, which carries on its summit the realms of the celestials; others, like Bhuvaneśvara, inspired by the idea of the Universal Tree, suggest a holy fruit containing the essence of
Pl. 354–355 the god; still others, such as the Sun Temple of Koṇārak (Plates *354–355*), are the

divine chariot of the Lord of the World. All can be traced from comparatively humble origins, and at Māmallapuram we shall find many clues to their symbolic inspiration.

Through both the general structure and the sculptured details of such monuments Hindu cosmology and mythology are unfolded before the devotees who come on pilgrimage to the holy places. The ornamentation of the façades and interiors is a pictorial encyclopedia of mythology and religion. On the outside of the Śiva temple of Elūrā, for example, is a relief of the deity himself as an archer, in a chariot drawn through the air by divine prancing steeds (Plate 226). The god's left hand elevates the bow; his right, having drawn the string to the lobe of his right ear and to the full extent of the shaft, has just released the arrow. His four-headed charioteer is the god Brahmā, the creator of the world, and his white bull, Nandi, is before them. The legend illustrated is that of Śiva Tripurāntaka—Śiva "The Destroyer (*antaka*) of the Three Towns (*tripura*)"; that is to say, of the threefold universe: (1) the earth, (2) the middle space or atmosphere, and (3) the firmament. Pl. 226

For it is related in a celebrated legend that Siva once annihilated and simultaneously redeemed the universe with a single shaft. The demons, titans, or antigods (*asuras*), who are the half-brothers and eternal rivals of the gods, had contrived to gather to themselves the reins of cosmic government. They had been led in this enterprise by an austere and crafty tyrant named Maya,[6] who, when he had driven the deities from their seats, constructed three strongholds, one in the firmament, one on earth, and a third in the atmosphere between. All were invincible; and by a feat of magic he then amalgamated them into one prodigious center of demon chaos and tyrannical world rule. A prophecy made it known that if this incredibly powerful keep were pierced by a single arrow the rule of the antigod would end. But who among the gods could deliver such a blow? Not Indra, the rain and thunder king; not Agni, the deity of fire; not Vāyu, the deity of wind. These were efficient, decent, heavenly specialists, but no match for such a cosmic assignment. Indeed, none of the radiant refugees from Mount Sumeru, the central mountain of the universe (the Indian counterpart of the Greek Olympus), who had been driven from their paradise into the bitter void of exile, could muster the power to rive Maya's defenses. Therefore they all turned in hopeful prayer to Śiva, the god beyond gods, and he, with his bow, flying in his chariot, performed the deed with ease.[7]

[6] Not to be confused with the term *māyā*; cf. *infra*, pp. 105–107.

[7] Cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York and London, 1946), pp. 185–188.

Vigorous and dynamic, though without the weight and compactness of an earthly warrior, the beautiful apparition dashes from the background of the relief with the lightness and irresistible power of a lightning flash, in a swift triumphant gesture devoid of static substantiality. Energy is suggested in the backward inclination of the shoulders and in the tension of the outlining curve. The volume of the great chest denotes power. The entire work, indeed, is a display of triumphant strength; for the sculptured figures, in their movement and direction, even unite compositionally the two walls of a corner, which are at an angle of ninety degrees. The relief does not seem to adhere to either surface, but leaps forth from its mother stone, obliterating the distinction between relief and sculpture in the round by the boldness of its plastic style and the almost careless skill of a completely competent craft.

Hindu sculpture is one of the most magnificent chapters in the whole history both of the world's art and of the world's religion—for in Indian civilization there was never a division or fundamental contradiction between art and religion, or between art, religion, and philosophic thought. Inherited revelation, the scholastic traditions of the priesthoods, and the popular beliefs worked upon each other by ever renewed processes of influence and were pervaded meanwhile by philosophical ideas originating in ascetic experiences, yogic exercises, and introverted intuition. The luxuriant display of religious sculpture so characteristic of the great temples of pilgrimage is therefore a readily legible pictorial script that conveys, through an elaborate yet generally understood symbolism, not only the legends of popular cult, but simultaneously the profoundest teachings of Indian metaphysics.

Pl. 286 For example: the deity recumbent on the serpent in Plate *286* is Viṣṇu, the second of the great gods of the orthodox Hindu trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Brahmā is known as the Creator, Viṣṇu mainly as the Preserver and Supporter of the universe, and Śiva as its Destroyer; yet each may appear in any or in all of the roles, since in substance these three supreme personalities are identical.[8] Here Viṣṇu is seen as the source, the transcendent lord, of the created worlds and of their manifold creatures. The waters of life, which feed creation, are his elementary material aspect: they are the first tangible emanation of his divine essence, which, though beyond form, yet evolves and comprehends all forms. Here they are symbolized in the coils of the huge serpent whose dwelling is the cosmic abyss and whose name is "Endless" (*ananta*). Upon this immeasurable body the god reclines. Ananta, it is said, supports on his expanded hoods the whole weight of

[8] For a full discussion, cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*; see also, Zimmer, *The King and the Corpse* (New York and London, 1948), Part II; and see *infra*, pp. 145–146.

both the earth and the celestial spheres; for he is the ever-living cosmic ocean out of which the world and the forms of its beings—both terrestrial and divine—evolve as temporal existences. Known also as "The Remainder, The Rest" (*Śeṣa*), he is the abyssal water that has not become transformed into creatures but remains at the bottom of the universe as its primary life-force, energy, and substance, feeding all. Ultimately, Ananta is identical with Viṣṇu himself, who in human form is seen recumbent on his coils. The animal and the human aspects, that is to say, are dual manifestations of a single divine presence, which, by and in itself, is beyond the forms it assumes at will when bringing the world-process into play. The anthropomorphic apparition through which it is made manifest to human devotees is in essence identical with the reptile, and this, in turn, with the timeless element of the cosmic sea.

The Hindu standing before this relief in one of the shrines at Māmallapuram is reminded that the divine essence, transcending all limitations, comprises both the light and the sinister sides of life; that the demonic as well as the godly aspects of the cosmic process (whether in the individual or in the world) originate equally in Viṣṇu as balanced qualifications of his transcendent, crystal-pure, and infinite essence. This idea is indicated by the two giant figures standing at the right, one of whom is regarding the god in an attitude of challenge. The Hindu devotee is immediately reminded of a well-known myth telling how, at the dawn of time, two tremendous demons crept from Viṣṇu's ears, and hoping to prevent the unfoldment of the universe, threatened to annihilate Brahmā, the first-born emanation of the recumbent world-dreamer, who was already superintending the processes of cosmic evolution. The little figure kneeling at the right in the present rendition is the goddess Lotus, Padmā-Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's spouse, who is the personification of the universe itself. She is imploring Viṣṇu, the Supreme Being, to save her. The demons were embodiments of the principles of ignorance and violence, combining stupidity and spiritual inertia with sheer animality, sensual desire, the lust for life, ambition, and a will for power; Brahmā, on the other hand, is pristine spirituality and wisdom. Viṣṇu rescued Brahmā, and therewith the goddess, simply by reabsorbing the demons into the substance of his own body—not, however, extinguishing them utterly, for they were destined to reappear in a later age. In fact, during the endless round of the cycling eons they would emerge again and again to subvert the ordered processes of the world. They are no less a part of Viṣṇu's all-comprehending nature than is Brahmā, since violence and ignorance are ingredients no less indispensable to the life of the universe than pure spirituality and holy endeavor. The recurrent interferences of the two demons with the benevolent forces of the Creator insure the occurrence of those dramatic conflicts

and agonizing periodical disasters that are of the essence of geological as well as of human history. Moreover, the transcendent Great God himself destroys the universe in periodic gestures of annihilation, reabsorbing all of its substance into his dreaming body—just as a dreamer takes back a dream when he enters the deeper quietude of dreamless sleep. For the universe, according to the mythology of the worshipers of Viṣṇu, is the cosmic dream of the god here seen recumbent on the back of the serpent whose elevated heads uphold the world; and we are all figures in Viṣṇu's dream: particles of his vital substance, mysteriously animate, like dream beings, within him. This the pilgrim knows who stands in reverence before this eloquent relief. The ambivalence and aloofness of the infinite God is the reality to be realized when viewing this work of art and hearing the corresponding myth. It is a myth familiar to the Hindu from childhood; and it is again recited to him by the priests in attendance at the holy shrine.

A splendid chapter in the history of Hindu sculpture is that of the bronze images of the Coḷa period and later, chiefly from the South. Whereas images in stone are part of the temple structures, those in bronze, being less heavy, are carried in processions at festivals and in the various temple rites. Most relate to the favorite deity of the later Hinduism of the South, Śiva, and represent either Śiva himself and those gods and goddesses who figure prominently in his mythology, or else certain South Indian saints celebrated as the great god's model devotees. A good
Pl. 410 example is the graceful figure of a youth in Plate 410, representing Śiva, the lord of demons, ghosts, and specters, in one of his benevolent, auspicious manifestations (*dakṣiṇa-mūrti*). He is "holding a lute" (*vīṇā-dhara*), in the role of teacher of initiations (the lute, which the two forward hands once supported, is missing), but we are reminded by the uplifted hand exhibiting a deer that although in his present aspect he is the divine teacher—of "music" (*saṅgīta*), of the holy scriptures (*śāstra*), of "divine wisdom" (*jñāna*), and of the asceticism that leads to union with the god (*yoga*)—Śiva is also the lord of the wilderness, the divine huntsman, the "Lord of the Beasts" (*paśupati*). And the two roles are linked; for both are roles of destruction (strange as this may seem to us of the West), since the arts, as well as yoga, wisdom, and the scriptures, lift the heart to union with the transcendent principle and so break the bonds that bind it to the world. This gentle Śiva, therefore, is none other than the brilliant, terrible Śiva of the bow: and thus again, in this little bronze, apparently so innocent, the devotee feels the impact of the double message that is the essence of all the great works of Hindu art.

The art of Jainism, on the other hand, is comparatively uncomplicated and constitutes in the history of Indian imagery a separate chapter. It follows to some

extent the general evolution of India's sculptural styles; nevertheless, when rendering its own most characteristic and prominent subjects—the rigid forms of its perfected saviors—it adheres conscientiously to a stiff archaic ideal. The monumental figures shown in Plate *395*, for example, carved in the living rock of a fortress hill at Gwāliar, North India, date from as late as the fifteenth century A.D. The magnificent evolution that led to the spiritualization of the image of the Buddha in the Gupta period (Plate *102*) and the phantasmagoric manifestation of Śiva at Elūrā (Plate *226*), as well as the transcendent serenity and aloofness of the recumbent Viṣṇu at Māmallapuram (Plate *286*), have not transformed or even touched the archaic attitude of this intentional primitivity. These saviors, the so-called "Victors" (*jinas*) or "Makers of the River Crossing" (*tīrthaṅkaras*), lead the way across the whirling life-torrent of the unending cycle of rebirths. The most celebrated, Mahāvīra, was a contemporary of the Buddha in the fifth century B.C., but the earlier Tīrthaṅkaras anteceded that period by centuries and some may date back even to pre-Āryan times.[9]

Pl. 395

Pl. 102

Pl. 226

Pl. 286

Jaina sculpture is the only art in India in which absolutely unclothed figures are found (Plate *245*), such nakedness having been a monastic rule of the Jaina ascetics until the fifth century B.C. The nakedness of the statues, like that of the monks of the archaic period, represents a condition of absolute detachment from the world, from the social order, and from the common values of earthly life. For the Jaina gospel of release from the bondage of life and rebirth was unremitting in its disciplines of renunciation: through a sustained process of ascetic cleansing, the monk's career was to culminate, ideally, in self-starvation. Hence an arctic, really frozen atmosphere hovers around the images of these Jinas, who, through incredible mortifications of the body, conquered the powers of the cycle of life. They stand in striking contrast both to the sublime gentleness and serene grace of the Buddhas (who are likewise Victors, but of a more spiritual, psychological, less downrightly physical kind) and to the divine strength and lavish, somewhat ambiguous charm that radiate from the Hindu gods, who personify those very forces of cosmic life which both the Buddhas and the Jinas transcend when they pass to nirvāṇa from the wheel of rebirth.

Pl. 245

In this introductory chapter I shall not enumerate all the schools of Hindu art that carried forward and transformed the heritage of the Gupta period, but shall indicate only two more outstanding styles and close with a glimpse of Indian influence abroad. One of the most remarkable inflections of the Gupta tradition was in Bengal under the Pāla and Sena dynasties (*c.* 730–1250 A.D.), where a style developed of a peculiarly rich, sweet flavor. The works were important

[9] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 181–227.

historically because of Bengal's geographical position between Nepal and Tibet in the north, and Java, with its famous centers of Buddhist learning, in the southeast. Bengal inspired to a remarkable degree both the arts and the philosophies of these two realms.

These smooth black-slate Pāla images are of high technical accomplishment and elegant design, yet suggest metalwork in their clear-cut outlines. The ideals of ivory carving and of manuscript painting seem to have prevailed in them over sculptural vigor; there is no truly plastic modeling, harmony, or repose, nor any sense of a dynamic surge from within. An incrustating sweetness has begun to freeze the life and grandeur of the earlier period, and the manner of glamorous decoration marks the beginning of a long, slow decline. Nevertheless, the workmanship has a beauty of its own that is not inappropriate to the image of a god
Pl. 383–385 (Plates *383–385*).

Pl. 388 Plate *388* shows another very late style: an image from Mysore, *c.* 1200 A.D., of Viṣṇu surrounded by the symbols of his power. Among the convolutions of the ornate arch framing the crowned head appear the god's ten chief legendary avatārs or incarnations: at his lifted right hand is the Fish (*matsya*); above that, the Tortoise (*kūrma*); then the Boar (*varāha*), the Man-Lion (*narasiṁha*), and the Dwarf (*vāmana*); while on the opposite side appear Rāma of the Ax (*Paraśurāma*)—the violent son of a violent Brāhman, who was made manifest for the destruction of the kṣatriya caste;[10] Rāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa;* Kṛṣṇa, the teacher of the *Bhagavad Gītā;* the Buddha (who, in this late, syncretistic period, was regarded by the devotees of Viṣṇu as an incarnation of their own all-embracing deity); and finally Kalki, the form in which Viṣṇu is to appear at the conclusion of the present eon. The two goddesses at either side are the deity's goddess queens. They are Lakṣmī, whom we have just seen praying at his feet—she is the bestower of prosperity; and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, music, and fluent speech. Viṣṇu himself is in the manifestation known as Viṣṇu Trivikrama, "of the Three Strides": by simply setting his feet down he created, with his first stride, the earth, with his second, space, and with his third, the firmament; hence the heaven of rapture beyond the visible sky is termed "Viṣṇu's Footprint" (*viṣṇu-pada*). The deity can be identified by his apparel, emblems, and weapons. In his hands (two of which are missing) he holds, normally, a lotus, a war club, a keen-edged discus, and the conch that is blown as a trumpet when he goes to war.

As for painting in India, there is little left. The caves of Ajaṇṭā still preserve an
Pl. 147–160, 168–175 astounding series of frescoes (Plates *147–160* and *168–175*) and, since in ancient

[10] *Mahābhārata* 3. 116–117; see also H. H. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana* (London, 1840), pp. 401–404.

Hindu literature one reads much of painting and painted walls, it is certain that this bold, simple, and superb style derives from a long and masterly tradition. However, we possess scarcely any further visible evidence. These priceless remains from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. are practically all that we know of an Indian craft which—as can be deduced from other indications—was one of the dominant sources of the Buddhist art of the entire Far East.

No review of Indian art would be complete if the branches of the tradition that opened southward to Ceylon and Indonesia and northward into Nepal, Tibet, and Chinese Turkistan were omitted; for, as we have seen, the monuments of the Indian mainland are largely ruins. The more we find and reconstruct, interpret and understand, the more do we realize how much has been lost. The additional fragments preserved in colonial territories help to fill in a few of the gaps, and they add, moreover, fresh evidence of the flexibility of the Indian heritage. For the Indic civilizations, both Buddhist and Hindu, of Ceylon, Cambodia, Siam,[11] and Java possessed superb art geniuses of their own. What they achieved in developing the models and ideas from the motherland was far from a mere repetition or imitation. In many of their realizations one perceives that an original, though kindred, genius—by transforming what it received—discovered fresh solutions of ancient problems, drove to the very heart of Indian wisdom, and sometimes almost surpassed what the Hindu masters had achieved, or were simultaneously achieving, in the same direction. We shall devote, therefore, a number of chapters to the chief documents and periods of the colonial styles.

[11] *Editor's note:* the older name for present-day Thailand is more often used in Dr. Zimmer's text, having been current when he wrote.

II

THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

UNTIL the early twenties of the present century histories of Indian art had to begin with a survey of the principal monuments of the Maurya period in the reign of the Buddhist emperor Aśoka (274–237 B.C.). The discovery of the Indus civilization carried the story back, however, to the third and second millenniums B.C. This dramatic revelation of archaic Indian cities antedating the arrival of the Āryans occurred at three widely separated sites: Mohenjo-daro, Harappā, and Chanhu-daro (Map I, p. 391). The mounds of the first two—discovered, respectively, by R. D. Banerji, in 1922, and Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, in 1921—were excavated in 1923–24 and 1925–26 by the Indian Archaeological Survey, under Sir John Marshall.[1] In 1931, Chanhu-daro was discovered and excavated by N. G. Majumdar, Assistant Superintendent of the Indian Archaeological Survey, and three years later his results were published.[2] An excellent discussion of the culture, based on the field work in all three sites, will be found in a small but substantial volume, *The Indus Civilization*, by Ernest Mackay, the leader of the first American Archaeological Expedition to India.[3]

The early dating of the ruins—they are far more remote than any antiquities hitherto discovered on Indian soil—was determined on the basis of the seals unearthed, which are unmistakably typical of the civilization (Plate 2). Most are of stone or steatite; the others of ivory or paste. They bear animal figures and pictographic legends, and at the back there is usually a boss pierced with a

Pl. 2

[1] Cf. Sir John H. Marshall, ed., *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931, 3 vols.).

[2] N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 48; Delhi, 1934); see also Ernest J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations 1935–36* (American Oriental Series, 20; Boston, 1943).

[3] Ernest J. H. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization* (London, 1935). See also Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization* (London, 1948), and Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (Harmondsworth [Penguin Books], 1950).

small hole for suspension. Since identical seals were discovered at Susa, the capital of ancient Elam, and at several Mesopotamian sites in stratifications of known date, they can be assigned with reasonable confidence to a period antedating Sargon I, that is to say, previous to 2300 B.C.[4] Hence the Indus cities can safely be said to have been flourishing in the second half of the third millennium B.C.

Of the sites explored, Mohenjo-daro is the most interesting. The remains cover more than thirteen acres and are in three stratifications: apparently the city was thrice laid waste by floods and twice rebuilt on its own ruins. The best constructed buildings, made of well-fired brick, are on the lowest level and the majority of these appear to have been common dwellings and shops. They are divided into good-sized rooms and each is supplied with its own wells and bathrooms (Text Plate *A5*), the latter being floored with brick and provided with covered drains that connect with larger drains in the side streets. This considerable town, in fact, had a sound and elaborate system of sanitation of almost modern character. In general, moreover, its buildings, both civic and domestic, were much more luxurious and more elaborate architecturally than those of Mesopotamia and Egypt of the same period. Baked brick was employed throughout, whereas it was not used in Egypt until Roman times, and was used in Mesopotamia only sparingly, for doorsills, drains, and bathrooms, and, more rarely, as a facing for temple and palace walls. The social conditions in India must have been considerably in advance of those prevailing at that early period in the other two centers of archaic civilization.

Pl. A5

From the animal symbols on the seals important information can be gleaned. Among the beasts domesticated, for example, were the humped, long-horned Indian bull, a short-horned bull, the pig, the buffalo, the horse, the dog, the sheep, and the elephant. Cats and camels do not appear. Among the wild beasts are the rhinoceros and the tiger. The seals showing an elephant before a manger are the earliest evidence we have for the domestication of the pachyderm (Plate *2b*) and remind us that India possesses an ancient elephant lore which is preserved in a special class of treatise describing how to keep domesticated ele-

Pl. 2b

[4] Excavations for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, conducted by H. Frankfort at Tell Asmar (the site of the ancient Mesopotamian town of Eshnunna, fifty miles northeast of Baghdad, in the desert), disclosed private houses from the time of the dynasty of Akkad, i.e., *c.* 2300 B.C., and among these ruins was a seal cylinder with a frieze of elephants and rhinoceroses such as appear on the seals of Mohenjo-daro. This piece must have been an importation from the Indus Valley. Further, a stamp seal with the figure of a long-horned bull, of exactly the same type as the numerous seals of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro, was found at Kish in Mesopotamia in the foundation of a ziggurat of the war-god Ilbaba, in a stratification that points to the same extremely early period. (See University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Communications, No. 16, pp. 50–51, and No. 17, p. 21.)

phants in the households of kings for magical purposes, for state ceremonials (the elephant being the regal, semidivine mount of the monarch), and for war.[5] Besides a number of shorter textbooks on the subject there is a compendious medical encyclopedia in Sanskrit devoted exclusively to the hygiene, diet, and treatment of these precious though sensitive animals. The work is known as the *Hastyāyur-veda*, the "Revealed Wisdom (*veda*) concerning the health and longevity (*āyur*) of the elephant (*hasty*)," [6] and is divided into four books, comprising forty-six prose chapters in addition to more than seventy-six hundred two-line stanzas of verse. In its present literary rendering the material dates from the medieval period; it clearly stems, however, from an old pre-Āryan tradition. The extant manuscripts are mostly South Indian, yet the Indus elephant-seals show that the main points of the teaching, in some early form, must have been familiar to the Northwest. Furthermore, the presence of the elephant among the domestic animals of Mohenjo-daro indicates that at that time the climate of the Indus Valley must have been damper, the vegetation denser, and the water supply more abundant than now; for in life, as well as in Indian mythology and religion, the elephant is inseparably associated with the vivifying force of running water.

On the evidence of the bones found in the ruins it can be stated that the diet of the population included beef, mutton, pork, tortoise and turtle meat, fresh fish (certainly from the Indus River), and dried fish (imported from the coast). Spinning and weaving are attested by the presence of spindle whorls and remains of cloth. The familiar metals were gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead; copper, both hammered and cast, was used for weapons as well as for implements and utensils. There is, however, a remarkable paucity of weapons among the remains. Apparently this highly civilized urban population was little given to the art of war. Copper vessels were found buried beneath some of the floors and one of the larger of these contained a collection of jewelry (a hidden treasure of gold and silver bangles, ear ornaments, necklaces, and girdles of pierced carnelian beads), precisely such as we see on the figures, both human and divine, of later Indian art. Side by side with the metal tools were numerous knives made of flakes of chert, as well as stone celts and maces, all of which indicates that the influence of the neolithic age had not completely passed.

[5] It is possible that the elephant was used for war in pre-Āryan times. In the later Indian tradition, following the introduction of the horse, there were four branches of the army: (1) the infantry, (2) the cavalry, (3) the chariots, and (4) the elephants. These, respectively, are represented in the game of chess (which is of Indian origin) by the pawns, knights, bishops, and rooks. The piece that is known in the West as the "queen" was the "general" in the Indian game. The "king" was already the "king."

[6] Cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *Spiel um den Elefanten* (Munich and Berlin, 1929).

The pottery is of great variety and excellence (Text Plate *A6*). There is, in addition, a charming series of ceramic toys for children (Text Plate *A7*), little wagons, and little animals with movable heads.

Pl. A6
Pl. A7

None of the foundation outlines of the buildings at Mohenjo-daro is large enough to suggest a temple site—which is surprising, since among the ruins of the contemporaneous towns of Mesopotamia religious structures are particularly prominent. One imposing basement, however, standing in the center of the city, conspicuous for its size, contains a bathing pool thirty-nine feet long and twenty-three feet wide, sunk some eight feet below the level of the floor. The outer wall of this building was more than six feet thick. The southern side was pierced by two large entrances. Smaller doors were at the north and east (Text Plate *A5*); and along the latter side there ran a row of chambers, with a large well midway among them from which the pool could be filled.

Pl. A5

This impressive edifice was probably not built for secular purposes. It reminds one of the holy bathing places of later Hinduism (Plate 446), which are the usual goals of pilgrimage. Great crowds come from afar to wash away sins, evils, and sufferings of every kind in the divine waters of India's holy rivers and sacred ponds, such sanctuaries being the principal centers of Indian religious life. They are embellished with temples, which display in sculpture the main events in the mythical histories of the gods supposed to have made these holy sites their permanent residences. All of the chief manifestations and aspects of the Hindu deities are commemorated in such resorts. Usually, too, legends are preserved of the saints of ancient times who practiced austerities and worked miracles in the neighborhood, such tales being registered in a special type of popular book (a sort of religious and mythological guidebook series) known as *Sthala-māhātmya*, "the work dealing with the superhuman nature of the holy place."

Pl. 446

At Mohenjo-daro numerous smaller images, usually of clay or limestone, were found in the dwellings (Text Plate *A8*). Apparently these served for worship at the family altars—which would indicate that some kind of household cult must have prevailed in the Indus cities similar to that of the Hindu religion of today, in which small images of clay, wood, or bronze are used for family worship. Such an image cult, unknown to the Āryans, was almost certainly a basic element of the pre-Āryan tradition throughout the subcontinent. The Mohenjo-daro figurines may therefore be regarded as our most ancient evidence of an immemorial, deeply-rooted Indian tradition. Conspicuous among them are terracotta figurines of a feminine divinity crowned with an elaborate headdress and bedecked with ornaments, who suggests strongly the Mother Goddess familiar in Mesopotamia and the lands of the ancient Mediterranean. The cult of such a di-

Pl. A8

vinity was one of the most prominent features of neolithic civilization throughout the Near East, in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, and Syria, and in southeastern Europe. As the mother of universal life, bestowing fertility on the vegetable and animal realms, this goddess was associated, in the Near East, with a male consort, and she was represented either in human or in animal form, often accompanied by two attendants in various animal guises.

Pl. A11a Text Plate *A11* shows an ivory relief of the Mediterranean Great Mother as the corn-giver and the mistress of beasts, with two animal companions. This piece was found at Ras Shamra, in Syria, and is a fine example of the deity as she ap-
Pl. A10 peared in the Mediterranean art of the fourteenth century B.C. In Text Plate *A10* are two examples from *c.* 2000 B.C., one being in the attitude of the Madonna. Generally nude, or nearly so, images of this goddess have been found in Mesopotamia dating from *c.* 3000 B.C., while in Egypt the most ancient examples go back to at least the middle of the fourth millennium (for example, Text Plate
Pl. A9d, e, f *A9*, figures *d*, *e*, and *f*).

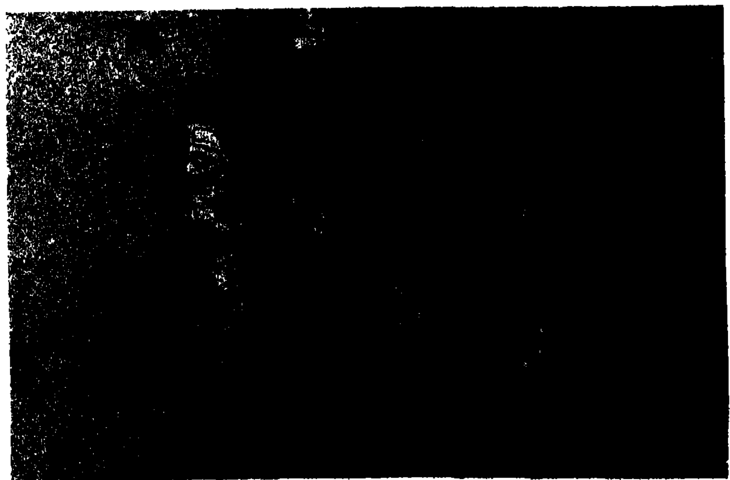
The early Indus Valley female figurines are the most ancient representations we possess of the Indian deity who was later worshiped, variously, as the Mother of the Universe, the goddess Earth, the goddess Padmā-Lakṣmī (patroness of fertility, riches, and prosperity), or simply Devī, "The Goddess." She has shown herself, during the millenniums, under numerous names and forms; being known as Kālī, Durgā, Pārvatī, Umā, Sītā, Satī, and as the rivers Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā.

The Goddess and her God, together, represent the cosmic female and male whose eternal embrace procreates the universe and its creatures, keeping the life-processes of the world in operation. The most archaic representations of their union are not in the human forms of male and female divinities, but in simple sexual symbols: cone-shaped or phallic erect stones, denoting the male, and cir-
Pl. A8 cular stones with a hollow center, representing the female (Text Plate *A8*, below). Such primitive emblems (the *liṅgam* and the *yoni*) are still the most common objects of worship of the Hindu religion, whether in temples or in the household cult. They survive from the tradition of the neolithic period, outnumbering statistically all the other types of Indian sacred images, and occur most commonly in association specifically with Śiva and his goddess, Devī.

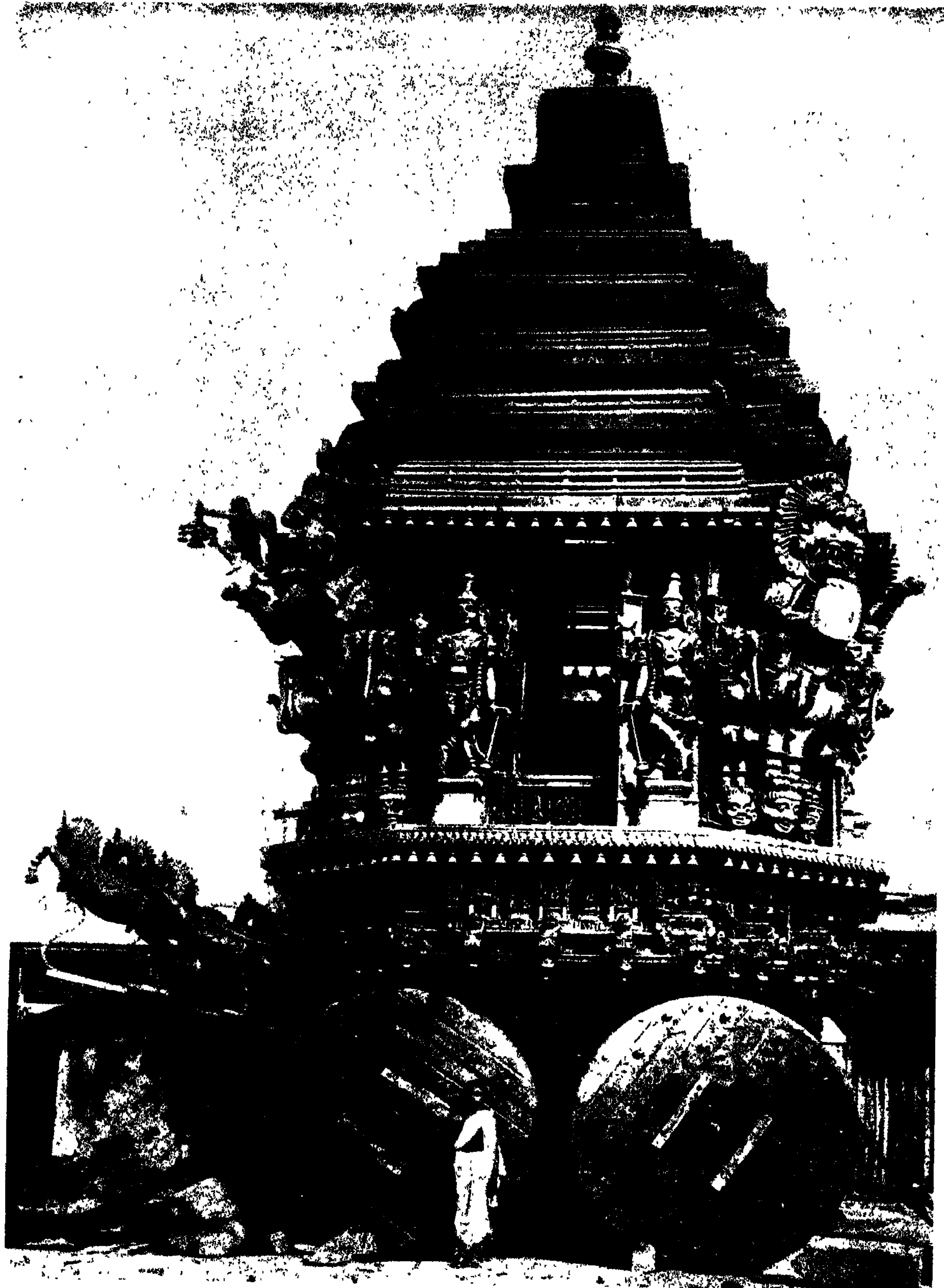
Among the reliefs in the outer gallery of the Śiva temple at Elūrā, for example,
Pl. 208 we find (Plate 208) the God and Goddess holding the hallowed symbols in their hands, the yoni here forming the base of an almost quadrangular liṅgam. This particular view of the holy couple is full of charm and grandeur; they are manifesting themselves in a mood of blissful repose, with the milk-white divine bull Nandi at rest beneath their throne. Nandi, the mount or vehicle of Śiva and his faithful



A1*a*. Cochin. *Hindu temple of wood*



A1*b*. Madura. *Clay figurines near a small temple*



A2. Tanjore. *Carved processional car*



A3*a*. Nilgiri Hills. *Toda huts*



A3*b*. Barābar Hills. *Lomas Ṛṣi Cave façade*, III *century* B.C.



A4. *Śivaite mendicant with a trident*

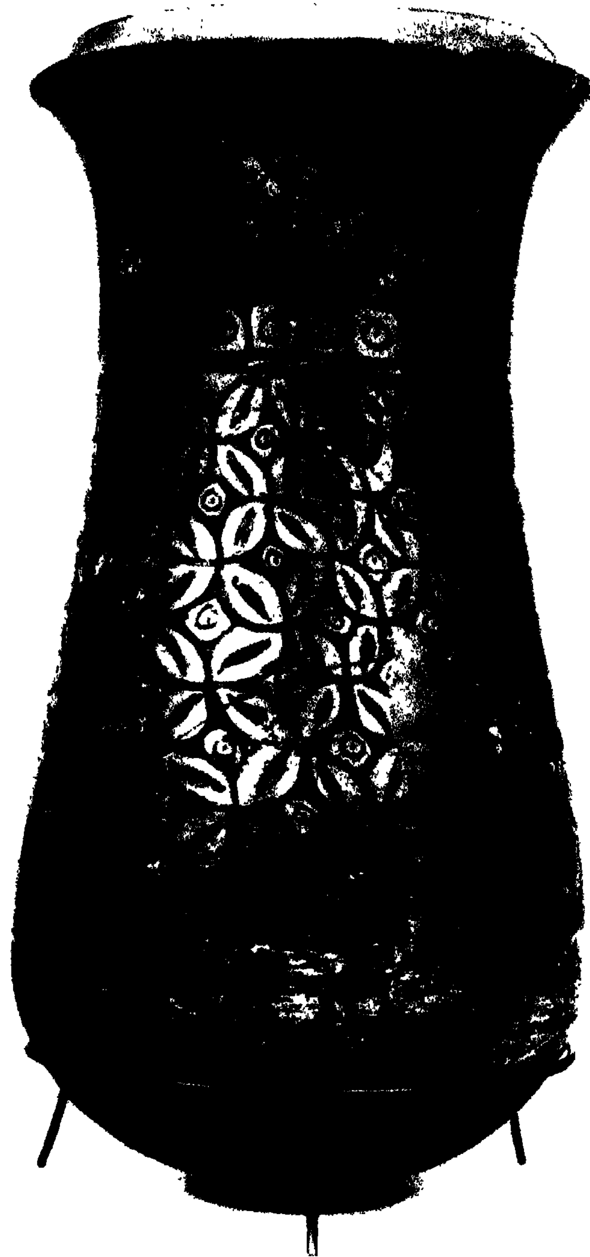


a. Ruins of the Great Bath

A5. Indus Valley Civilization. *c. 2500–1500* B.C. Mohenjo-daro



b. Well and tiled bathroom



46 Indus Valley Civilization. *c. 2500–1500* B.C. Chanhu-daro. *Storage jar*



A7. Indus Valley Civilization. *c.* 2500–1500 B.C. *Clay toys*



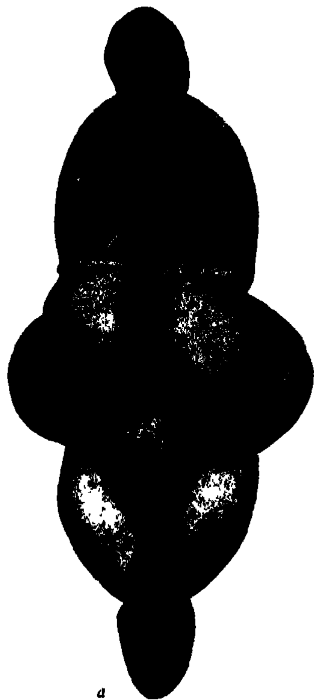




A8. Indus Valley Civilization. *c.* 2500–1500 B.C. *Religious objects: clay images of the Goddess, a ringstone, and a liṅgam*







a



b



c



d



e



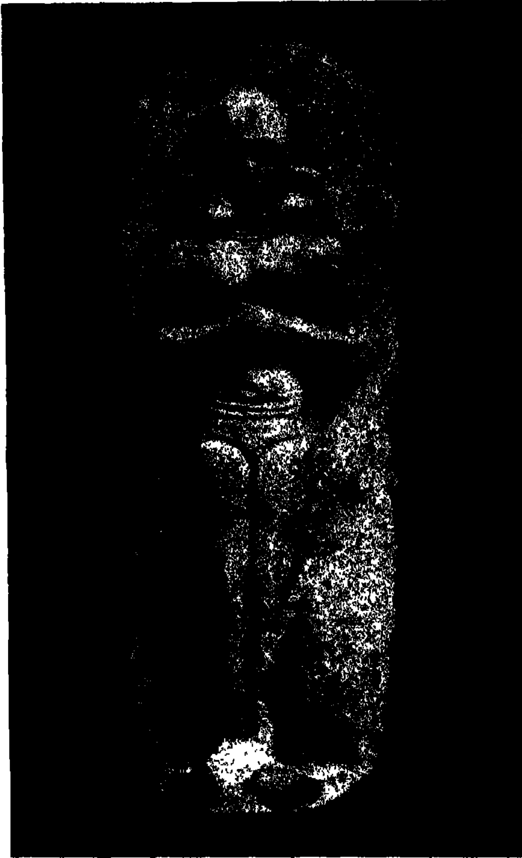
f

A9. *Prehistoric figurines of the Goddess*

a–c. Paleolithic Europe. *c.* 20,000 B.C.

d, e. Egypt. *c.* 3500 B.C.

f. Mesopotamia. *c.* 3000 B.C.



a

10. *Mesopotamian images of the Goddess* c. 2000 B.C.



b

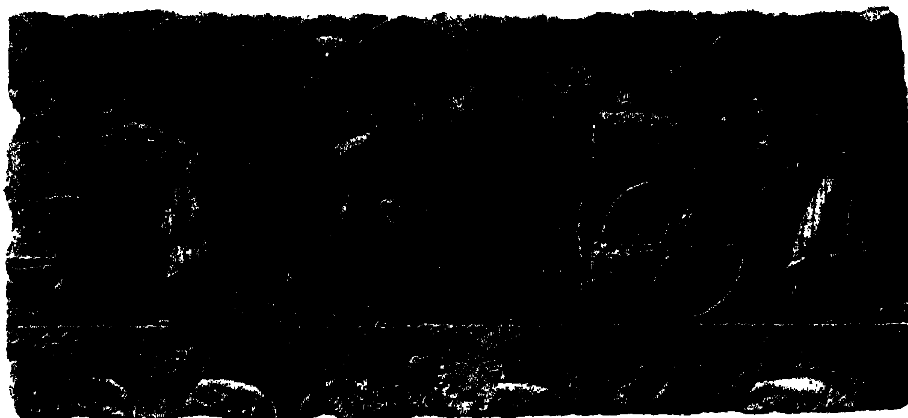


a



b

A11. *Syrian images of the Goddess.* XIV *century* B.C.



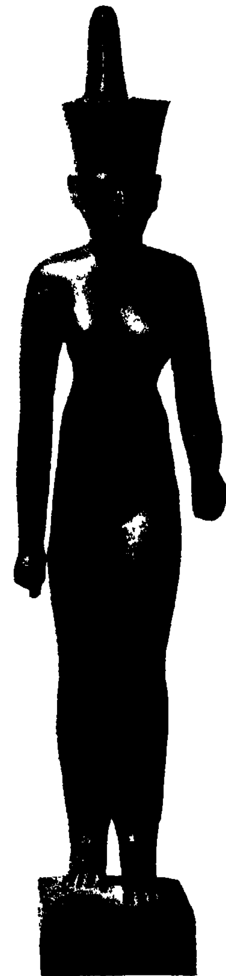
a. Panel from Tell el 'Amarna. c. 1360 B.C.



A12 *Egyptian reliefs*

b. Painted stele. III *millennium* B.C.

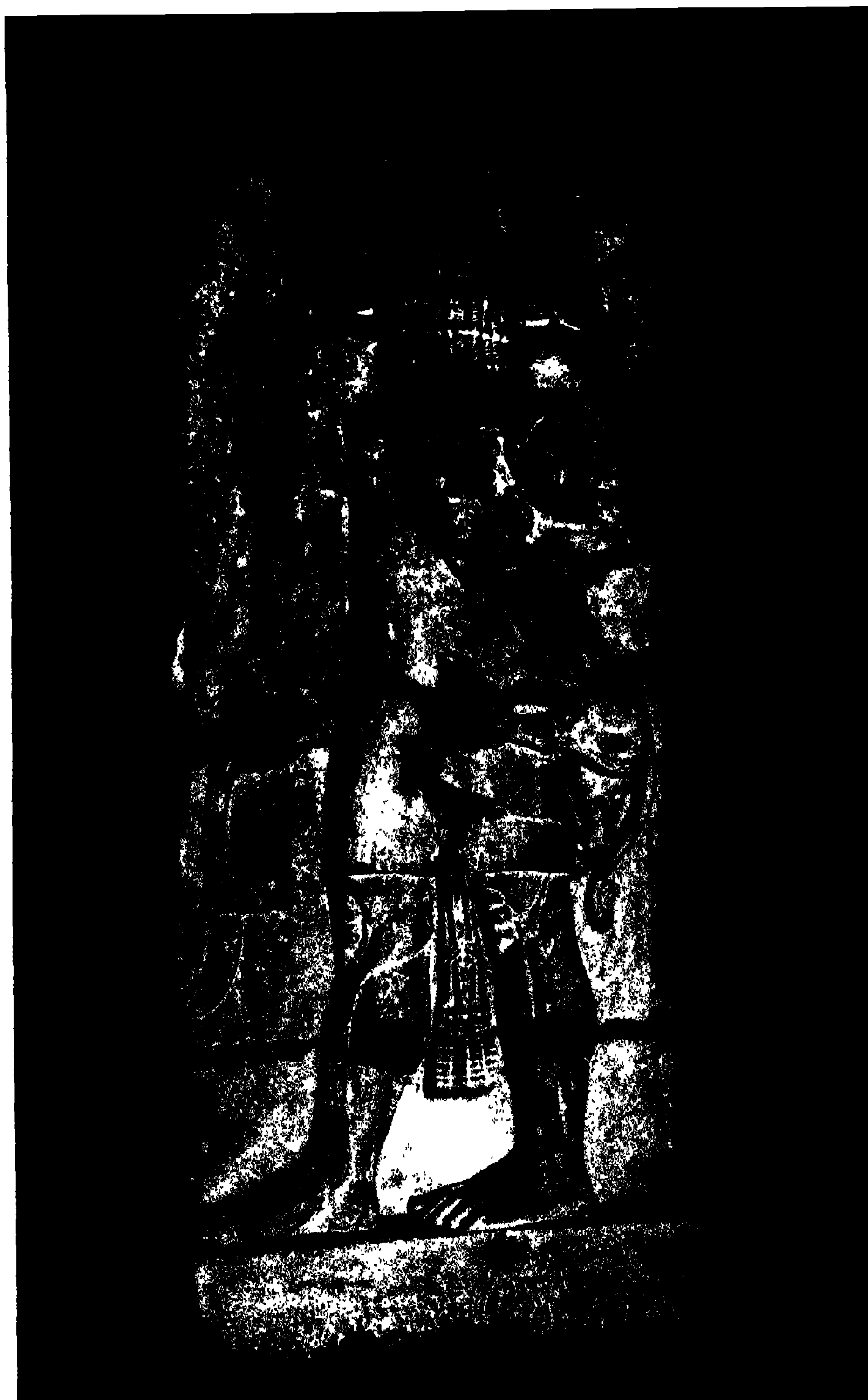
A13. *Egyptian images*



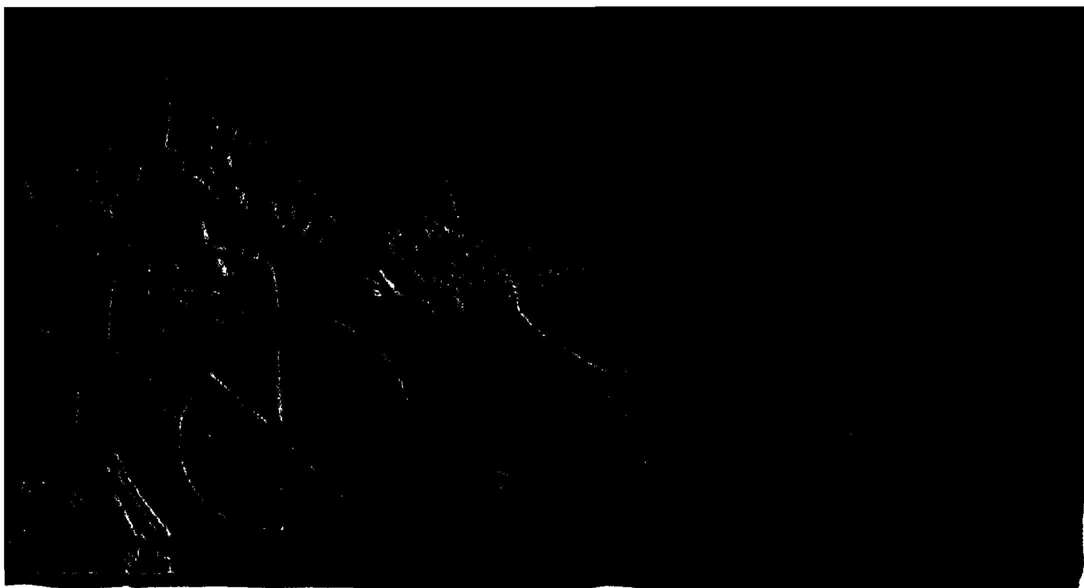
a. The Goddess Neit.
VII *century* B.C.



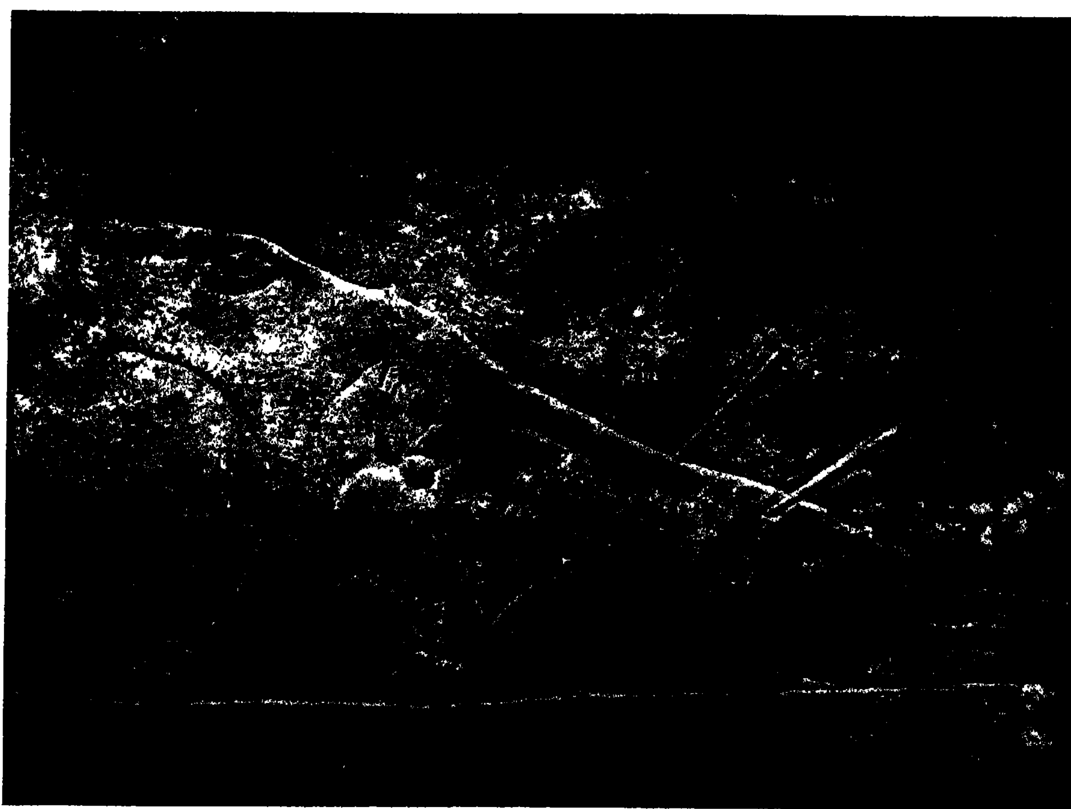
b. Horus and the King. IV *century* B.C.



A14. *Assyrian relief. Gilgamesh, Conqueror of the Lion.* VIII *century* B.C.

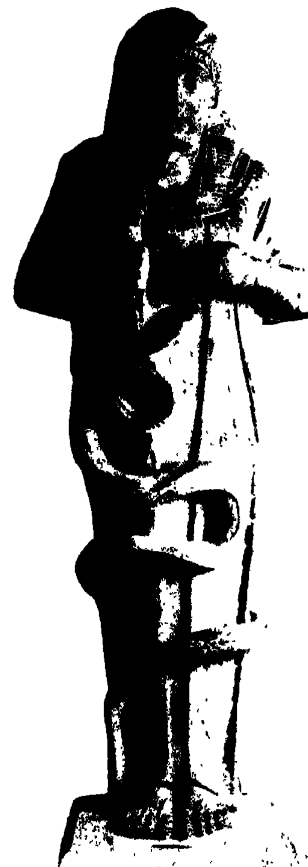


15. *Assyrian relief, details: The Great Hunt of Assurbanipal.* VII *century* B.C.





XVIa. *Indian nāga king. Probably* VI *or* VII *century* A.D.



XVIb. *Late Egyptian divinity. Hellenistic period*

doorkeeper and servant, is the animal representation of the god's divine nature—like the giant serpent Endless (*ananta*), the Remainder (*śeṣa*), in the mythology of Viṣṇu.[7]

Another example of the liṅgam in the later periods of Indian art is to be found in the ruins of a large cave-temple, dedicated to Śiva, on a small island in the harbor of Bombay—an early medieval sanctuary of the eighth-century Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings,[8] which has been damaged intentionally by the image-despising Muslims, and is known as Elephanta (Plates 248–265). The rock walls of this extensive underground temple contain some of the most magnificent reliefs remaining to us from the climax of the golden age of Indian sculpture, and at the center of the great hall is a quadrangular sanctuary carved from the living rock (Plates 250 and 262). This little shrine, of inspiring simplicity, is guarded by eight doorkeepers (*dvārapāla*)—the "Protectors (*pāla*) of the Door (*dvāra*)"—a pair at each side, and is the holy of holies containing the chief symbolic object of worship. The object is a mere stone block upon a square base, representing the liṅgam and the yoni.

Pl. 248–265

Pl. 250, 262

Likewise at Māmallapuram among the rock-cut temples of the Pallava kings of the seventh century A.D.[9] we find the liṅgam. There is a sanctuary dedicated to the orthodox Hindu trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva in which Śiva is represented as the principal deity and the two others merely as the manifestations of his transcendent nature (Plate 289). The standing form of the great god, carved from the rock of the main or rear wall, shines forth through the entrance, which is flanked by two guardians—slender, graceful, beautiful youths, full of the gentle unearthly charm characteristic of Pallava art—and in the center of this sanctuary is again the holy symbol. The simple form represents the divine life force of the universe, its all-comprising, all-generating essence. The glossiness of its surface is due in part to the offerings of water, milk, and oil that have been poured upon it.

Pl. 289

Such juxtapositions of the primitive abstract emblem of the divinity with his manifestations in human or animal form are frequent in Hindu temples. The human or animal aspect, emerging from the darkness of the shrine, stepping forward, as it were, out of the formless matter of the rock wall, supplies a model for the devotee, showing him how to visualize the auspicious presence before whom he is bowing. Such a figure is known as the "likeness" (*pratimā*), and is regarded as a merely momentary or temporary apparition—a mask that the divine being has voluntarily assumed to make manifest some particular aspect of his divine nature and to fulfill a particular task. It constitutes a partial, one-sided

[7] Cf. *supra*, pp. 12–13. [8] Cf. *supra*, p. 9. [9] Cf. *supra*, p. 10.

glimpse of the god's infinitude, suggesting only one inflection of the totality of his supreme essence. It is but one of his numerous ephemeral gestures or attitudes, these being the visual counterparts of his many sentiments and moods. Such "likenesses" can be grouped in two opposing classes: (1) the benevolent (*dakṣiṇa*), which answer prayers, grant wishes, bestow security and peace; and (2) the terrific (*ghora*), which threaten disaster and brandish weapons of many kinds, exhibiting terrible countenances and attitudes. All are inflections of a single timeless essence, beyond change and event: and that immovable, immutable, fundamental, eternal essence is what is symbolized in the rigid, silent form of the liṅgam-yoni.

Liṅgam worship is mentioned in the earliest records of the Āryan immigrants, in the hymns of the *Ṛg-veda*, where the conquered peoples are deprecatingly called "those whose god is the phallus (*śiśna-deva*)." [10] The recent discoveries at Mohenjo-daro of phalluslike objects and of ringlike symbols of the female principle (some not more than an inch in diameter, others so large that two men can scarcely lift them) indicate that this form of worship was indeed of considerable prominence in the Indus civilization of the third millennium B.C. Though abhorred by the Āryan invaders, it has nevertheless persisted in Hindu religion to this day as the usual mode of honoring Śiva. For example, I have been told that only a few years ago, when the aged mother of Śrī Ramaṇa Maharṣi passed away in his hermitage, where she had been attending to the household of her holy son (a most venerable modern yogī, saint, and sage),[11] she was buried in the manner of a yogī or holy man: not burned on a pyre, but placed in a grave marked by a small monument bearing a liṅgam and yoni symbol. Through this it was indicated that she, in passing, having transcended the bondage of earthly life, had been released from the cycle of births and subsumed in the transcendental essence of the Great God's eternal being.

We are far from understanding at present the rich vocabulary of symbols on the seals of Mohenjo-daro; nevertheless, the more we comprehend of them the more it becomes apparent that the religious civilization of the Indus in the third millennium B.C. was the source of many of the traditions prevalent in Central and Southern India today. The Indus cities reveal fundamental elements and striking details that were completely foreign to the religious and literary traditions of the Āryans, but which reappeared in Indian art and religion (first among the folk, then among the governing classes) when the Āryan domination of

[10] *Ṛg-veda* 7. 21. 5.

[11] Śrī Ramaṇa Maharṣi (1879–1950); cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *Der Weg zum Selbst; Lehre und Leben des indischen Heiligen Shri. Ramana Maharshi aus Tiruvannamalai*, ed. by C. G. Jung (Zurich, 1944).

Northern India began to wane during the second half of the first millennium B.C. Their return to the surface can be studied in the early Buddhist monuments of Bhārut and Sāñcī.[12] And their continuing force became increasingly evident with the relentlessly rising tide of Śivaite Hinduism. The common occurrence of the lingam and yoni in orthodox, so-called "Āryan" temples, and the recognition of the great goddess in medieval and modern India as the peer of (or even as superior to) the greatest of the gods, marks the resurgence of an archaic, irrepressible, apparently basic mode of Indian religious belief and experience, which had never been quite done away by the Vedic Brāhmans.

Important elements in this non-Āryan, pre-Āryan popular religion are serpent and tree worship. Tree worship has been transformed in Buddhism into a pious reverence for the holy trees under which the Buddha and his predecessors in the prehistoric past gained enlightening wisdom (Plate *17*). Foremost among the *Pl. 17* revered trees was the Indian fig (*aśvattha: Ficus indica*), which sends down from its branches secondary roots to reach the ground and become additional stems. An Indus Valley seal shows an aśvattha tree, stylized, with the twin heads of some sort of horned animal springing from its trunk (Plate *2e*). *Pl. 2e*

The animal on this seal seems to be one-horned; so does the bull in the seal at the lower left. Of course this unicorn effect may be the result of the renditions in *Pl. 2f* profile; nevertheless the possibility of a one-horned beast is not to be excluded; for the unicorn plays a role in Indian lore. Symbolizing the superhuman, semidivine strength gained by chastity, it figured in the popular Indian novels and folktales of the first millennium B.C., which the Buddhists transformed into stories of the earlier lives of the Buddha and which also were incorporated in that encyclopedic epic of Hinduism, the *Mahābhārata*. The Indian unicorn, perhaps dating from the third millennium B.C., passed into China, where it is known as *ki-lin*. There it appears among the files of sculptured animals (representing the gifts and tributes brought from foreign lands) that stand on either side of the processional streets leading to the sacred graves of the ancient emperors. Furthermore, during the first centuries of the Christian era the figure entered Egypt, where it was incorporated in a tradition of zoological allegory that played a considerable role in the European Middle Ages. According to the Christian legend, the unicorn cannot be caught by any huntsman, yet it can be tamed by a virgin, a stainless damsel, whom it will approach without fear, since it feels akin to her. It places its head on her lap, innocently falling asleep, and so gives the huntsman his opportunity. In this context the unicorn became for the Christians an emblem of Christ, who had been brought to mankind on the lap of the Virgin, to be slain.

[12] Cf. *supra*, pp. 5–6.

Pl. 1b The seal represented in Plate *1b* shows a figure sitting cross-legged with kneeling worshipers to right and left, and behind these two snake-divinities (*nāgas*) with halos of expanded hoods. The presence of the kneeling devotees, and particularly of the nāgas, suggests that the central figure of this Mohenjo-daro seal was intended to represent a deity rather than a king. He is in the characteristic Oriental attitude of the saint and sage—cross-legged, practicing control of the breath, control of the senses and mind, concentration on inner visions, and the Pl. 244 realization of supranormal spiritual states. Plate *244* shows a Jaina saint in this same yoga posture (known as *paryaṅka*), which is one of the most typical motifs of Indian art and religious life. Indeed, whenever we find this pose in a work of art we can be sure that we are in contact with Indian thought and ascetic ideals. For in India the prestige of the man of truth early superseded that of the man of battle: there the yogī, not the warrior, was known as *vīra*, "the hero"; and his posture became familiar throughout Asia with the spread of Buddhism. Through Chinese and Japanese art it has now become familiar to us all. Nevertheless, it is with something of a shock that we recognize on a prehistoric Mohenjo-daro seal the earliest known model of the giant Japanese Buddha whose lofty temple rises above the roofs of holy Nara.

Pl. A16a Text Plate *A16* shows an exceptionally fine, expressive specimen of a Hindu snake-divinity or nāga. This work, dating from about 600 A.D., was unearthed among the remains of the celebrated medieval center of Buddhist learning at Nālandā, in Northeastern India. Behind and above the human figure is a great halo clinging to and forming part of the body, like a parasol, shield, or cave formed by the bodies, heads, and expanded hoods of seven cobras. Another beautiful specimen Pl. 181 occurs at one of the shrines of Ajaṇṭā (Plate *181*), where the deity, in the company of his wife and his chowry bearer, sits in the posture of *rājalīlā*, "kingly ease." Comparing these late creations with the seal of Mohenjo-daro, one cannot doubt either that the nāga was known in India in pre-Aryan times or that a continuous tradition communicated its image from the archaic to the medieval period—even in spite of a gap of some two millenniums in the evidence. This speaks volumes for the tenacity of Indian folkways. Indeed, the classic Indian motifs already prefigured in the seal include not only the nāgas and the yoga posture of the chief figure, but the whole idea of the composition: nāgas and their wives worshiping either the Buddha or the holy symbols of his doctrine constitute one of the most familiar formulae of Buddhist iconography. Often also, as in this prehistoric seal, kneeling devotees are shown along with the nāgas, paying worship to the cross-legged holy being. And in the Jaina tradition, likewise, the same devout attitude in the presence of accomplished saints and saviors

—those who teach the way to release from the bondage of life—is described in the legends of their saviors, the "Victors" (*jinas*) or "Makers of the River Crossing" (*tīrthaṅkaras*). In sum, this pattern of a worshipful figure, cross-legged and revered both by serpent-kings and by human devotees at either hand, was almost certainly inherited from the pre-Āryan period by the image makers of Buddhist, Jaina, and classic Hindu art. The blue tablet from Mohenjo-daro showing this almost timeless formula bears on its back a legend in the pictographic script of the period, which has not yet been deciphered.

There is another Indus seal showing a figure in the cross-legged posture, but wearing a huge headdress with two giant horns (Plate 2*a*). He sits on a throne *Pl. 2a*
surrounded by wild beasts—a tiger, an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo, and a sort of horned antelope or buck. It is reasonable to suppose that this is a divinity; in fact, the composition suggests very strongly the awesome presence known as "Lord of the Wilderness" (*vanaspati*), or "Lord of the Wild Animals" (*paśupati*): the divine huntsman, master of the jungle, who roams in the wild places beyond the village borders and is identified in modern Hinduism with Śiva. The horned buck is one of Śiva's symbols[18] and the cross-legged posture of the meditating yogī one of his favorite attitudes. The posture is associated also, and even more characteristically, with the Buddha.

Furthermore, the curious headdress resembles to a striking degree one of the most common symbols of early Buddhist art. Plate 7 shows an early instance *Pl. 7*
of this sign crowning the north gate of the stūpa of Sāñcī, where it denotes the Buddhist holy triad known as *triratna* ("the three jewels"), that is to say, (1) the Buddha, (2) the Doctrine, and (3) the community of the Buddha's followers, the Order (*buddha-dharma-saṅgha*). Somewhat later, the same threefold form is found as a kind of wand in the hands of Buddhist monks, where it has become a double trident, the so-called *vajra* ("thunderbolt," but also "diamond"); for the irresistible force of the sphere of transcendental reality, which is diamond-hard (cutting through everything and cut by nothing), is wielded by the Buddhist monk. The trident (*triśūla*) is one of the symbolic implements likewise of the pilgrim-mendicants of the Śivaite creed (Text Plate *A4*). These Hindu monks, *Pl. A4*
in their apparel, imitate their deity in his manifestation as the homeless wandering ascetic. To the simpler devotees of the god (in fear of their power and of their wrath, which is easily roused) such holy men are impersonations of the god himself, who takes delight in assuming human form and thus approaching men to test their devotion and to confer on them his initiations. Three is a number that has always been associated with Śiva. The great god is known not

[18] Cf. *supra*, p. 14.

only as the "carrier of the trident" (*triśūlin*), but also as the one "having three mothers" (*tryambaka*), and the one "having three eyes" (*trinetra*). Very probably, Śiva anteceded the Buddha as the master both of the vajra and of the animal throne.

Perhaps the most amazing of the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro is the torso of a dancing male, in stone (Plate *3*, lower right). The head has been lost; so also have been the arms and the left leg from the knee down—for these were made separately and attached to the trunk with dowels (the holes into which the pins were inserted can be clearly seen).[14] They must have been fashioned separately for a specific purpose, otherwise surely the whole figure would have been carved from a single piece. This consideration supplies a valuable hint for the posture of the missing limbs. They did not cling to the body but protruded into space, perhaps even swayed: obviously the most convenient way to carve such limbs is separately. Moreover, the point at which the lower left leg was attached was just above the knee—suggesting that the left foot did not rest on the ground but was in the uplifted attitude of a dance posture. Nor does it require much imagination to recognize what the posture must have been. One has only to seek some counterpart in the later Hindu tradition, and in this case, at any rate, he who seeks will quickly find. For the most magnificent and best known of the medieval South Indian bronzes are those representing Śiva in his manifestation as Naṭarāja, "the king (*rāja*) of dancers (*naṭa*)" (Plates *411–414*). The uplifted foot and widely flung arms can be readily cast in bronze, but for the sculptor in stone such a pose is difficult. His most convenient solution is to shape the projecting members separately and attach them to the trunk with pegs.

Pl. 3c
Pl. 411–414

It seems fairly clear that the torso of Mohenjo-daro must have represented a dancing figure of this type, even though we cannot be sure that the gesture of the arms corresponded to the bold postures of the bronzes wrought almost four millenniums later. In fact there is no evidence that any of the images of the Indus Valley had four arms. This specifically Hindu trait does not appear even in the early Buddhist and Hindu monuments of the era B.C.; it was evolved, apparently, during the first millennium A.D.[15] The idea of four, and even more numerous, arms was developed to indicate the supranormal divine character of the beings thus represented. A god with no more than two arms, one might say, would be an understatement. The hands exhibit simultaneously the various weapons, emblems, and symbols denoting the powers and the manifold activities of the deity in question: weapons threatening death appear side by side with symbols of prosperity and life, thus making evident the ambivalence of divine power. For,

Pl. A7
Pl. 110, 111, 117–139

[14] Compare the mechanics of the toy in Text Plate *A7*.

[15] The earliest multi-armed figures in this work are among those of Plates *110, 111*, and *117–139*.

transcending the pairs-of-opposites, the Indian gods and goddesses are at once benevolent and wrathful, terrible and auspicious; they are harmonies of contrariety capable of manifesting all or any of their antipodal powers at will.

We do not know to what race the population of the Indus cities belonged, even though a few remarkable portrait statues and heads have been found among the ruins, the most impressive being a broken statuette of stone and paste, from Mohenjo-daro, seven inches high (Plate *1a*). The priestlike figure is draped *Pl. 1a* in a shawl that is drawn over the left shoulder but leaves the right bare. The same mode of uncovering the right shoulder was practiced two thousand years later, as an expression of the attitude of reverence, by Buddhist monks and lay devotees when approaching the Buddha or some venerable sanctuary or person. The garment of the Indus statuette is decorated with a trefoil pattern, executed in relief, the interior of the trefoils having been filled with a red ocher. This motif does not recur in the later Hindu tradition, but points, on the contrary, to the Near East; priestly statues have been found in Babylonia wearing garments similarly decorated. Furthermore, the head has a short beard and closely cut mustache: neither such a beard nor any closely cut mustache of this type can be traced in later Indian iconography. Brāhmans with long beards occur, as well as saints, mendicant monks, saviors, Buddhas, Tīrthaṅkaras, and priestly gods—for example, Agni the fire-god, and Śiva as the model Brāhman-ascetic; also there is a princely Bodhisattva of the Hellenistic Gandhāra type with an elegantly twirled and pointed mustache (Plate *63*). But no beard and mus- *Pl. 63* tache in the Mohenjo-daro style has yet been found. The long eyes appear to be half closed, as though in meditation; they are not Mongolian eyes. In one the shell inlay still is in place. The nose, well formed, is of medium size; the lips are full and fleshy. The hair is brushed back and parted in the middle, which is a fashion not represented in later Indian iconography. Brāhmans have matted hair, the braids tressed up in a conical shape surmounting the head, while Buddhist and Jaina monks have cleanly shaven crowns; kings and princes in later Indian art wear diadems and turbans; but the hair of this figure terminates at the nape in short locks secured by a plain fillet, which is tied at the back with two long hanging ends, and fixed to the front of this fillet, in the middle of the forehead, is a medallion. None of these traits can be matched in later Indian images. The holes drilled in each side of the neck, just beneath the ears, may have secured a necklace of some precious metal. And there is a simple armlet with a medallion on the upper portion of the right arm. Every one of these details is extremely interesting since this is the most ancient portrait in Indian art. It is probably the portrait of a priest.

The script on the Indus seals is still undeciphered. It has been suggested

by Sir John Marshall that there may be some connecting link between this and another undeciphered script, that of Easter Island,[16] and a Hungarian scholar in Paris, Guillaume de Hevesy, has given this bold theory his support.[17] Easter Island seems not to have been settled by its present inhabitants until after 1000 A.D.; nevertheless the immigrants could have brought ancient traditions with them from Indonesia. The hypothesis is that the writing of Easter Island represents a late version, and that of Mohenjo-daro a very early one, of a system that originated in southern Asia and is also reflected in certain early stone inscriptions from southern China.[18] Easter Island and Mohenjo-daro would then be the two extremes of a single tradition; the two branches most widely separated in space and time.

Some two hundred and fifty different signs are represented on the Indus Valley seals, scarcely enough to suggest that the script was strictly pictographic, like the Chinese, but far too many for an alphabetical system, like the currently used Occidental and Indian alphabets. It must have been of a type between the two; and this is quite possible, since the moment pictographs are not restricted to the meanings directly represented in their images but are allowed to denote the phonetical values of the names of the represented objects—that is to say, when they become associated with sound and not merely with image values—their number can be greatly reduced. All that is then necessary is a limited list sufficient to indicate the words of the language, syllable by syllable, or part by part. Such a writing, though apparently pictographic, would be actually—or at least to a great extent—phonetic.

The animals on the Mohenjo-daro seals have, for the most part, a high aesthetic value. They are masterpieces of an art that ranks with the best traditions of

[16] Sir John H. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 41.

[17] Guillaume de Hevesy, "Ecriture de l'Ile de Pâques," *Bulletin de la Société des Américanistes de Belgique* (Brussels), Dec., 1932, pp. 120–127; "Océanie et Inde préaryenne: Mohenjo-Daro et l'Ile de Pâques," *Bulletin de l'Association française des amis de l'Orient* (Paris), Nos. 14–15 (1933), 29–50; "Osterinselschrift und Indusschrift," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), XXXVII:11 (Nov., 1934), cols. 665–674.

Editor's note: This theory was attacked by Alfred Métraux, "The Proto-Indian Script and the Easter Island Tablets," *Anthropos* (Salzburg), XXXIII:1 and 2 (Jan.–Apr., 1938), 218–239, but defended by Hevesy in the same journal, "The Easter Island and the Indus Valley Scripts," *ib.*, 5 and 6 (Sept.–Dec., 1938), 808–814, with the support of Robert von Heine-Geldern, whose article, "Die Osterinselschrift," *ib.*, 815–909, presents evidence of a common ancestry in "an as yet unknown Asiatic script, to be dated probably in the fourth millennium B.C." (*ib.*, 908). José Imbelloni came to the support of Hevesy in a letter to *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Wellington, New Zealand), XLVIII (1939), 60–67. On the other hand, Friedrich Hrozny, attempting to decipher the Indus seals, rejected the hypothesis of a connection between their script and that of Easter Island: "Inschriften und Kultur der Proto-Inder von Mohenjo-Daro und Harappa," *Archiv Orientální* (Prague), XII (1942), 196.

[18] Heine-Geldern, *op. cit.*, pp. 873–875.

ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, while standing in a position of apparently complete independence. The style is unmistakable and distinctive. In the representation of the Indian bull shown in Plate 2g the treatment of the dewlap, the modeling of the muscles, and the slenderness of the hoofs originate in a conception of the living organism that is peculiarly Indian. Egypt too produced masterpieces of animal sculpture—the divine falcon protecting the Pharaoh's head, the sacred cats and holy monkeys impersonating learning and knowledge; but Egyptian art, as well as Mesopotamian, though perfectly realized when rendering in the round, in its reliefs insisted on the outline and on the masterfully drawn profile (Text Plate *A12*). Egyptian relief remained to the end under the influence of the tremendously important and highly refined Egyptian system of pictographic hieroglyphics, where animal figures were engraved or painted in profile on walls or on stone tablets. In these inscriptions the living organisms were reduced to mere apparitions circumscribed by cleanly cut contours, since a recognizable profile was all that was needed to communicate the meaning. The resultant systematization of monumental, meaningful glyphs bestowed on the familiar birds and animals of the region the permanency of a mysterious, enigmatic repose, transforming them into symbols.

Pl. 2g

Pl. A12

In the animals of Mohenjo-daro, on the other hand, though the outlines are perfect and constitute one of the principal features of this sensitive style, the bodies are full of individual life. A subtle realism is at work that catches the beasts in attitudes nearer than the Egyptian to nature; nearer to the spontaneous behavior of the fleeting moment. Such forms are not frozen into stony hieroglyphs; they are full of inward life. The bulks are heaving, as if breathing, throbbing to the circulation of their own life-sap. They are not portions of a surface caught within a defining contour, but swell from the background with the warmth and unrest of living bodies, exhibiting nothing of the intentional, skillful abstractness of monumental design that underlies the sculptures of ancient Egypt and the Near East. Moreover, it is remarkable that although they are not executed in high relief, these tiny animal figures communicate a very strong suggestion of three-dimensional plastic reality, much closer to life than the willful generalizations of the contemporary artists further westward, whose renditions were based on analysis, skillful choice, and a systematization of outline.

Animal sculpture, in fact, is one of the finest chapters of Indian art. A feeling of profound fellowship and comradeship with the beasts, and with all living things, has inspired Indian thought throughout the ages, and it was certainly present in this early pre-Āryan period. The most significant ethical outcome of the attitude was the commandment not to injure any living thing (*ahiṁsa*), which is one of

the basic laws of Buddhism, Jainism, and of many kindred Indian sects. In the resultant art the animal organism was not observed from without but was felt, as it were, from within, the form itself being seen as but a mask of the universal life-force and substance that inhabits equally the human frame. For according to this view there is no decisive gap between the two modes of existence, animal and human. Through countless lives, in the round of rebirths, the transmigrating life-monad—that imperishable spark or principle which gives life to every living thing—passes again and again through various forms, entering the bodies now of beasts, now of men, now of superhuman beings. This is the meaning of the Indian concept of the life-stream without end (*saṁsāra*). There has sprung from it a feeling for the soul of the animal that has conduced to a sympathetic apprehension of the behavior of the bodily frame—its attitudes and gestures: a kind of intuitive physiognomic, the sensibility of which is unsurpassed in the history of art.

Both the human organism and the animal are experienced in Indian sculpture from within. Welling from an interior life center, a current pervades and animates the body, pressing out against the surface and pervading the sensitively modeled limbs. The frame created by the profile and its outline is not allowed to predominate over the body substance; the material itself gives up its quality of stone or metal and is transubstantiated into life. This particular miracle of Indian sculpture is first made evident to us in the animal symbols of Mohenjo-daro. It is next made evident, millenniums later, in certain masterpieces of the Maurya period (third century B.C.), for example in the bull on an Aśokan pillar (Text *Pl. B7b* Plate *B7b*).[19] And the same profound sensitivity still is evident, after another thousand years, in the recumbent bull in the Kṛṣṇa cave of Māmallapuram *Pl. 292* (seventh century A.D.), visible in Plate *292*, which is a work of the Pallava craftsmen of the South. In such an art the distinction between sculpture in the round and relief is obliterated. Though defined by a profile of bold and simple contours, the figure emerges fully from its background, and there is such a balancing of the typical generic traits of the beast that an illusion is created of individual animation. A gently glowing vitality throbs from a center of interior force, subdued by the meek and quiet nature of the ruminant. The repose of the magnificent figure is filled with the pulse and warmth of actual life.

Let me, for the sake of comparison, call attention to certain typical qualities of the arts of Mesopotamia and Egypt. This will make clear both the power and the *Pl. A14* singularity of the style of Mohenjo-daro. Text Plate *A14* shows Gilgamesh, the *Pl. A15* conqueror of the lion, and *A15* an Assyrian king hunting lions. In Mesopotamian art proficiency consisted in the ability to achieve a superiority of design.

[19] Cf. *supra*, p. 5.

Profiles were emphasized. The reliefs are comparatively low and flat, clinging to the background and so rendering (intentionally) a very distinctive projection of three-dimensional forms into the hardly rippled surface of an almost two-dimensional drawing. It was through a rigorous consequentiality in the rendition of this two-dimensional view, together with a masterful technique, that the superb effects were achieved. One cannot say that the style is either superior or inferior to that of Mohenjo-daro. The means were as different as the intentions. In Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Indus Valley, three contrasting presentations of life—and specifically of animal life—were carried equally to maturity, virtuosity, and perfection. Three conceptions of nature were rendered; three views of what is essential and most eloquent in the forms of animals and of human beings.

In Egypt—as already noted—animal sculpture retained a close affinity with the hieratic forms of the ancient script. The formulae developed by the scribes painting hieroglyphic figures on the walls of temples became standards for the visualizing of the animals themselves, and for the rendition of other beings as well. Mesopotamian art was equally bound, in its sense of design, to the technique of inscribing texts in cuneiform. The chisel of the sculptor, working like that of an engraver, was governed by the writing that often accompanies the relief. Thus, both in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, relief sculpture and writing constituted, to some extent, two branches of a single craft, and the task of the sculptor in the round was to create concordant three-dimensional forms. In Text Plate *A12* the *Pl. A12*
symbolism of expressive profiles and outlines has been brought to a perfection unsurpassed.

Conventionalizing impulses and limitations such as resulted from these two highly developed techniques of writing seem never to have touched early Indian art. We do not know whence the pictographic script of the Indus civilization was derived—whether it was borrowed or belonged to some ancient native Indian tradition. There is one fact, however, with respect to alphabets and the art of writing in later India that may have some bearing on the argument; namely, that India never invented any of her later alphabets but received them all from the Near East—from the sphere of the ancient Sumero-Semitic civilizations—either directly or through the mediation of Persia. The Brāhmans, from the time of their entrance into India until long after the opening of the Buddhist era, handed down their sacred Vedas orally; and the majority of the Buddhist traditions contained in the Pāli canon (which go back, in part at least, to the Buddha's lifetime in the fifth century B.C.) were also oral until *c.* 80 B.C., when they were committed to writing by the order of a king of Ceylon (that is to say, by a king

outside the bounds of India proper).[20] The still more ancient tradition of the Jainas found its way into writing even later. And among Brāhmans to this day the oral authority of the living teacher, the guru who knows by heart the whole encyclopedia of his sacred lore, is regarded as superior to that of even the most honored manuscripts. The latter count and serve only as additional help—like notes jotted to assist the memory—notwithstanding that they are looked upon as holy and are revered as the very face of the goddess Vāc-Sarasvatī, the patroness of learning and speech.

For the history of Indian sculpture it has been a factor of decisive moment that in Indian civilization writing, until comparatively late, was used solely for secular purposes: business contracts, grants of land, and dedicatory inscriptions assigning buildings or objects to some divinity or holy community. Writing was never an intrinsic part of the holy revelation and the sacred tradition. Following its introduction during the final centuries of the first millennium B.C., it remained for a very long period a merely practical, technical device, endowed with no character of sanctity or higher meaning. And this accounts for the utter freedom with which the Indian sculptural tradition could evolve its own forms, producing works of an exquisitely refined realism, never stylized to conform to some hieratic script.

Sculpture in Greek antiquity had to fight to free itself from the wall to which it originally clung in the styles inherited by Greece from the ancient Near East, and to disengage itself from the block of stone out of which it was carved; but in India no such battle seems ever to have been necessary. Abundant freedom, buoyant vitality, and a superb realization of plastic values are tellingly evident in
Pl. 258, 259 the figures of Plates *258* and *259*, and particularly so when these works of the eighth century A.D. are compared with a specimen of Egyptian art (Text Plate
Pl. A13a *A13a*). A complete absence of stereometric conceptions of proportion permitted the Indian artist to visualize and express an ideal of organic life, flowering with a gentle yet rich vitality that transformed the austere, stern, and silent matter of the stone to something resilient, swinging, full of music and the breath of life—much more like blossoms or fruits swelling with sweet juice than like the hard, solid matter out of which they were carved.

Such plastic forms, and the underlying conception of an organism full of sap, glowing with life, whose smooth surface swells with gentle energies from within, belonged to Indian art from its beginnings in the age of the Indus civilization.
Pl. 3a Plate *3*, top left shows the torso of a statuette in red stone, from Harappā. The body is represented as a volume modeled throughout by a life-force pressing from the interior, without constraint, activating every particle of the surface. The

[20] Cf. *supra*, p. 8, Editor's note.

figure, indeed, is so full of strength that it appears to be large, though it is actually very small, only three and three-quarter inches high. In later Indian art this same physical type recurs as a norm for divinities in whom the force of creative activity is to be shown; for example, in the yakṣas, or local tutelary deities, who are the lusty guardians of the treasures of the earth (Text Plates *B5* and *6a*). Pl. B5, 6a

A fortunate discovery among the remains of Mohenjo-daro was the bronze figurine of a dancing girl shown in Plate *3c*. Pl. 3c The bangles on her arms served by their tinkling to mark the rhythm of her steps. The figure immediately reminds one of the *deva-dāsīs*—"slave girls or female servants (*dāsī*) of the god (*deva*)"—who are the dancers institutionally attached to certain Hindu temples. For a god's temple is the earthly copy of his celestial abode, reproducing the paradise wherein the pious devotee hopes to share, after death, the beatitude of the deity's presence. A divine *corps de ballet*—a celestial troupe of damsels serving as dancers, singers, and actresses—will be one of the chief entertainments at the kingly court; and on earth, in the deity's temples, their counterparts are the nautch or dancing girls, the devadāsīs. It is apparent that in this little bronze the same realism has been achieved as in the modeling of the stone of the male dancer discussed above. The statuette is notable particularly for its treatment of the slim back and the long legs, and for its alert resiliency and refined force. The body of the graceful, slender girl is full of the dynamism of life, the same hidden energy welling from within that constitutes one of the most characteristic features of classic Indian art. Moreover, there is a provocative tilt to the hip joint that foreshadows a conventional posture highly typical of the later figures, particularly those of female divinities. The piece shown in Plates *416–418*, for example, is a Pl. 416–418 late bronze from southern India, dating from *c.* 1200 A.D. It represents the consort of Śiva, the goddess Devī, as Pārvatī, the daughter of the Mountain King, Himālaya. The resemblance of the form and posture to those of the Indus Valley dancing girl suggests a continuity of at least four thousand years for this particular ideal of feminine grace.

The historian has to bear in mind when estimating the probable role of the early Indus cities, firstly, that a connection existed with Mesopotamia. In fact this connection is what supplied our clue for the dating of the remains. Obviously, however, as shown by the comparison of the art styles, the connection was not one of cultural identity but a consequence of commercial intercourse. Secondly, the cult of the Mother Goddess indicates that the Indus cities were part of a widely diffused neolithic culture that extended from the Adriatic to the Far East and was focused chiefly in the valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Tigris, Helmand, and Indus. Thirdly, the Indus cities harbored a number of basic elements of

Indian religion, art, and symbolism that disappear from the historian's view following the arrival of the Āryans, but become visible again the moment stone monuments reappear (i.e., in the Maurya Buddhist art of the third to first centuries B.C.). Furthermore, the same elements became increasingly conspicuous when certain aspects of the pre-Āryan religious traditions returned to view in Buddhism, Jainism, and later Hinduism. And finally, the best of the figures on the Indus seals, as well as the few statuettes preserved to us, are distinguished by a feeling for form and a broadness of treatment unequaled in the contemporary glyptic arts of the neighboring civilizations of Elam, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. These reliefs do not aim at vivid profiles or silhouettes but at a refined illusion of three-dimensional reality. The vitality of the tiny organisms, the sense of a life-energy welling from within them and swelling to their surfaces, makes manifest at an almost incredibly early date one of the most characteristic traits of later Indian art.

III

THE VEDIC ĀRYAN STYLE

IN STRIKING CONTRAST to the native traditions of India was the religious and cultural heritage of the Āryan herdsmen who entered the subcontinent with their flocks during the second millennium B.C. to make the Gangetic plain their permanent home. Their divinities were not identified with specific localities, sacred rivers, mountains, cities, or lakes, like those of the Dravidian aborigines; they ruled universally in the bright heavens, in the broadly reaching earth, and in the realms between, invisibly, as presiding cosmic presences. Varuṇa was the creator and guardian of the cosmic order; Mitra was the sun-god; Dyaus, the covering sky; Pṛthivi, the broadly stretching earth; Vāyu, the wind-god; Agni, the god of the sacrificial fire. Such deities, like the seminomadic warrior-herdsmen themselves, had no local abodes, no circumscribed sanctuaries in which devotees could experience their presences. They were ubiquitous, ruling in general spheres, and could be summoned to the sacrificial area and altar only by the priest, the Brāhman, through his conjurations. The area for a sacrifice could be laid out almost anywhere, in any auspicious spot. No sacred images were employed, and there were no sacred stones, wells, or trees, no sacred streams or mountains. The only indispensable prerequisites for the invocation and worship of the deities were the hymns and rites of the great Vedic ceremonials of oblation—those valuable formulae that had been handed down from the remote past as the most treasured possessions of the Āryan families.

Whereas in pre-Āryan Indian cults the life-giving waters and the rites centering around them are the most conspicuous element, Āryan worship centers around the fire of the altar and a sacred intoxicant regarded as the beverage of the gods, the holy soma-drink, prepared from the juice of a sacred plant. Agni, the fire-god, is ever-present in the *gārhapatyāgni*—"the fire (*agni*) of the owner (*pati*) of the

house (*gṛha*)"—the household fire kindled when the newly married couple establishes its own household and thereafter kept alive in daily worship with offerings of fuel and melted butter. This lifelong divine companion of the householder is "spread out" (*vitan, vaitāna*), as the term goes, for sacrificial purposes in the service of the various gods; from its flames two other fires are kindled on separate altars: (1) "the fire of the holy offerings" (*āhavanīyāgni*), which serves as a gateway and path to the celestial realms, and (2) "the south fire" (*dakṣiṇāgni*), dedicated to the demon forces supposed to have their abode in the south, which is a door to the sphere of death and destruction. Through these two fire-altars Agni, the fire-god, residing on them temporarily in the form of the kindled flames, serves as messenger (*dūta*). He bears away the gifts to those gods to whom the various formulae and invocations that accompany the sacrifice have assigned them. Receiving the offerings—rice cakes, butter, etc.—into his mouth, he soars up on a trail of flame and smoke, like a bird, into the lofty unseen sphere where the gods abide invisible. And just as a bird feeding its young transports food for them in its beak, so does Agni wing to his divine fellows with the offerings in his blazing, smoking mouth. He knows them all, and he feeds them, like a bird nourishing its young. Whereupon the gods, given strength, accomplish heroic deeds for the Āryan householder, protecting him and his community against their enemies round about, blazing a way to victories, conquests, and rich booties of cattle and gold.

The priest, the Brāhman, knows how to invite and attract into the sacrificial area laid out and purified for the occasion of the ceremony the invisible presences of the gods. He conjures them with hymns and prayers, invoking them by means of the formulae that proved effective for his ancestors. And through the magical power bestowed on him by these incantations (*mantra*), he is able to watch the coming of the gods with his spiritual eye. They appear in swiftly moving cars drawn by celestial horses, the heavenly counterparts of those great covered wagons in which the immigrant Āryans themselves arrived in India for their gradual infiltration and conquest of the northern plain. And having come, the deities take their places on the seats prepared for them on a litter made of blades of a holy grass (*kuśa*). As honored guests, they partake of the holy oblations, and when dismissed, depart.

The Vedic rites by means of which these gods were invoked, worshiped, and sent away were extremely rich in formulae, prayers, and incantations, and yet the whole complex and elaborate liturgy was handed down orally, through millenniums, from one generation of born priests (*brāhmans*) to the next. And the various sacred utensils necessary for its numerous oblations—spoons, ladles, pots, etc.—

were of an extremely archaic simplicity. They were not poor in ornament—not primitive artistically—but completely lacking even in the least hint of ornament. To this day, wherever the Vedic sacrificial rites still are practiced in India (for instance, among the Brāhmans of Poona, in the Western Hills, near Bombay), these same very ancient, stern implements still are in use. The complete absence of all decorative symbolism contrasts dramatically with the rich adornment usual in Indian ritual objects. Such implements no more pretend to be works of art than do those of a modern chemical laboratory. They are designed to serve as tools in the magical chemistry of the sacrifice, which conjures and controls the forces of the cosmos. They express no meaning; they do not hint, through figure and ornament, at an idea; they are simply what they are: ladles, spoons, and pots.

In our Text Plate *B1* we see this bare and simple kitchen-battery of the alchemy *Pl. B1* of the sacrifice, by which the forces of nature, in the form of divine personalities, were manipulated by the Brāhman conjurors. At the bottom is a ladle (*k*) with a long handle and a narrow channel at its lengthened tip. This type of implement, *juhū*, was used in the main act of the oblation, called *juhoti*, when the priest poured an offering of melted butter into the altar fire to feed the fire-god and through him the other deities. The priest, while doing so, intoned the words, *juhvā juhomi*, "I pour out the offering (*juhomi*) with the offering-ladle (*juhvā*)." The ladle is comparable to a tongue; *juhū* therefore is an esoteric, secret substitute-name for the "tongue" (*jihva*), and the formula is to be understood as connoting, simultaneously, "I pour out the offering (*juhomi*) with my tongue (*jihvai*)."

There is a verse in the *Ṛg-veda*:

imā girā ādityebhah ghṛtasnūh
sanād rājabhyo juhvā juhomi[1]

"These stanzas of praise, dripping with melted butter, I am pouring out perpetually through this offering-ladle, as an offering to the kingly gods of heaven." The ladle in the hand of the priest and his tongue uttering the hymns of praise are identical, as are likewise the melted butter and the verses of the prayers poured out by the priestly tongue for the gods.

Above the left end of the *juhū* in our picture is a long ladle with a very small bowl (*c*). This so-called *sruva* served to dip small quantities of melted butter into the *juhū*. To the right of this (*d*) is a *musala*, a pestle for husking rice; and the little wooden cup at the extreme right (*h*), the so-called *ulūkhala*, is the mortar in which this operation took place. The *musala* and *ulūkhala* were used, moreover, for crushing the stalks of the sacred soma plant, pressing out their juice for the in-

[1] *Ṛg-veda* 2. 27. 1.

toxicating divine beverage that is the main offering in sacrifices to Indra. Indra, the warlike, heroic king of all the gods, was the heavenly archetype of the Āryan feudal noble, the divine model of the conquering and reigning Kṣatriya prince and king. In the later period his cult declined and all but disappeared when he was superseded by the deities of later Hinduism, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the Goddess. But in the Vedic age his cult was supreme—as were his gifts: those of battle-courage and victory, goods, and a wealth of cows and horses.

The double-bowled vessel at the left (*b*), the *phalīkaraṇa-pātra*, is designed to hold the husks separated from the grains of the offered rice, and the daggerlike staff (*sphya*) in the middle of the picture (*e*) was used for stirring the rice while it was being prepared. Right of this *sphya* is (*f*) a *mekṣaṇa*, a "mixing stick," to stir the sacrificial meals in the vessel and to fish out morsels; and to the right of the *mekṣaṇa* is (*g*) a *dhṛṣṭi*, a small fire shovel, that was used to move apart the glowing coals of the altar fire.

By the gentle hand of this wooden fire-shovel, as it moves apart the fuel, the demonic forces (*rākṣas*) are dispelled from the fiery substance and it is turned into a benevolent helpful agent. "Thou art the *dhṛṣṭi*," says the priest, as he takes up the implement; "support the holy word." Then he prays: "Burn thou the hand of the demon; thou art the serpent of the deep." And he pushes two burning coals out of the household fire in the westward direction, but in such a way that they remain within the fireplace, praying: "Come forth, O Fire-God, strike the fire that consumes raw flesh." He flings one of the two coals out of the fireplace, northwestward, saying: "Scare away the fire that consumes raw flesh"; and he transfers the other southward, to the place in the hearth where the cake-offerings are to be baked, with the prayer: "Lead hither the fire that honors the gods." Setting down on this coal one of the little bowls intended for the baking of the cake-offering, he prays: "Thou art secure; make the earth secure, make the length of life secure, make progeny secure, and move the members of the family around this arranger of the offering." [2] Thus the fire has been transformed from something wild into a holy vehicle that will not burn or otherwise harm mankind, but gently serve the offering.[3]

The wooden vessel (*a*) at the top of the picture, known as *iḍā-pātra*, held the offerings of milk and curd, etc., called *iḍā*. The one at a slant in the lower right-hand corner (*j*), the *praṇītā-praṇayana*, was used to carry holy water. And the leaf-shaped vessel in the corresponding position at the left (*i*), the *prāśitra-*

[2] *Āpastambaśrautasūtra* 1. 22. 1–2.

[3] Cf. Willem Caland, tr., *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, Vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1921), p. 42; also, W. Caland and Victor Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906, 2 vols.).

haraṇa, was for the portion of the offering eaten by the Brāhman at the sacrifice.

All of these utensils have about them the quality of the Stone Age. There is no metal anywhere; they are of wood even where they come in contact with the fire. And they are of an impressive simplicity. Made to lend support to the omnipotence of the magical priestly syllables, their forms were determined strictly by their functions. They are, as it were, imitations, continuations, or amplifications of the priestly hand and tongue. And the homeland of such simplicity was not India, but those Central Asian steppes whence the late descendants of the Old Stone Age hunters poured southward and westward, during the second millennium B.C., not only into India, but also into the ancient culture-lands of the Mediterranean: Syria, Anatolia, Crete, Egypt, and the semibarbarous peninsulas of Italy and Greece.

IV

MESOPOTAMIAN PATTERNS IN INDIAN ART

1. Gods Standing on Animals

INDIA seems to have been in touch with the neighboring civilizations in the West through all periods of her history. Her ancient relationship with Mesopotamia and Egypt was the consequence of a seagoing commerce that scudded along the southern coasts of Iran and Arabia almost automatically, favored by winds that blow, according to season, either eastward or westward. Her contacts with the later Persian civilization, which conquered Mesopotamia and Egypt in the sixth century B.C. and inherited the main achievements of Babylonian science and art, were those of a more immediate commercial, diplomatic, and military neighborliness. And finally, when Alexander broke the Persian power and sent Occidental influences, in the form of Hellenism, pouring with his armies into Bactria and the Indus area, India's response became manifest in a widely influential development, within the conquered provinces, of a Greco-Roman style of Buddhist art.

The French archaeologist C. L. Fabri has sought to estimate the force of ancient Mesopotamia in the style and technique of the artists of the Bhārhut stūpa through a comparative study of such details as those of hairdress, ornament, and costume.[1] I shall not repeat his minute analysis. What I wish to point to, rather, are the more obvious, larger evidences of a broad and fundamental iconographic influence.

Figure 1 reproduces a rock carving, dating from about the fourteenth century B.C., that was discovered on the wall of a cliff at the great Hittite sanctuary of

[1] C. L. Fabri, "Mesopotamian and Early Indian Art: Comparisons," *Études d'orientalisme, publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Vol. I (Paris, 1932).

Yazilikaya, one mile east of the ancient Hittite capital, near Bogazköy, in the heart of modern Turkey. At the left we see a deity, bearing in his right hand a mace and in his left a thunderbolt, girded with a sword, and standing on the



Fig. 1. Hittite rock relief. Yazilikaya. c. XIV *century* B.C.

shoulders of two men. He confronts a goddess, who is poised above a lion. Two bulls are visible between them, bounding toward each other. And behind the goddess, in her train, are three smaller divinities: a male, poised, like the goddess, above a lion, and two females, who appear to be floating above a double-headed eagle. Professor Friedrich Hrozny has identified these five stately figures as the Hittite weather-god and sun-goddess, with their son, the young vegetation-god who annually dies and is resurrected, and their daughter and grandchild.[2] The scene is to be envisioned as taking place far aloft, in the highest mountains; for the lions are shown striding majestically from peak to peak.

Now compare Plate *285*, depicting the Indian goddess Durgā on her vāhana, *Pl. 285* the lion. *Vāhana*, the Sanskrit term for the animals and other beings that appear beneath the feet of deities in Indian art, means "vehicle" or "mount." The lion was the mount of the Goddess in the Indian as well as in the Mediterranean sphere. Apparently the formula of the vāhana was adopted early in India for divinities of the pre-Āryan tradition. Numerous examples appear on the pillars of the Bhārhut stūpa, accompanied by inscriptions giving the names of the divinities; and though not more than a few of these are familiar to us from the literary tradition as individual gods, almost all belong to certain well-known types that are revered in the popular religion to the present day.

The figure in Plate *35*, right, for example, standing on an elephant, is labeled *Pl. 35b* "Supavasu Yakṣa." Yakṣas, no less than nāgas, must have been very popular in the pre-Āryan tradition, to judge from the frequency of their occurrence both on

[2] See Professor Hrozny's article on the "Hittites" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, Vol. II, p. 606.

early Buddhist monuments and in later Indian art. Dwelling in the hills and mountains, they are the guardians of the precious metals, stones, and jewels in the womb of the earth, and so are bestowers of riches and prosperity. Two yakṣas commonly are represented standing at either side of doors, carved on the door-posts, as the guardians of the welfare of the home, and, according to Buddhist literary sources, a common feature in the inner yard of the ancient Hindu household was the standing figure of a gigantic yakṣa as the tutelary god of the house. The images of yakṣa kings and queens generally show them supported, like the god in the relief at Yazilikaya, by vāhanas in human form. These are minor
Pl. 33a yakṣas acting as their servants. In Plate *33*, left, is a female yakṣa—a yakṣī—supported by a male yakṣa, kneeling and holding her up with his two arms.

Pl. 35a At the left of Plate *35* is a nāga, recognizable as such by the halo of five snake heads with expanded hoods. As guardians of the life-giving element of the waters, nāgas are closely associated with the earthly yakṣas. This one is named Cakravāka Nāga, after an aquatic bird, the ruddy goose, called cakravāka, which is supposed to feed on raindrops. Since he is a lord and guardian of the waters, the nāga is shown standing above a pond full of fish and turtles—a particularly vivid rendition of the primitive sense of the juxtaposition of a standing divinity with the characterizing symbol beneath his feet. Basically, the vehicle denotes the sphere of the god's influence: the element or realm in which his power prevails.

The hosts of the yakṣas, guarding the treasures of the earth, are the inmates of a realm commanded by a supreme king known in Sanskrit as Kubera. Written "Kupiro Yakkho" in the local dialect of Bhārhut, the name is inscribed on the
Pl. 34a pillar in Plate *34a*, where the deity is shown supported by a crouching member of his company. The usual epithet of this yakṣa king is *Nara-vāhana*, "he whose vehicles are men"; for yakṣas support him on their backs and draw his chariot. The present bearer, humble and devoutly smiling, has bell-shaped ears like those of a cow.

Viṣṇu is usually borne through the sky on the sun-bird Garuḍa, and when recumbent on the waters rests on the cosmic serpent Ananta; Śiva rides the white bull Nandi, and Brahmā a swan; the Goddess fares to battlefields on her lion; while Kubera, as we have just seen, stands on a manlike yakṣa, one of his own mighty and numerous host. The ancient Mesopotamian hieroglyphic juxtaposition of the human form of a god with a symbol denoting his special realm and power has thus been altered in India to fit the idea of a deity actually supported by his vehicle or carriage. In the examples of Viṣṇu recumbent on Ananta and Śiva borne by the milk-white bull, it is clear that the vāhana is simply an alternate form—derived from the animal realm—of the manifestation of the god's divine essence.

Comparably, when the goddess Devī rides her lion, the mount not only denotes but is itself a manifestation of her warlike wrath, her invincible valor, and so presages her ultimate victory over the demon-enemy. The lion is an emanation of that disastrous, terrific aspect of the Goddess's omnipotent presence which, when aroused, results inevitably in the annihilation of whatever foe she meets.

The human aspects of gods, in characteristic attitudes and bearing significant ornaments, implements, and weapons, always remain closely associated in Indian art with their animal symbols. The vehicle generally appears at the base, immediately beneath the standing or seated human form. The bull of Śiva and the lion of the Goddess are reposing at the foot of their common throne in Plate *387*. Such *Pl. 387* symbols are invaluable to the archaeologist, since they are sometimes his sole clues to the identity of the gods depicted: not a few of the more common attitudes, gestures, and weapons are shared by a number of Indian deities, but the vehicles are never interchanged. They are absolutely dependable, therefore, as labels, where, as occasionally happens, one would otherwise be uncertain.

The Hindu deity represented in the small Cambodian bronze at the top of Plate *564* is supported by a birdlike winged figure with a human torso—which is an un- *Pl. 564a* mistakable vāhana: namely Garuḍa, Viṣṇu's mount. This bird, "the fair-winged one" (*suparṇa*), appears in later Indian architecture as the carrier not only of the god but even of his temple. As already noted,[3] the idea responsible for the form of a Hindu temple is that of its being an earthly copy, on a reduced scale, of the celestial paradise of the god concerned. It is a heavenly mansion composed of levels of pavilions, terraces, ponds, and gardens, rising above each other as though covering on every side the slopes of a celestial mountain. In the monuments of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa style at Elūrā this concept is most evident; for instance, in the ornate spire of the rock-hewn sanctuary of Śiva as the Lord of Mount Kailāsa (Plate *204*). Here one sees tiers of pavilions rising above each other and peopled with *Pl. 204* gods and other blissful celestial inmates. On the uppermost terrace, in a recumbent, peaceful posture, rests Śiva's bull and vehicle, Nandi, guarding the central palace that crowns this representation of Śiva's paradise; for the god himself is supposed to be residing within the culminating abode. Another version of the same basic principle (Plate *354*) represents the heavenly realm as freely floating *Pl. 354* in upper space. An earthly temple of this type is called a "chariot" (*vimāna*) and is to be thought of as a huge car of infinite dimensions flying in the heavens and moving at will—like some vast air liner in the stratosphere, or rather, a whole fleet of such liners with the passengers soaring back and forth independently between.

The vimāna is a heavenly caravan of residences for innumerable celestial

[3] *Supra*, pp. 10–11.

inmates, all enjoying the presence of the god; and as such the full constellation—comprising the kingly capital in its circumference, with countless buildings, towers, and pavilions—may be thought of as supported by the god's vehicle, or vāhana. This is why on certain of the Viṣṇu temples in Cambodia rows of Garuḍas standing erect, with uplifted hands, support the foundations of the whole temple
Pl. 583 area. Plate 583 shows a detail from one of the terraces at Aṅkor Thoṁ. These buildings, constructed under the Khmer dynasty, served simultaneously as a Viṣṇu temple and the fortress of the king, who was supposed to be a living incarnation or "descent" (*avatār*) of the god. Such a king, the manifestation of a particle of the deity's divine supramundane totality made flesh, completed with his presence the allegory of the temple as the god's heavenly residence on earth. For such a king, indeed, it was only fitting that he should reside within and rule his Earthly Paradise from a templelike palace that in every detail was a faithful copy of the god's supramundane abode.

In this way a convenient device of ancient Mesopotamian art came to play a prominent role in Indian iconography and was applied to all the dominant divinities of the pantheon, even where some of the combinations were incongruous and even ridiculous; for example, in the case of the huge, pot-bellied, elephant-headed Gaṇeśa—the "Lord (*īśa*) of the Hosts (*gaṇa*)," who was the son and master-of-the-hosts of Śiva and the Goddess—when he was shown sitting on his vāhana,
Pl. 426 the rat (Plate 426). Gaṇeśa is known as Vighneśvara, the "Lord (*īśvara*) of Obstacles (*vighna*)," since he is capable of removing any barrier from the path of a devotee. He clears the way by pushing aside whatever lies across the road. The elephant, therefore, is an appropriate form for him; it can forge ahead even through pathless thickets and virgin forests. It can swim rivers, lakes, and other bodies of water, and with its great trunk it tears down the branches that block its way and even uproots trees. The print of its feet, moreover, is the largest of all footprints: where an elephant has trod any smaller animal can follow. That is why the doctrine of the Buddha is compared to the footprint of the elephant. The all-comprehending wisdom of the Enlightened One, in its circumference, encompasses and transcends all partial, limited forms of knowledge. It is the supreme path, conducing to that understanding and omniscience which lies beyond the realm of ignorance and illusion.

But the rat is no less marvelous than the elephant as a finder and maker of the way. It has a peculiar talent for entering buildings—homes, larders, and granaries—and is wonderfully successful in overcoming whatever defenses men can put in its path. Gaṇeśa, therefore, as the Lord of Obstacles, combines the animal features of the elephant and the rat. His irresistible force, progressing toward and

attaining the goal, goes ahead like an elephant through jungle or like a rat into the most carefully protected larder. Gaṇeśa is invoked in India at the beginning of every sort of enterprise, and at the openings of manuscripts for the safe progress and promotion of whatever teachings they may contain.

The vāhana, this ultimately Mesopotamian device, placing an animal under a human form to indicate the nature of the divine being or force represented, is still popular in all civilizations influenced by Indian ideas and works of art. In Text Plate *B8* is Virūpākṣa, the king of nāgas, in the earliest Buddhist temple of Japan, *Pl. B8* at Hōryūji, which dates from the first half of the seventh century A.D. Virūpākṣa's Japanese title is Kōmoku-ten, "the Celestial King Kōmoku," and he stands on the crouching figure of a yakṣa in the form of a man. The posture of the elbows and back of the supporting figure is exactly that of the vāhana of Kupiro Yakkho on the Bhārhut pillar, which was fashioned in India more than seven centuries before.

In the sanctuary of Hōryūji, Kōmoku-ten is represented as one of the four godly kings who guard the quarters of the world, and all four stand on yakṣa vāhanas in the posture of the one here shown. The quarter of Kōmoku-ten (Virūpākṣa) is the west. Zōchō-ten (Virūḍhaka, the lord of gnomes) is the guardian of the south; Jikoku-ten (Dhṛtarāṣṭra, king of the gandharvas) watches the east; and Bishamon-ten (Kubera himself, from whom, undoubtedly, the yakṣa vehicles of all four have been derived) is the master of the north. These four, according to the pre-Āryan cosmology of India, have their domains on the four slopes of the quadrangular central mountain of the universe, Mount Sumeru, which rises from the mid-point of the surface of the earth (somewhat to the north of the Himālayan ranges) as the vertical axis of the egg-shaped cosmos. The jeweled slopes of this mountain are peopled by divine beings, among whom are the nāgas, gnomes, gandharvas, and yakṣas, while on the quadrangular summit stand the palatial mansions of the great gods, the "deathless ones" (*amara*). This summit is known, therefore, as Amarāvatī, "The Town Immortal," and it is the capital of Indra, the king of the Hindu pantheon. The mythology of Sumeru and Amarāvatī was adapted in the early Buddhist stūpas to the celebration of the Buddha: the kings of the quarters, the so-called "Protectors of the World" (*lokapāla*), stand guard precisely as in Hindu sanctuaries. In the Hindu temples they watch the four entrances; at the four gates of the railings of the Buddhist stūpas, which likewise open to the quarters, they stand guard also. And wherever the Doctrine of the Buddha went in the Far East these pre-Āryan divinities of India followed, together with their hosts. Hence they function to this day as naturalized members of the popular pantheons of China, Korea, and Japan.

Ultimately, the concept of Sumeru and its divine population points back to an

extremely archaic age; for it is represented in the tall temple towers, the ziggurats, of ancient Mesopotamia as well as in the pagodas, stūpas, and towering temples of the modern East.

2. The Heaven-Bird and the Earth-Serpent

ANOTHER familiar symbol in Indian art and religion pointing back to ancient Mesopotamia, and so reminding us of the enduring connection that must have existed between India and its Western neighbors, is that of the antagonism of the bird and the serpent. This is a theme familiar equally in Persian art; yet it was not from Persia—at least not from Persia alone—that the element entered the Indian tradition. For many of the motifs common to India and Persia were borrowed from a common source, in the main independently; and this accounts both for the partial similarities and for the considerable differences that are apparent the moment any homologous portions of the two traditions are compared. Before and during the Maurya period, from the sixth to the third centuries B.C., there was a direct influence from Persia upon India; but the intercourse between the two regions dates from a period long antecedent to the rise of the Persian empire. Indeed, it now seems clear that the extent of the earlier exchange was considerable: Babylonian merchants voyaged to India; Indian vessels visited the shores of the Persian Gulf and even penetrated to the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. It was the matter of only a few weeks' voyage, along the coast of Makran, to move from one of these spheres of civilization to the other.

During that period (from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C.) the architectural and sculptural achievements of the Mesopotamian world seem to have been in advance of those of India. Small objects of art, as well as important patterns and motifs, must have been continually arriving through commercial channels and impressing their forms on Indian artifacts. In the early Buddhist legends of the Jātakas—which, in their stories of the Buddha's earlier existences, reshaped much older, pre-Buddhistic materials—there is a yarn that tells of a company of merchants sailing from Babylon (called "Baveru") and returning to their Mesopotamian homeland with numerous articles of Indian export, including a precious

bird, the peacock, whose first home was India.[4] Also, there was an early Indian alphabet, the so-called Brāhmī script, which originated, *c.* 850 B.C., from a Phoenician model that arrived by way of Mesopotamia as a result of maritime commerce between the great metropolis of Babylon and the western Indian ports.

The votive stones of Text Plate *B2*, under a holy tree in Anekal, Mysore, in the *Pl. B2a* central part of the Deccan (Middle India), must have some connection with this ancient trade in objects from Mesopotamia. Mysore is in the center of the Dravidian region. Such stones are known as *nāgakals* and are set up as votive tablets to snake-divinities by women desiring children. The slabs can be seen in groups in temple courtyards, at the entrances of villages and towns, near ponds (the waters of which are supposed to be populated by nāgas), or under trees (which from immemorial times have been associated with the worship of serpents, since trees indicate that there is water in the ground). When their reliefs have been carved, the nāgakals are placed for a period of six months in some pond, to become imbued with the life-force of the watery element, and then are consecrated with a ritual and with sacred formulae (*mantras*), after which they are set up beneath two trees, a pippala and a numba. These are often found together, and are looked upon as a married couple. The nāgas, whose blessing is being invoked, are supposed to dwell among the roots.

The reliefs, it will be observed, are various. Some represent a serpent-queen with a human body but a serpent tail instead of legs, the head being protected by a shield composed of a number of snake heads with expanded hoods. This is the South Indian serpent mother, Mudāmā (compare Plate *436*). She folds her arms *Pl. 436* above her breasts and carries in them two serpent children. Other stones show a many-headed serpent with expanded hoods, while in others a pair of serpents appears, twined in amorous embrace, and with heads facing: a motif familiar from Mesopotamian art and of particular interest in the present context, since it is not likely that in two closely neighboring civilizations such a striking pattern would have been independently developed.

The motif appears at an extremely early date in Mesopotamia, on a celebrated religious piece that is now in the collection of the Louvre at Paris: the sacrificial goblet of King Gudea of Lagash, a Mesopotamian monarch of the Sumerian period, *c.* 2600 B.C. It is possible that the pattern was early introduced into India and there preserved in the conservative local traditions of Middle and South Indian folklore. King Gudea's goblet shows the entwined snakes, but also a fabulous beast provided with wings, walking erect on eagle's claws and with lion's

[4] *Jātaka* 339.

front paws (Figure 2). This is an early version of the same divinity that was to evolve in India into Garuḍa, the "fair-feathered one" (*suparṇa*), the golden-winged bird who is now the vehicle of Viṣṇu. On the goblet this birdlike being, belonging to the sky and firmament, is associated with the entwined snakes who denote the life-giving, fertilizing element of the terrestrial waters; and precisely the same association is general in the mythology of India, where Garuḍa, the

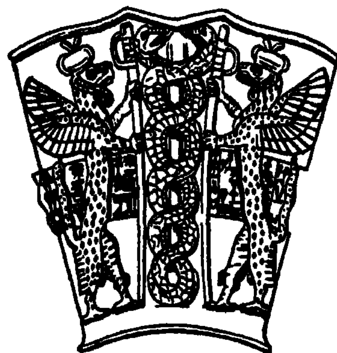


Fig. 2. The Goblet of King Gudea. Sumer. c. 2600 B.C.

sun-bird, is constantly giving battle to the nāgas, who represent the waters, the
Pl. 498 rivulets, and the springs welling from the ground. Plate 498 is the tomb portrait of a Javanese king in the guise of the god Viṣṇu on his vehicle, Garuḍa. We see the great sun-bird in a triumphant attitude above two gigantic snakes and treading down their bodies. The heavenly bird, dwelling in the air, and the serpent, living in the interior of Mother Earth, are old-time antagonists, perennial enemies. Their unremitting conflict is an allegory of the fierce impact of the sun in the subtropical zone on the life-sap of the vegetal and animal realms, parching the soil, swallowing and annihilating the waters wherever they appear on the surface of the earth. The two are linked by virtue of their mutually compensatory characters. The heavens blaze with the relentless, desiccating energy of the glowing sun, while the earth, from within, yields the boons of the moisture of life.

Father Heaven (*dyaus pitar* in India; *Zeus pater*, *Juppiter* in the West) and Mother Earth (the goddess discussed *supra*, pp. 21–22) were complementary mythological figures known to all the early Indo-European peoples and consequently familiar to the Āryan immigrants into India. They were symbolically associated with the roles of the two sexes, both in their functioning as cosmological principles and in their traditional relationships to the social order. The king of birds, the eagle, ruling the ethereal realm and symbolizing the sun and the unfettered far-flying celestial bodies, stood for Father Heaven; whereas the serpent, winding on the ground like a river, dwelling within the earth and coming forth like

a fountain, represented from immemorial times the mysterious productive energies of Mother Earth. The serpent typifies those powers in the hidden recesses of the ground that keep the nourishing waters of life refreshed; and it is regarded, therefore, as the guardian of the fertilizing element as well as of the other treasures that rest within the womb of the earth, the metals and the precious stones.

Earth, the primordial life-mother, nourishes all her creatures with the substances of her bosom, yet also devours them. She is the common grave. And between the crises of birth and death she holds to herself the life that she has brought forth, denying to it the unbound freedom of the celestial reaches. She is consequently malignant as well as benign. She is by nature opposed to the infinitudes of heaven —the free sway of the unbound spirit, disentangled from the fetters of life's earthly sources, which rises like an eagle into the blazing azure. Heaven and earth, the sovereign spirit and the tenacious, vigorous life-force, are opposed principles, and their opposition is symbolized in the dualism of eagle and snake. The former typifies the immortality of the spiritual principle freed from the bondages of earth, flying into the stainless, translucent ether, to enter a timeless sphere of divine eternal being beyond the stars, while the latter is an animal that is supposed to be particularly tenacious of life. The serpent rejuvenates itself by sloughing its skin and so represents the perennial recrudescence of vital energy in the sphere of living matter.

The symbolic animals on the Sumerian chalice—the entwined serpents and the great bird with a crown, bearing a staff or spear—migrated at an early period westward into Greece as well as eastward into India; for we read in the *Iliad* that an eagle, soaring above the Greek heroes and bearing in its claws a bleeding snake, was interpreted as an auspicious omen by the soothsaying priest Kalchas, who regarded it as an augury of the victory over Troy; the conquest of the female principle of Asia by the paternal heavenly order of the Greeks. The female principle, in the person of the goddess Aphrodite, had enticed Helen to break the moral bounds of the paternal order, to forsake her Achaean husband and to choose, immorally, a mate of her own. This ancient Asiatic ideal of feminine freedom, to which Helen had yielded in her flight to Troy and which in defiance of the claims of her European lord-husband was now being defended by the Trojan relatives of her lover Paris, would be overpowered—so declared the omen of the sun-bird—by the male force of the paternal order of manly Greece. In the iconography of Hinduism the same aggressive solar attitude as that which gave heart to the Homeric host is traditionally associated with the symbolism of the bird.

The serpent-eagle symbol is possessed of a vitality beyond the ages. In modern

literature it recurs in the prophetic prose poem of an outstanding nineteenth-century philologist-philosopher (who may have borrowed it from Homer), namely in Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra.* In this work the author's alter ego and hero, Zarathustra, has two boon companions who share his mountain solitude. They are projections or embodiments of aspects of his own genius: "The proudest and the shrewdest among animals," an eagle and a snake. The symbol has thus come down to us full of force. And yet it is probably more ancient even than the document through which we first become aware of it—this golden, Sumerian, sacramental chalice, which is more than four and a half thousand years old.

The combat between the solar bird and the terrestrial snake is in India explained by an old myth belonging to the later Vedic tradition. The text in which it occurs is a kind of ballad in dialogue called the "Chapter of the Fair-Winged Bird" (*suparṇādhyāya*).[5] This work is a kind of appendix or added chapter to the ancient tradition of the Brāhmans, yet contains ideas concerning heaven and earth that are far from orthodox and were derived, apparently, from an old pre-Āryan stock of mythical lore. Instead of the Indo-European Father Heaven (Dyaus pitar, Zeus pater, Juppiter), we find a feminine personification of heaven and meet with an old god-creator completely unknown to the Vedic Āryans, the tortoise-man Kaśyapa. Whenever this mythical tortoise (*kaśyapa, kūrma*) is encountered, one can be certain that an extremely old stratification of symbolical teaching has been touched. In India the tortoise-man has two wives, Vinatā, Heaven, and Kadrū, the Earth. He is an archaic manifestation of the "Lord of All Creatures" (*prajāpati*), who procreated the universe and its beings. In the later Hindu tradition the form of the tortoise became one of the main manifestations of Viṣṇu, as the second of his seven (or sometimes ten) avatārs.

Now the wives of the tortoise-man conceived by him and gave birth (not inappropriately) to a number of eggs. Kadrū laid a multitude and out of them all came snakes, snakes of every variety and in countless number—a proud progeny indeed. But Vinatā could lay only three, and for a long time nothing whatsoever appeared from any one of them. Jealous of the more fortunate rival, whom she had always disliked and who now was boasting, Vinatā, impatient to discover what she herself had produced, broke the shell of one of her productions. The being inside was still unfinished. Out gushed lightning—*zutt!*—and disappeared in the sky. She had given birth to celestial light. However, since the light was premature it remained in its most shapeless and transitory form, namely that of the lightning.

[5] Another and later rendering of the same story appears in that epical encyclopedia of mythical and heroic tales, the *Mahābhārata* (1. 16).

Cautioned by this experience, Vinatā, the heavenly wife, controlled her impatience for a while, but presently could support the strain no longer and so broke another egg. A luminous being appeared who was almost ready; a radiant youth with gracious body; but his feet were not yet formed; he could stand but not walk. For, according to one of the Hindu theories of embryology, an organism develops from the head to the feet: first the cranium, then the torso, then the legs, from the hips downward, and lastly the feet. The mother's impatience had interrupted her second son's development shortly before its conclusion, and the youth cursed her. He would never be able to stride across the sky, but would only rise, stand, and then vanish where he stood; and this was a fate of which he complained. His name was the Aruṇa, "The Reddish One," and he became the male embodiment of the dawn.

This masculine dawn is in manifest contrast to the usual Indo-European conception of dawn as a goddess. In the Vedas the feminine dawn is Uṣas, among the Greeks Eos, and in the myths of Rome Aurora. The male conception must go back to some pre-Āryan Indian stratum. Since Aruṇa cannot walk, and because he goes before the rising of the sun, he is represented generally as the sun-god's charioteer, driving a great car drawn by seven horses (Plate 373). He rides in the manner Pl. 373 of the Hindu charioteer, just behind the horses but in front of the body of the carriage, sitting on the beam, and in comparison with the colossal sun-god is a tiny figure. In Indian art, whenever his form is carefully modeled in such a way as to show every detail, the legs can always be seen to lack feet and ankles.

Vinatā, thoroughly chastened by her second misadventure, allowed her third egg to mature until, after five hundred years, it burst of itself. Out soared the golden-feathered Garuḍa, the only member of the family fully developed and perfectly formed. As a consequence of the curse of Aruṇa, however, the mother had incurred the miserable fate of becoming a slave both of her rival Kadrū, Mother Earth, and of Kadrū's numerous progeny, the serpents. Garuḍa, therefore, rescued her in a glorious conquest of his cousins, setting her free; and as a continuation of his mother's hatred and jealousy, which he inherited, he has been pursuing snakes to this day and will do so forever, with a relentless enmity that suggests the blazing ferocity of the Indian sun swallowing and annihilating the waters of the earth wherever they appear.

The entwined snakes on the chalice of King Gudea of Lagash are an emblem of the Mesopotamian deity of healing, Ningishzida. The device migrated in the course of time to Greece, where it became attached to the god of medicine, Asklepios, and to this day throughout the Western world such snakes are a symbol of the medical profession. The griffinlike divine bird opposed to the serpents on

the Sumerian cup is represented on cylindrical seals from the Babylonian culture sphere as an enemy of this serpent-god of healing. In Figure 3 the deity in the center resembles a personage that occasionally occurs in India in the art of the Jainas
Pl. B2b (Text Plate *B2*, lower left). In ancient Mesopotamian iconography—as already established in the Sumerian period—it was usual to affix a god's attributes to his



Fig. 3. Syrian seal. c. *1450* B.C.

shoulders. In Figure 4 the sun-god, who was worshiped as the tutelary divinity of the local dynasty in the Mesopotamian town of Sippara, has rays issuing from his shoulders, and in Figure 5 the god Ea (known also as Enki), lord of the earth and of the terrestrial waters, sits on his throne facing a bird-shaped semihuman monster, and has streams of water pouring over his shoulders. Apparently these streams and the pair of snakes connote precisely the same beneficent force of the life-giving, watery element. The peculiar bird-man or bird-demon on the seal, moreover, walking on his bird's legs and claws with downcast wings and wearing a feathery cloak, seems to be held captive by two attendants of the seated



Fig. 4. Sumerian seal. c. *2800* B.C.

god before whose throne he stands. The attendants resemble their master in dress and headgear and in the shape of their beards; the bird-monster, on the other hand, suggests some delinquent brought before a judge. Here we have the bird-divinity before the serpent. Furthermore, we have only to substitute for the rivers issuing from the god's shoulders a pair of snakes, and the figure becomes a prototype of the Jaina form just noted.

Pārśvanātha, the Jaina saint in question, is the twenty-third in the long series of the Jaina saviors or "Makers of the River Crossing" (*tīrthaṅkaras*), and is commonly represented either with a halo of serpent hoods or with a snake emerg-
Pl. B2b, c ing from each shoulder (Text Plate *B2*). In the figure at the left the snakes are

somewhat mutilated but still unmistakably recognizable. This being is not a mythical but a historical personality, who died *c.* 772 B.C.[6] He was one of that long line of Jaina saviors and teachers who, throughout the millenniums, have renewed the Jaina doctrine by attaining enlightenment, omniscience, and release from the bondage of transmigration. He was the one immediately preceding Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, a historical contemporary and rival of the Buddha, who lived at the close of the sixth century B.C.[7]

Now since these Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are all absolutely perfect, they resemble each other as closely as so many bubbles. Having purged themselves of every



Fig. 5. Akkadian seal. c. 2300 B.C.

fault and of all the physical consequences of spiritual imperfection, they exhibit no diminishment or disfigurement of the ideal human physique and physiognomy; cleansed of the subtle germs, or seeds, that originate in earlier acts and make for individual biography (the so-called karmic matter, which, according to the Jaina view, is the determining factor in the shaping of the individual), they are all exactly the same. It would therefore be impossible to tell one of their images from another were it not for the characterizing signs attached to them, which denote some distinctive detail in the particular life or legend. Likewise in Buddhist iconography, the Buddhas of the various world periods and spheres of the universe are distinguished by their gestures, ornaments, and emblems.

Plate 389 shows Ṛṣabhanātha, the first of the twenty-four Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. *Pl. 389*
The tiny figure of a recumbent bull tells who he is; for the meaning of his name, Ṛṣabhanātha, is "Lord (*nātha*) Bull (*ṛṣabha*)."

Thus both Jaina iconography and Buddhist adhered to the main tendency of the general Indian tradition, which, following the Mesopotamian, distinguished the various manifestations of its saints or divinities by symbols, either carried in their hands or distributed, one way or another, round about. And in the case of Pārśvanātha we may also have this additional Mesopotamian trait of the symbol rising from the savior's shoulders.

[6] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York and London, 1951), pp. 181–204.

[7] *Ib.*, pp. 217–227.

3. The Serpent and the Savior

THE MOST ancient images of Pārśvanātha that we possess were produced by the school of Mathurā in North India, which flourished from the first to third centuries A.D. An example is represented in the figure, already noted, at the lower right of
Pl. B2c Text Plate *B2*. A saint of this kind is said to be "clad in space" (*digambara*)—"whose garment (*ambara*) is space (*dig*)"—for the monks of the older, so-called Digambara sect of the Jainas wore no clothes, their nakedness being an expression of complete isolation from every caste and order of society. Since in India each caste is marked by a particular costume or dress, the holy man's nudity was an emphatic statement of detachment from and utter indifference to all human values and possessions. In the present case, the snake shield that surrounds the head like a halo lets us know who this naked Jaina is. The cross-legged posture of the meditating yogī, as well as the absence of ornament—jewels, necklaces, armlets, or even loin cloth—indicates that he is not a nāga-king, while the hood (which would otherwise denote a nāga) announces that he is Pārśvanātha.

It is fairly certain that this particular pattern for the representation of Pārśvanātha was evolved from the well-known nāga-type already current and popular in the early Buddhist art of the era B.C. and familiar to us from the railing figures
Pl. 35a, 1b of the stūpa of Bhārhut (Plate *35*, left), as well as from Mohenjo-daro (Plate *1b*). Hindu artist-craftsmen seem to have made use of this extremely common type of popular pre-Āryan divinity to fill the new demand for images of the Jaina savior Pārśvanātha that arose when the heretical sect increased in popular-
Pl. 247 ity.[8] Plate *247* is another rendition of the same Tīrthaṅkara, showing a snake shield crowning the head with the body of the snake descending along the savior's back. The choice of the nāga form by the image makers was justified by a curious legend describing a dramatic episode in Pārśvanātha's life, which occurred immediately before he attained his final spiritual goal of supreme "isolation" (*kaivalya*), the Jaina ideal of absolute enlightenment, omniscience, and detachment from the bondages of the world.

Like the legends of the Buddhas, those of the Jaina saviors follow a canonical pattern of standard episodes and crises. Each candidate for saviorship, during the lives just preceding his final existence under the laws of rebirth, practices self-

[8] Cf. *ib.*, pp. 205–217.

renunciation and detachment from all secular aims. He obeys meticulously the supreme Jaina commandment of *ahiṁsa*, non-injury, non-killing, not even hurting the smallest living being. Thoughout his progress toward the goal his steps are dogged, however, by a kind of shadow of his own light, a sinister, black, and evil counterplayer to his purity, whom he is forced to encounter in each incarnation. This opponent behaves in a manner precisely contrary to that of the savior, committing acts of cruelty against living beings and particularly against the future Tīrthaṅkara himself, even murdering him, again and again. The savior forgives, never retaliates, and as a reward for his model conduct is reborn (following each earthly incarnation) in various paradises, among the gods, whereas the adversary sinks into one or another of those horrible hells or purgatories in which doers of evil atone for their wickedness by enduring indescribable tortures for eons. The savior, following each celestial episode, is reborn on earth, and meets again his unregenerate, though frightfully punished, adversary, who, in keeping with the same biographical rhythm, has emerged from his latest quarter of hell in a human, a beastly, or a demonic garb. The future savior thus progresses in the practice of forbearance, patience, supreme indifference and compassion, while his fierce antagonist shows in every lifetime new accomplishments of iniquity. Rancor and frightening malevolence flash forth from him at the mere sight of his virtuous antithesis each time the two ways cross, aroused anew by some dim or sudden remembrance of earlier encounters and made even fiercer than before by the increment of hatred gained in the intervening millenniums of pain.

Now when the saintly being who was to become Pārśvanātha entered upon his final incarnation, he was born as an impeccably virtuous prince. When still a youth he renounced the world and took the vows of the Jaina monk, practiced fasts and contemplation in the wilderness, and was often absorbed completely in meditation. His increasing sanctity, at the very verge of absolute perfection, produced a marvelous influence around him. Throughout the forest a reign of peace descended. Lions and other ferocious animals behaved in a manner contrary to their nature and frolicked with the fawns. And yet, against the ancient enemy the magical influence of Pārśvanātha's stainless character had no effect. While the savior one day was standing like a pillar in the typical erect attitude of the Jaina ascetic, the chariot of a demigod named Saṁvara, flying through the air, was abruptly stopped above him: for not even a deity can cut through the power-field of an ascetic of Pārśvanātha's stature when the saint is perfectly absorbed in meditation. The god in the celestial car had clairvoyant knowledge, and so knew that the blockage was due to the radiations of a great solitary. Then suddenly a strange additional realization flashed in his mind, and he understood that this was the one

whom he had killed in previous lives, time and time again; for Saṁvara, the deity in the chariot, a brilliant but demonic minor god, was none other than the perennial rival.[9]

Filled with sudden wrath and supported by the powers that he now possessed as a god, the terrible counterplayer conjured up a howling and thick darkness. A furious cyclone roared; strong trees went to pieces; clouds emitted torrents; the earth was rent with a din of thunder; peaks and high cliffs crumbled to dust. The entire world, it seemed, was being enveloped in destruction. The demon by this fierce act, which brought terror, pain, and death to many beings, hoped to shake the concentration of his enemy, frighten him, and thus compel him to abandon his steadfast discipline in an effort to save his bodily frame and transient ego from annihilation. Such a favoring of the transitory personality would have undone all the benefits of the holy man's long career and would have caused an immediate relapse from the great goal of ascetic detachment. However, though the whole world was about to shatter, Pārśvanātha never moved, and Saṁvara, perceiving this, became still further enraged. He assumed the most horrible aspect possible—that of Māra, the god of death—and in this guise approached. His mouth vomiting fire, his visage black, and with a garland of human heads about his neck,[10] he rushed upon Pārśvanātha shouting furiously, "Kill him! Kill him!" Nevertheless, the meditating saint was unmoved.

At this instant the subterranean abode of the giant serpent-king Dharaṇendra, "King of the Earth," whose function it was to support the earth,[11] began to tremble, and he understood clairvoyantly that dangers threatened Pārśvanātha. It so happened that the being who was now Saṁvara, in one of his earlier, merely human incarnations, had killed this serpent and his wife out of cruelty and rashness, they having been at that time merely a pair of happily wedded earthly snakes. For according to the Jaina conception of the law of rebirth and transmigration, the roles and masks of all the gods and demons in the universe are enacted and bodied forth, in turn, by each life-monad in the course of its progress toward perfection. As a consequence of good and evil deeds, individuals pass from role to role, through many lives, and so appear now as this god or demon, now as that: the roles remaining constant, but the life-monads inhabiting or enacting them continually changing.[12] At the time of the former crisis, when all had been merely earthly beings, Pārśvanātha, then a gentle prince, had attempted to save

[9] *Saṁvara* means literally "he who hides, covers, conceals, shuts up or closes; he who compresses, suppresses, or opposes."

[10] These are the usual attributes of Indian gods and demons in their wrathful aspect, when threatening death and destruction.

[11] That is to say, the cosmic serpent Śeṣa; cf. *supra*, pp. 12–13.

[12] See *Philosophies of India*, pp. 248–279.

the snake and his wife; and so the serpent-king Dharaṇendra now addressed his glorious consort, who was for the present playing the role of the goddess Lakṣmī. "That compassionate lord," said he, "who once tried to save our lives, and when we were dying comforted us, is in danger. To his sweet teachings at the moment of our death we owe our present divine and royal splendor." The mighty couple thereupon came up from the netherworld and made their obeisance before the meditating saint. In the roaring night, rain and hail were fiercely descending. The serpent king and queen placed themselves at either hand of Pārśvanātha, covering his head by opening their hoods. And no drop of water thereafter reached his body. The cosmic serpents, furthermore, were so prodigious and frightening to behold that Saṁvara took flight at the sight of them and the storm dispersed.

This was the final trial in the long history of Pārśvanātha's progress through many lifetimes to perfection. He had survived the ordeal unshaken and so had become a *jina*, a "Victor," a *tīrthaṅkara*, "One who has made the crossing through the torrent of rebirth." In commemoration, he is represented as protected with a serpent hood.

Or we may consider the problem the other way round: for it is possible that this legend of the protection of the savior by the serpents arose to explain why Pārśvanātha's images are made this way, the real origin of the motif having been the lack of imagination of the artist-craftsmen, who simply based their concept of a Jaina savior on the model of the nāga, which, from time immemorial, had been a popular form of household patron among the non-Āryan population. The nāga is a being of superhuman potency, immediately above the rank of men, endowed with superior skill and wisdom. He can assume human form at will, but when he sleeps becomes again a serpent. In the Buddhist "Canon of the Rules of Monastic Life" (*Vinaya Piṭaka*)[13] there is an amusing tale of a certain nāga, eager to become a follower of the Buddha, who joined the Order and lived thereafter as one of the monks. No one suspected him until a brother monk, assigned temporarily to the same shelter, returned from his begging tour in the nearby village and discovered in his hut not his fellow monk but a gigantic snake—its coils filled the room and its tail was dangling out the door. The monk stood in amazement, then reported his experience to the Buddha. And that is why the Enlightened One made it a rule that all candidates for admission to his Order should be asked—among other matters—if they are real human beings or nāgas in manly guise.

More than one Hindu dynasty has plumed itself on the fact that its kingly ances-

[13] *Mahāvagga* 1. 63. (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII, pp. 217–219.)

tor was the consort of a nāga-princess: such girls are supposed to be extremely charming, superior to human damsels. Furthermore, there is a later form of the Buddhist doctrine, the teaching of the philosopher Nāgārjuna (which is at variance with the Buddhist tradition of the pre-Christian era but in the later period superseded the older orthodoxy in great domains of the Buddhist world): it derives its validity and authority from a legend to the effect that the Buddha could not reveal the full gospel to his human contemporaries because it would have frightened them, and so confided it to the nāgas; from them Nāgārjuna, six centuries later, acquired it, for the benefit of the human race.[14]

Nāgas being what they are—superhuman in wisdom, yet close to man—it is not surprising that they should have been utilized as models for the Indian conception of the superman: the enlightened savior, omniscient and victorious, who has sloughed off human bondage. Pārśvanātha is not the only savior whose iconography has been thus influenced; for in Buddhist art and legend we find a situation almost precisely parallel to that of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara's final trial and victory.

Pl. 32a In Plate *32a*, below, which shows a relief from Bhārhut dating from the period B.C., the Buddha's superhuman, even supergodly essence, present in the midst of his community, is represented by a throne surmounted by the kingly parasol of spiritual world-dominion, but the Buddha himself is invisible. Even though his form does not appear in the relief, it is obvious that he is present because of the devout attitudes of his followers in their enraptured state of blissful devotion (*bhakti*); also because of the prints of his feet, marked with the holy symbol of the wheel. This wheel symbol (*cakra*) is derived from the wheel of the sun, which in its daily course illumines and rules the earth; the wheel of the Buddhist doctrine, set in motion by the Buddha with his first sermon in the Deer Park at Benares, also illumines and rules the earth. The wheel is symbolical of the universality of the spiritual dominion of the Enlightened One. His gospel, addressed to all, without restriction of birth, caste, race, or country, was preached for the salvation of every creature caught in the round of rebirth (*saṁsāra*), whether god or animal, demon or tortured being in hell, woman or man.

Since he himself had transcended the phenomenal world, the Enlightened One was never depicted in the reliefs on the early stūpas. As already observed,[15] his presence was denoted by signs, not exhibited anthropomorphically, and this manner of representation continued to be utilized in Buddhist art for at least four hundred years, down to the second century A.D., when it still played a conspicuous
Pl. 87 role in the reliefs of the stūpa at Amarāvatī, in the Deccan. Plate 87 is an Amarā-

[14] Cf. *Philosophies of India*, pp. 518–524. [15] *Supra*, p. 6.

vatī relief showing enthusiastic worshipers: human beings kneeling on the ground and celestials flying above. And once again the symbol of the wheel—here on the footprints of the Enlightened One—represents his spiritual essence and denotes the holy presence.

Another symbol of the essence of the Buddha in the midst of his community is the sacred Bo Tree under which he strove for and gained enlightenment. The "seat of the enlightenment" (*bodhimaṇḍa*) is a natural focus of Buddhist worship; for it marks the climax of the Bodhisattva's career and his attainment of the goal of his agelong "march toward enlightenment" (*bodhicarya*). Sacred trees have been worshiped in India from primordial times. Since Śākyamuni cast off forever the garb of his bodily frame and passed to his utter and final extinction (*parinirvāṇa*), however, they have been associated specifically with the idea of Buddhahood. In Plate 32, top right, another relief from Bhārhut, we see the Buddhist *Pl. 32b* community worshiping the holy tree under which a predecessor of the historical Buddha was supposed to have gained illumination in an earlier period of the world, the Buddha Viśvabhū ("All-Being," "Universally Being"), who was third in the series of the Buddhas—the historical Śākyamuni having been the seventh.

Still another symbol of Buddhahood is the stūpa, which is a sanctuary either containing some relic or simply standing as a memorial to the Enlightened One's nirvāṇa. Its form is a common motif on the votive reliefs that cover the surfaces of the actual stūpas. Plates 95, top left, and 97 show two such reliefs from the re- *Pl. 95a, 97* mains of Amarāvatī. Both represent the worship of a stūpa by groups of nāgas. In the tondo of Plate 95 nāga-kings and their folk are shown assembled in the *Pl. 95* subterranean world of the nāgas, paying obeisance to a relic of the Buddha enclosed in a small stūpa set on a throne surmounted by a canopy. Three gigantic serpent-kings standing behind the throne are clearly identifiable by their halos of expanded hoods. The male attendants behind them form a semi-circle while the women are gathered in the foreground and on either side. In Plate 97 the snake- *Pl. 97* kings, in human garb, with huge snake shields behind their heads, stand at either side, paying homage to the sanctuary; their wives kneel at their feet in rapt attitudes of adoration. Other male nāgas with human bodies and snake shields float above, in the upper corners. Snakes serve as guardians around the cylindrical lower part of the monument, while others, stretching their bodies all over the surface of the bubble-shaped upper portion, protect its entire hemispherical surface.

"He who [like the sun] has gone to rest," we read in the *Sutta Nipāta*, "is comparable to nothing whatsoever. The notions through which his essence might be expressed are simply not to be found. All ideas are nothing, as bearing upon

him; hence all modes of speech are, with respect to him, unavailing." [16] Likewise, all picturing of such a being is unavailing; for it would misrepresent his very essence if he were to be shown under the guise of some creature subject to the law of karma and thus implicated in the round of rebirths. By virtue of his supranormal, miraculous powers the Buddha can assume any body at will, but he is not confined in any known or conceivable form. Hence in early Buddhist monuments the Buddha is never represented among other beings, whether gods or men, animals or trees. These wear their bodies and characteristic features as rewards and punishments for good and evil deeds in former existences. The Buddha, on the other hand, has freed himself from the law of mortal compensation (*karma*): he has become "nothing at all" (*akiñcana*). No appearance—either of any earthly or of any superhuman being—pertains to him any more. He is simply not representable through a visual form.

And yet, during the first three centuries A.D., images of the Buddha came into being at two centers of Buddhist art. At Gandhāra (in the northwestern borderland, which was ruled by Greek generals from the period of Alexander the Great to the collapse of the Hellenistic empire in the first century A.D.) a Hellenistic Buddha type was developed during the second century A.D.,[17] which subsequently
Pl. 62 had enormous influence on Buddhist iconography throughout Asia (Plate *62*); the idea of the halo seems to have been due, largely, to the influence of this Hellenistic center. And at the same period a vigorous native school was flourishing at Mathurā, in Northern India proper, producing images not only of the Buddha but also of Pārśvanātha, the Jaina savior with the nāga shield. The Buddha
Pl. 71 type created in this productive center (Plate *71*) is rather independent of that of Gandhāra, which was based on a Greco-Roman tradition. Its most striking feature is derived from the ancient mythological heritage of India, namely the nāga. And here again, as in the image of Pārśvanātha, there is an unmistakable vestige of the serpent form. The Buddha's shoulders and head are surrounded by a halo, resembling that of the Gandhāra Buddhas, except that here the circumference reveals an ornamentation of semicircular laps, which correspond exactly to the tips of the expanded snake hoods that form the shield of a nāga. In this halo of the Buddha they have been flattened and reduced to a merely ornamental rim; nevertheless their resemblance to the more meaningful symbol of the serpent hoods is clear. And so here again we have evidence of the use of the

[16] *Sutta Nipāta* 5. 7. 8.

[17] It is to be noted that the period of the Gandhāra monuments does not coincide with that of the political supremacy of the Greek generals, but follows it by about a century. The ruling race in Northwestern India during the second and third centuries A.D. were the Mongoloid Yueh-chi, the so-called Kuṣānas. Cf. *supra*, p. 73, also *infra*, p. 338.

ancient and popular pattern of the nāga as model for the human savior endowed with superhuman wisdom.

It is certainly striking, and perhaps significant, that among the monuments of Mathurā there are scarcely any figures of a Buddha provided with a halo, whether seated or standing, that do not have this ornamental rim suggesting a series of flattened snake hoods. In fact, the ring of semicircles and the distinctive reddish sandstone out of which these images were carved are the two signs that point unmistakably to Mathurā. Nowhere else does the rim of flattened nāga hoods appear, neither in the Gandhāra monuments nor in those of the subsequent Gupta period. And yet, just as in the legend of Pārśvanātha, so also in that of the Buddha, there is an episode that warrants this representation of him sheltered by the hoods of a many-headed snake-king. The episode in question does not precede the climax of the Buddha's career, like the comparable event in the history of Pārśvanātha, but occurs shortly following; nevertheless it is equally a sign of his attainment of enlightenment (*bodhi*) and demonstrates the extinction (*nirvāṇa*) within him of the fire of desire.

In the earliest record that has come down to us of the events immediately subsequent to the enlightenment of the Buddha—that is to say, in the orthodox Pāli canon of the Buddhists of Ceylon [18]—we are told that after he had attained illumination beneath the Bo Tree, on the bank of the river Nairañjanā, near a village called Urubilvā, the Enlightened One remained seven days without stirring from his cross-legged posture, absorbed in a continuous experience of the bliss brought upon him by his release from bondage. Again and again, as he sat there, he reviewed the concatenation of causes through which birth, life, suffering, old age, and death are linked to the power of ignorance, which casts its spell over all living beings. And after seven days he rose; but he did not go far away. He placed himself beneath a nearby tree, known as the "Tree of the Goatherd," where he returned to his meditation. And after another seven days he rose again; but again did not go far. He placed himself under a third tree, which is called the "Tree of Mucalinda," because of the great nāga, Mucalinda, who lived beneath it in a vast hollow among the roots.

The Buddha sat there seven days, cross-legged, in the posture of meditation, absorbed in the renewed experience of the bliss of release. And during this spell an untimely thunderstorm arose, against the natural cycle of the seasons. A great rain poured down and there came with it a freezing gale and terrible darkness. But the mighty serpent-king, Mucalinda, came forth from his subterranean dwelling, and with his coils he surrounded seven times the body of the Buddha; he spread

[18] *Vinaya Piṭaka: Mahāvagga* 1. 1–3.

his giant snake hood above the head of the Buddha, in the manner of an umbrella; and after the seven days, when the sky had cleared, the nāga Mucalinda relaxed his coils, and assuming the guise of a gentle youth approached the Buddha and paid him worship.

I know of no image from the Indian mainland in which this episode is represented; however, in the Buddhist art of Siam and Cambodia it is one of the most Pl. 559 common themes. Plate *559* is a masterpiece of the type, now in the Musée Albert Sarraut, of Pnompenh. Serpent symbolism seems to have been highly developed among the Khmers even before their conversion to Buddhism, and since Khmer government and art played a paramount role in the early history of Siam, before the close of the thirteenth century A.D., this circumstance may account for the popularity of the so-called Mucalinda Buddha in both traditions. It is a magnificent conception of the savior. The meditating Buddha, seated on a giant snake which forms his throne, is surrounded by the serpent's shield of expanded hoods. The composition cannot have developed directly from the Buddhas of Mathurā, where the traits of the nāga were reduced to a mere ornament, and yet one cannot but suspect that it had its prototype somewhere on the Indian mainland. The bliss of absorption in the inner experience of enlightenment, extinction, and release from bondage is expressed in these Khmer figures with a Pl. 557 degree of perfection that cannot be surpassed (Plate *557*). A perfect, serenely aloof spirituality is blended masterfully with a subtle, dreamy, sensual grace. Indeed, in such masterpieces of Cambodian art Buddhist ideals are represented at their best.[19]

The classical Sanskrit version of the Buddha legend in the early centuries A.D. (representing a later period of Buddhist thought than the Pāli canon, cited above)[20] was the *Lalitavistara*, "The Display of the Phenomenal Mirage of the Buddha's Apparition amidst the Phenomenal Mirage of the Surrounding Universe." The legend, as the title indicates, was here conceived in the docetic spirit characteristic of the later Buddhist philosophies of the Mahāyāna schools. The protection of the savior by the serpent-king is described in this text in the following way.

"The weather being very bad and there having gathered an unseasonable storm, the nāga-king Mucalinda came forth from his habitation, wound seven coils around the body of the Enlightened One, and protected him with his hood, thinking: 'Let no cold winds reach the body of the Enlightened One.' Whereupon nāga-kings came in great number from the east and wound seven coils around the body of the Enlightened One. At the conclusion of the week, when they perceived

Pl. 122, 127

[19] Compare the images of Viṣṇu in Plates *122* and *127*.

[20] Cf. *supra*, p. 8, Editor's note.

that the bad weather had passed, the nāga-kings unwrapped their coils from around the body of the Enlightened One and, after paying obeisance to his feet, with bowed heads, and after walking around him thrice, with their right sides turned to him, they went back to their various dwellings. And the nāga-king Mucalinda, likewise, paid obeisance to the feet of the Tathāgata, with bowed head, walked around him thrice, and returned to his dwelling." [21]

Apparently, the episode of the savior protected by a snake that winds about his body and spreads its hoods over his head was an archaic motif intrinsic to the legends of Indian saviors in the fifth century B.C. In Jainism it was woven into the biography of the holy superman as an important feature at the very crisis of his long march to fulfillment through cleansing asceticism, compassion, and detachment, marking the final trial before his attainment of the goal. But in the Buddha legend, though the motif is present, it has lost its weight; for it has been shifted to a position of minor significance, where it has received a new meaning. What it now denotes is that the forces of nature appreciated the unique value of the savior, protected him, and paid him worship, before he disclosed himself to mankind and began his career as the teacher of gods and men. The episode follows immediately upon a curious scene that took place while the Buddha—still fresh with the marvel of his enlightenment—was meditating beneath the Tree of the Goatherd. For a Brāhman had walked past at that holy time, who, because of the traditional haughtiness of Brāhmans and their proverbial spiritual pride, had failed to realize that he was in the presence of his superior; in fact, one superior even to the gods whom the Brāhmans served with their rites and strove to control with their Vedic magic. The haughty Brāhman, proud and ignorant, had addressed the Buddha disrespectfully. But the forces of nature, as personified in the nāgas, instantly recognized their lord and savior, and so proved themselves superior to the usual, ignorantly self-congratulated human being.

I shall not try to decide whether these Jaina and Buddhist legends of the serpent episode were invented because the early Pārśvanātha and Buddha images of the Mathurā school had been derived from the popular pattern of the images of the nāga-kings and so required an explanation of some kind. To Western scholars, unfamiliar with the nāga except in so far as it appears in archaeological remains, such an explanation might seem plausible; for it appears to account for something that to us is a puzzle, namely, the association of nāga features with a human savior. I doubt, however, whether this could ever have puzzled Indians enough to

[21] *Lalitavistara* 24. (In Sanskrit, ed. by S. Lefmann, Vol. I, Halle, 1902, pp. 379–380. Tr. in N. J. Krom, *The Life of the Buddha on the Stūpa of Bārābuḍur according to the Lalitavistara Text*, The Hague, 1926, p. 112.)

have required the invention of an explanatory legend; for there is evidence that the motif is of great age. A seal-cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, from ancient Mesopotamia, dating *c.* 2000 B.C., shows precisely the pattern that figures in both the Jaina legend of Pārśvanātha encircled by the snake-king Dharaṇendra and his wife, and the Buddhist legend of the piety of Mucalinda. It is the figure of a standing god, in human form, whose body is encircled by two snakes rising and spreading their heads above his shoulders (Figure 6). The scene could easily pass as an illustration of the Jaina legend of Pārśvanātha encircled by



Fig. 6. Babylonian seal. c. 2000 B.C.

the pair of serpents, both protecting him by their expanded hoods. Indeed, this may be an extremely early clue to the motif of the two serpents springing from Pārśvanātha's shoulders. On the other hand, however, in the Khmer examples of the Mucalinda Buddha, the details more closely resemble an Indian nāga; the savior seated on the coils of the serpent is protected by the shield of hoods rising from behind his head.

The ancient symbol of a human figure encircled by a snake has survived, also, in the art of the Near East. Having descended through the ages, it reappears in the complex symbolism of the syncretistic period of the Gnosis, in the first centuries A.D.; for example, in a semi-Egyptian image generally called Atarga-
Pl. A16b tis (Text Plate *A16*), and in other quite similar figures supposed to represent Aiôn ("Time") as the supreme cosmogonic and world-supporting principle.

Here we are confronted with a basic fact in the history of religious symbols—and of symbols in general, as expressed in the traditional motifs of art. They are endowed with an almost incredible life-force; they outlive eras and the declines of civilizations. New generations are fascinated by them and they migrate to distant regions—from Mesopotamia, for example, to Cambodia. Ignoring silently the lapse of time, they can remain alive from the third millennium B.C. to the second millennium A.D. For they are like receptacles, ever ready to receive and to hold the essence of a new meaning. Differing generations and far-separated cultures pour into them the contents of their hearts and imaginations. Whatever spiritual energies may be in need of adequate manifestations in the visible realm can find in them a tangible, meaningful pattern. They lend themselves willingly to the

service of the most divergent functions, and so knit together, in a wondrous repetition, the whole adventure of man.

As an example: in Cambodia there was an idea that the princes were incarnations of the highest divinities. Sparks of the infinite, supramundane essence had become incarnate in them, so that they were living gods on earth. This seemingly audacious belief was fundamentally consistent with what Hinduism teaches concerning every living being; namely, that the life-spark, the inner self (*ātman*), the imperishable spirit dwelling within each, is identical with the highest cosmic Self (*brahman*) — even though a long path of purification and yoga practice must be traversed before anyone can realize this supreme truth. Likewise, in the Mahāyāna form of the Buddhist doctrine it is taught that Buddhahood — sheer enlightenment and world-redeeming wisdom — forms the basis of all phenomenal appearance and so of every living being. All of us — all things — are Buddhas fundamentally, capable of supreme enlightenment in blissful self-extinction. All are intended to be world-redeeming saviors and teachers of the true doctrine, even though, unaware of this supreme truth, we persist in ignoring the transcendental essence of our being and mistake both ourselves and others for what we appear to be in our phenomenal forms and transitory individual careers.

Hence the portrait statues of princes are fashioned in Cambodia in the attitudes and with the features of the highest gods; for example, Plate *522* is a Cambodian prince portrayed as Śiva. *Pl. 522* In the same spirit, certain images of the Buddha seated on the serpent-king Mucalinda were likenesses of kingly human beings. Plate *561* is such a portrait. *Pl. 561* This we can know by the royal headdress and by the features and expression of the face. The true Buddha head is bare, covered only with ringlets of hair (Plate *560*) *Pl. 560* and surmounted by a peculiar swelling, the uṣṇīṣa, which is one of the thirty-two traditional "great marks" (*mahā-lakṣaṇa*) of the Buddhist superman-savior. Sometimes on the uṣṇīṣa there is represented a small image of the transcendent Spiritual Buddha from whom the historical savior is an emanation: the supramundane source whence his phenomenal appearance proceeds. But never does the Buddha wear a kingly crown. The figure of Plate *561*, *Pl. 561* therefore, is a prince in princely headdress, though seated in the attitude of the Buddha protected by the serpent-king. In this posture he represents a truly stunning democratization of the archaic, Mesopotamian pattern of the Aiôn — a democratization which is the very essence of the basic doctrine of the Mahāyāna: "All things are Buddha-things."

V

INDIAN IDEALS OF BEAUTY

1. A Maurya Mother Goddess

LITTLE remains, in the way of ruins, from the period between the close of the Indus era and the rise of the art of the Maurya dynasty in the third century B.C. A small plaque of remarkable quality, gold repoussé, with a female figure, is thought to be the earliest extant art-object following the Āryan feudal age (Text Plate *B3*, upper left). Unearthed at Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh in what appear to have been burial mounds dating from the Maurya or Śuṅga periods, it is usually interpreted as an image of the mother goddess in her aspect as Mother Earth, the protecting divinity into whose care the occupant of the tomb was entrusted. Bloch interprets her as a Vedic earth goddess.[1] However, she is more probably the old neolithic mother goddess, who was to return to the fore very conspicuously in later Hinduism when the ideas of the conquered pre-Āryan civilization came again to the surface of Indian thought and life. The figure is a prototype of later yakṣī forms and has relatives in Mesopotamian art. Her sex is emphasized and she is naked, save for an ornamental girdle (a single row of beads, from hip to hip) and a triple decoration on her lower arm. She has gigantic earrings, of archaic character, and her hands make an eloquent gesture. (Such gestures, *mudrās*, survived into the latest periods of Indian art as conventional devices of expression, becoming, in the later times, exquisitely complex.) Further archaic traits to be noted are the rigid symmetry and the lack of joints and proportions. The face, however, is expressive and fine, hardly primitive, while the handling of the hair is supple and even virtuosic. Executed carefully and arranged in a peculiar way, the hair is parted in the middle, with a lock hanging down in front. The sensitive features bear a benign smile, corresponding to the gesture of the arms and

Pl. B3a

[1] Th. Bloch, "Excavations at Lauriya," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1906–1907.

hands, which are open and extended, as if to receive and welcome a guest. On the whole, the head is on a much higher artistic level than the body, which is treated more as a hieroglyph or symbol, and yet the form shows a fine and pleasant modeling, its details exhibiting for the first time in the history of Indian art those traits that were later to constitute the classic ideal of Hindu feminine beauty: fully rounded breasts nestling close together, an extremely narrow waist, and large, very heavy hips. According to the Hindu poets, a woman's breasts should be like great pots and her waist narrow, like that of a wasp or a bee: one should be able (according to the hyperbolic, fanciful expression) to enclose the waist with the two hands. The large hips denote maternity, fertility, and the breasts the bounty of life.

As characteristics of the mother goddess—she who has brought forth and is continually nourishing all the living creatures of the universe—these contours are of an extremely archaic lineage, and they have been treated in this comparatively recent production of the post-feudal Maurya-Śuṅga age with a remarkably refined realism that insists on a gracefulness and gentleness of detail. To appreciate the expressivity and to realize to what extent the archetypal image has already become individualized in this little amulet, we have only to look, on the one hand, back to the prehistoric models from which the figure was derived and, on the other hand, forward to the classical art that it foreshadowed in its ideal of woman's form and function, as well as in its distinctive aesthetic style. In a brief survey, therefore, we shall now trace the rise and transformation of the Indian ideal of feminine beauty through the various periods and provinces of Indian art.

2. Paleolithic Mother Goddesses

LOOKING backward we discover, in the first place, that the figure unearthed in Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh is the younger sister of the goddesses of Mohenjo-daro (Text Plate *A8*) and a younger cousin of the Mesopotamian Ishtar-Astarte- *Pl. A8*
Venus (Text Plate *A10*).[2] Still further back an even more ancient ancestry ap- *Pl. A10*
pears, however, in the mother goddesses of the late paleolithic age, which are best represented in a series of statuettes from the Aurignacian period (*c.* 40,000–20,000 B.C.) unearthed in southern and central Europe. Text Plate *A9a* shows an *Pl. A9a*

[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 21–22.

amazingly abstract figurine of reindeer horn, from the Garonne Valley in southern France, whose most recent kindred appear in certain works of the modern abstract schools. Such a purely symbolic style emphasizes the features of fertility and maternity as epitomizing the idea of the universal mother. It is an idealistic art, through and through—though its results, for our modern feeling, may appear at first sight to be slightly grotesque, puzzling, or even indecent. The idealizations can be misunderstood as examples of a kind of exaggerated naturalism, giving evidence of a gross and burly sensuality, whereas actually their aim was symbolic representation. Consider the celebrated "Venus of Willendorf," from the Austrian
Pl. A9b, c Danube valley, and the figure from Menton, both shown in Text Plate *A9b* and *c*.

This paleolithic pattern of feminine beauty can still be clearly felt, not only in
Pl. A8 the much later neolithic images of the mother goddess (Text Plate *A8*), but also
Pl. 33 in the still more recent figures of early Buddhist art (Plate *33*). Indeed, in India it has never quite disappeared either from art or from life.

3. *Indian Ideals of Feminine Beauty*

THE PRIMITIVE canon of beauty represented in the paleolithic and neolithic mother goddesses persists throughout the history of Indian art. Nevertheless there are periods in which it is largely overcome and temporarily abandoned. At such times one observes the rise and development in India of a second ideal of womanly beauty: one that can be regarded as an everlasting contribution of the Hindu spirit to the treasury of the fair visions of the ages.

Among the reliefs of the stūpa at Bhārhut are portraits of the donors who contributed to the lavish decoration of this early Buddhist shrine. In the central
Pl. 36b panel of Plate *36* a married couple stands in an attitude of enraptured devotion (*bhakti*), paying homage to the monument and to the relic contained within its dome. The husband, professing his faith, makes a gesture with the left hand, raising it to his breast, while his wife lifts a flower (presumably a lotus) in hers, intending to throw it at the stūpa. Worshiping a holy sanctuary or image or the person of a living saint by tossing flowers was a gesture characteristic of pre-Āryan rites. It is still a prominent feature in the form of worship known as *pūjā*, which is to be distinguished from the fire-offering, *yajña*, of the Āryans. For whereas fire was the focus of the Vedic rituals of the Brāhmans, it played no part in pre-Āryan

ceremonial. The offerings of pūjā, which came back into style in the Buddhistic and medieval periods and constitute the basic form of modern Hindu worship, consist of flowers, rice, water, oil, and milk, scattered or poured on the sacred object. In a Tāntric text of the medieval period we read: "One should never approach a deity, image, or sanctuary, unless bearing flowers in one's hands." [3] In contrast, the much more elaborate Vedic yajña required that an offering (*homa*) should be consumed in a holy fire. Cakes, drinks, and melted butter were cast into the blazing mouth of the fire-god Agni, who on his column of flame and smoke then carried them to the deities above.[4] The Bhārhut relief, though carved in stone, is executed in the technique of a wood carving, with a simple, vigorous design. And though realistic in appearance, it insists on the traditional ideal in the contours of the woman: she has fully rounded, heavy breasts, broad hips, and a particularly narrow waist.

Another panel of the same sculpted pillar (the lower left) shows a group of *Pl. 36a*
celestial musicians and dancers at the heavenly court of the gods. Four, with a little girl, are in dancing postures, while eight, seated in a semicircle at the left, furnish the music. Of the latter, four play a type of harp with seven strings, one beats time with cymbals, and the others sing. The four dancers are mythical personages and their names are inscribed on the railing below: Miśrakeśī, Subhadrā, Padmāvatī, and Alambuṣā. Such heavenly damsels, known as apsarases, constitute a kind of heavenly *corps de ballet* and are the mistresses of those who in reward for pious conduct and meritorious deeds during their earthly lives have been reborn among the gods, according to the law of karma, to enjoy for a time the pleasant fruits of virtue. It will be noted that in spite of the animated gestures of this relief, the bodies conform to the traditional pattern of Indian beauty, with their slim waists, full breasts, and heavy hips.

The popular goddesses that appear everywhere on the gate-pillars and railings of the Bhārhut stūpa likewise accord with this ancient ideal of the feminine form.
Plate 33 shows, at the right, "The yakṣī beautiful to be looked upon" (*sudarśanā* *Pl. 33*
yakṣī), poised on a so-called *makara*, an aquatic monster, while in the center is a dryad or tree-goddess (*vṛkṣakā*), representing the life-force and fertility of trees, standing on an elephant, which represents the life-bestowing force of the waters in the clouds and on the earth. The dryad has entwined the trunk of her tree with her left arm and leg while clasping a bough with the right hand. In the figure in

[3] *Editor's note:* Tāntric as distinct from Vedic Hinduism developed during the medieval period and is supported by an independent body of texts, known as the *Āgamas*, which are supposed to have been revealed by Śiva as the proper scripture for the Kali Yuga, the present age of the world. Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York and London, 1951), pp. 560 ff.

[4] Cf. *supra*, pp. 37–41.

Pl. 34b Plate 34, standing on a fish-tailed horse and executing the same ritual gesture,[8] the archaic pattern of the feminine ideal is even more obvious than in the others, who with their somewhat taller statures already foreshadow the gradual emancipation of the feminine form from the symbolistic ancient mold.

A number of donor-portraits appear in the Buddhist cave-temples and monasteries of the Western Hills around Bombay, dating from the first centuries A.D.
Pl. 81 Plate 81 is from the sanctuary at Kārlī. The princely donor is of an athletic frame, his wife of the same metal, and both are depicted, like the donors at Bhārhut, gazing in attitudes of rapture at the holy monument. However, the woman's body does not quite conform to the canonical symbolic pattern. She is of a slightly later period than the Bhārhut goddesses, and there is already evident the personal expressivity of an actual, living female, conforming only approximately to the inherited ideal. The earlier static repose of a kind of diagram of typical contours has given place to a figure executed with a vigorous realism, full of life. The art tradition, that is to say, has been opened to the possibilities of new conceptions of beauty through yielding to a bold realism inclined to depict what is actually found in the world in the way of womanly forms. One can foresee a gradual transformation of the ideal of feminine beauty in Indian art, under the influence of the actual types of Indian life.

Pl. 85 In the donor-portraits of Plate 85, from the almost contemporary Buddhist sanctuary at Kaṇherī, a visible step forward has been taken in the direction of a bold yet refined realism. The conventional pattern, which had converted the feminine body into a somewhat bizarre diagram—stressing lush rotundity and weight in the hips and breasts against a sophisticated slimness of the waist—has yielded to a candid rendition of human beings, in which due attention is accorded to physical traits that the two sexes share. Moreover, instead of the stiffness of a posed portrait, we here recognize the alert poise of a moment of expectation and impending action. For these sturdy bodies, stirring with life, holding flowers in their raised hands, have been caught, as it were, on the point of fulfilling a long-awaited act of devotion. They are about to toss their "handful of flowers" (*puṣpāñjali*) toward the invisible presence of the Enlightened One, which has been made manifest to them in the symbols of their sanctuary.

There can be no question but that these young princes and their wives were familiar with the popular Buddhist fables of their time, which told how, some few centuries earlier, when the Buddha was yet alive and wandering through India as

[8] Cf. *infra*, pp. 80–81. The name of the damsel on the elephant is Cūlakokā Devatā; that of the one on the horse Yakṣī Candrā.

an itinerant teacher, begging alms and guiding men toward enlightenment, he was often greeted, when he entered a town, with flowers thrown on the road before his feet. And they must also have been familiar with the legendary miracle—recounted in the same old tales—of the Buddha's acceptance of a gift of flowers: how, by his magic, he had made the lotus blossoms thrown at him grow and expand until they were as big as wheels, and the wheels then floated in mid-air above his head, forming a sort of canopy or parasol. The purpose of the miracle had been to suggest how beautiful and really wonderful the reward would be for an enthusiastic—even though materially slight—gesture of worship and gift-bestowal. The Buddha, in this legend, recognized and accepted the devotion of persons whom he had never seen before and whom, in the course of his aimless pilgrimage, he would perhaps never see again; proving to them, by a graceful miracle, that they had recognized in him his true and unique character, which many others had failed to perceive. Furthermore, by their act, they had shown themselves to be of his own spiritual kindred; they had surrendered themselves, honoring him as the archetype of what they themselves would be in a future incarnation, following long careers, through many lives, of the practice of those highest virtues that are, simultaneously, prerequisites of and vehicles to enlightenment. According to the legend, the people, stirred by the miraculous gesture of the Buddha, bowed before his feet and took the solemn vow (*praṇidhāna*) of striving to become his like in some life to come. And the Enlightened One, beholding their fervor, made the solemn prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*), based on his clairvoyant intuition, that in ages to come they would indeed, like himself, all truly be Enlightened Ones. Furthermore, he declared that in their present state they had already embarked on the "march toward enlightenment" (*bodhicarya*). They were Bodhisattvas, "capable of enlightenment," "endowed with the quality essential for becoming enlightened."

The solemn vow of Bodhisattvaship (*praṇidhāna*) is what is depicted in the luminous countenances of this relief; and this attitude of self-dedication and pious delight in the donors of the shrine is meant to inspire the pilgrim coming from afar to begin here his own march toward the goal. For, according to the mature doctrine of the Buddhism of the "Great Vehicle" (*mahāyāna*), the proper aim of man is not nirvāṇa, personal fulfillment through sanctity and extinction—as it is in the doctrine of the "Little Vehicle" (*hīnayāna*)—but Buddhahood, universal saviorship, the imitation of the Enlightened One himself. We are all to become Buddhas. And the career proper to the attainment of this unconditioned, unimpeded state is not necessarily, or even preferably, that of entering the Order and

becoming a monk, but rather that of practicing amidst the temptations, troubles, and turmoil of secular life the paramount virtues of devotion, self-sacrifice, and compassion.

During the centuries when there is no living Buddha in the world, Buddhist rites of devotion are directed to Buddhist stūpas and monasteries, which are the memorials of the Enlightened One's career, and these are decorated with images tending to elevate the mind to the virtues and attainments of the Way. The donors and their wives are therefore depicted in the model attitudes of the elementary yet supreme virtue leading to Buddhahood—the virtue of granting gifts, giving possessions away as a gesture of self-renunciation and for the realization of the purely phenomenal character of all earthly goods. Other sculptured reliefs in the sanctuary depict the deities of the popular religion dedicating themselves to the worship of the Buddha. Still others render instructive episodes from the Buddha's career.

Decorating the north gate of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī is a series of reliefs on the large middle panel of the lower architrave illustrating the so-called Vessantara-
Pl. 7 jātaka (Plate *7*).[6] This tells how the Buddha, in his next to last incarnation, when he was a king named Vessantara, practiced the virtue of *dāna-pāramitā*, "the perfection of giving." In the picture the legend begins at the right. King Vessantara, having learned that a neighboring kingdom was suffering from drought, gave away the white elephant whose presence in his royal stable guaranteed to his own country abundant rain.[7] His people, exasperated by such lack of concern for their own welfare, banished him, and in the relief we see him departing. This crisis parallels that of the Great Departure in his final incarnation as the Buddha, and, like the latter, is but the first of a series of trials. In the relief, Vessantara is seen with his family, about to enter the wilderness that lies beyond the boundaries of his inherited kingdom.

The next step in his career of giving was taken when he turned over his horses and carriages to a group of Brāhmans who asked for them (for Brāhmans live on the liberality of princes and the rich), and with his family continued the journey into the dangerous wilderness afoot. Certain princes then came to plead with him to spare himself these hardships, but the noble little family had no fear; they proceeded to a hermitage deep in the jungle. The fable is continued on the verso of
Pl. 12 the architrave (Plate *12*). To the right, at the end of the volute, the prince,

[6] *Jātaka* 547. The Pāli word *vessantara* corresponds to the Sanskrit *viśvāntara*, "he who transcends or conquers everything."

[7] The elephant, and particularly the white elephant, is a kind of cloud on earth, which tends to attract the clouds of heaven; it is a valuable accessory, therefore, to the fertility of the land. Cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York and London, 1946), pp. 102–109.

with his wife and children, is in the wilderness. At the right edge of the middle panel is a hut prepared by the king of the gods, Sakka (Indra), as the place for the further trials. To the left and further down, King Vessantara is giving his children to an old Brāhman named Jujaka, while their distressed mother is being held at a distance. Such an act—such an absolute lack of beggar-resistance—certainly carries the virtue of giving beyond the usual concept of propriety. The idea, however, is that the Bodhisattva, the candidate for the supreme state of Buddhahood, must be without any sense whatsoever of ego: when asked for something, no matter what, he simply lets it go without an instant of hesitation.[8] In this way he both makes manifest and experiences the consequences of an attitude that is the very nucleus of enlightenment, and so prepares himself to become the Buddha in his next birth. In the illustration of the scene, an archer sent by those solicitous princes who had sought to dissuade the Bodhisattva from his exile aims an arrow at the cruel Brāhman Jujaka; but at the lower edge of the relief we see the old fellow driving the children away into slavery. Still farther to the left, Vessantara gives away his wife. But in the end the gods, satisfied by his demonstration of egolessness and the perfection of his bestowal of gifts, restore to him his wife and children. At the left end of the volute we see the latter in the palace of their grandparents.

Thus, in the life that he lived immediately before his incarnation as the Buddha, the noble savior of the universe prepared himself for his superhuman role by transcending, literally, the most elementary feelings—and even virtues—of human life. His perfection of self-renunciation through giving away everything that was near and dear to him—his kingdom, children, wife (and, in many of the other Jātakas, life and body)—carried to fulfillment that human virtue of bestowing gifts which the royal donors of the stūpas themselves were exhibiting, much more simply, in their patronage of the sacred buildings and, still more simply but none the less effectively, in their symbolic tossing of flowers in the lovely, profoundly spiritual rite of pūjā. By giving things away one becomes free of the common tendency to cling to oneself and to objects; one begins to realize that these phenomenal things are fundamentally void of meaning and substance.

But to return to the history of the female form: the contrast of the extremely slender mid-portion of the woman's body with the richness and exuberance of the masses above and below—the great breasts and the fully rounded thighs, which latter, according to the Indian poets, should resemble, in their roundness, firmness, and resiliency, the trunk of an elephant—has had for the Hindu mind a

[8] For a discussion of this Perfection in Generosity, see *Philosophies of India*, pp. 534–552.

never-ending fascination. On the east gate at Sāñcī hangs the dryad (*vṛkṣakā*)
Pl. 15 shown in Plate *15*, exhibiting the features that India has always cherished in the female; and yet in this tree-goddess the earlier abstractness of a mere hieroglyph indicating fertility, maternity, and an abundance of vegetal and animal life has been overcome. A vigorous dynamism pervades the form; the body swells with a living force; and through the rendition of this motion from within there has been gained a new plasticity. The limbs have been welded into a unity, suffused by a gentle yet powerful circulation that visibly throbs in every part. And whereas in the earlier period the female form had been constructed by an adding together of the several parts regarded as most significant, with a stress on characterizing details, here—as in some of the donor-couples of the Western cave-temples—the body was visualized as a unit of life. In contrast, however, to the donors, who stand erect and motionless under the thrill of a pious rapture, this tree-nymph stirs with a perpetual pulsing, as though she personified the gently surging life-sap within the tree, which rises along the stem and expands into the crown to which she holds. She is full-blooded, and yet has the musical grace of a nimble dancing girl.

The dynamism that welds bodies into organic units pulsing with their own life became one of the main themes and realizations of the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī, in the first centuries A.D. A new virtuosity was there attained in the rendition of the human figure—and preferably the feminine figure—in all sorts of sensitive,
Pl 95c voluptuous, and ecstatic postures, for example in Plate *95*. At the bottom, four women are shown, steeped in beatific rapture, beholding and worshiping the Buddha, whose presence is indicated by the impress of his feet. The almost unlimited power of the Hindu genius to represent the physique in its boldest, freest attitudes—already foreshadowed in some of the remains of the art of the Indus civilization—emerges in this relief triumphantly in a new transfiguration. A strong feeling is evident for what might be called the blossoming, innocent soul-force of the flesh, and this has become, in turn, the vehicle of pious emotions and a holy delight in worship. In the present little masterpiece, a lovely devotion shines forth from the astounding, though perfectly natural, contortions of the women's bodies. It is almost as though the holy themes of the compositions had served the artists as mere pretexts for an exhibition of their growing mastery. Indulging in bold variations on the secular theme of the dynamic aspect of feminine charm, they rendered the subject again and again, in every possible modulation of kindred and contrasting poses.

The facile handwriting of the Indian sculptors, their easy manipulation of the
Pl. 94 chisel, reached a climax of graceful fluency at Amarāvatī. Plate *94* shows a

nāga-king and his two queens approaching from the right of the scene to pay homage to the Bodhisattva Gautama Śākyamuni as he crosses the river Nairañjanā to the tree of enlightenment. In conformity with the early tradition the presence of the savior is represented only by his footprints, which can be seen on either shore and on the water. Celestial beings soar nearby with offerings, to pay their worship. The watery realm is indicated by aquatic birds sporting on the surface; the two shores are suggested by the trees. A group of wild geese or swans, in its migratory flight, becomes aware of the savior, and in solemn clockwise flight circumambulates in mid-air. A ghost, as it were, is passing. The devotion of the serpents and gods and the flight of birds center about an invisible presence whose progress can be traced but whose form is not to be grasped: a being who is *lokottara*, "above (*uttara*) the mundane realm (*loka*)." There Buddhahood goes, not to be grasped, yet visible to the inner vision of animals, gods, and devotees. The aloofness of the one who has come down into the world from a sphere beyond, to which he really belongs, is here depicted in the most graphic possible way.

In the nāga and his wives the ability of the sculptor to render the human body is beautifully evident. Their graceful forms have fully benefited from the artist's feeling for the dynamic unity of the human figure—that typically Indian welding and moving of the organism from within by the principle of the universal life-force. Though the females, with their broad hips and firmly rounded legs, represent unmistakably the traditional Hindu ideal of womanly charm, there is no insistence on symbolic details. The artist's interest has come to focus rather on the dynamism of the posture and the gait: the rhythm of the steps, the gentle swaying of the bodies, the music of the softly moving contours. And again one feels the sentiment of devotion shining forth from the attitudes of worship.

Plate 90 presents four episodes from the legend of the Buddha. Above, at the *Pl. 90*
right, is Queen Māyā, the future mother of the savior, recumbent on her bed and attended by the slave girls of the seraglio. The time is night, that auspicious night in which she received the dream announcing her conception of the spiritual superman. It came at the season of the Midsummer Festival. And she saw the four divine kings who preside over the four quarters arrive and lift her couch, to bear it to a golden mansion upon a silver hill, where they anointed her with perfumes and clothed her in divine garments. Whereafter, a glorious white elephant, entering the golden mansion, walked around her couch thrice, struck her on the right side, and entered the womb. When she woke, she recounted the dream to her husband, who queried his Brāhmans for its interpretation. They told him that she had conceived a male child, who when born, if he continued in the house-

holder's career, would become a Universal Monarch (*cakravartin*), but if he abandoned the world and became an ascetic, would become a Buddha.

In the Amarāvatī relief[9] Queen Māyā is shown dreaming of the white elephant who, with six tusks, alighting from heaven, is to enter her womb through the right side. She is in a graceful, relaxed, sleeping posture, both arms above her head, with the hands, almost joined, resting on the cushion. Her right knee is bent and drawn up slightly toward the body, which is the most comfortable posture for sleep. The solace and ease of sleep are conveyed perfectly, together with the sense of a blissful concentration of the spirit upon a dream; and the masterful ease with which the human body has been treated is amazing. In its rendition of the female, Indian art is generally distinguished by a complete naturalness, suffused by a gracefulness and a sense of the sweetness of womanly beauty that is unsurpassed in the arts of any other land.

The miraculous nativity of the Buddha child is represented below. In the legend we learn that from the moment when Queen Māyā conceived him (the Bodhisattva's life-monad, in the form of the elephant, having descended into her womb from the Tuṣita heaven, the Heaven of the Happy Gods) four guardian deities with swords were visibly present both by night and by day to protect the child and its mother. The queen, never ill or weary, could perceive the infant sitting within the womb, over toward the right side (as befits a boy-child), in the cross-legged posture of a meditating saint. She could see him there as clearly as one sees the thread in a transparent gem. And when ten lunar months had passed she desired to visit her family in Devadaha; whereupon her husband, the Buddha's father, King Śuddhodana, had the road made smooth for her from Kapilavastu to her family's city. Moreover, he had it decorated with plantain trees, streamers, and banners, and seating his queen in a palanquin borne by a thousand of his courtiers, he sent her off to her parents in stupendous pomp. On the way, however, there was a pleasure grove of sāl trees, the Lumbinī Grove, belonging to the people of the two cities; and at the time of the journey of the queen the trees in this lovely place were filled both with fruits and with flowers. She saw them, desired to rest among them, and with her party turned from the road to the foot of a magnificent sāl tree, where she stepped from her palanquin and reached to grasp one of the branches. The beautiful, great limb bent down of itself, like the tip of a supple reed, and came within her reach. She grasped it and immediately felt her throes of giving birth. Standing, with her hand to the branch, she was delivered. And four pure-minded gods from the highest heaven of the Great Brahmā descended at that instant with a golden net, received the Bodhisattva in the net, and set him before

Pl. 31d [9] See also the Bhārhut Stūpa: Plate *31d*.

his mother. "Rejoice, O Queen," they said, "a very mighty son has been born to thee!"

Other beings, when born, come forth soiled with impure matter, but not the Bodhisattva. Like a preacher of the Doctrine descending from the seat of the Doctrine, or like a man descending stairs, he came from his mother, shining like a jewel laid on a fine cloth. Nevertheless, to do him honor and to do honor to his mother, two pure streams of water, descending from the sky, performed the traditional ceremony on the bodies of the Bodhisattva and Queen Māyā. Whereafter, from the hands of the four Brahmā gods who had received him in the golden net, the four guardian deities who had attended the queen since conception accepted the infant on a ceremonial robe of antelope skin soft to the touch. These four then conveyed him to four human beings, who received him on a golden cushion. And these, finally, let him out of their hands onto the ground, where he stood up securely, facing east. Gods and men thereupon worshiped him with scented garlands. "O Great Being," they prayed, "there is here none like unto thee; there is none superior to thee anywhere in the ten thousand worlds." And the holy child, when he had surveyed in this manner the four quarters and the four intermediate directions, the zenith also and the nadir (ten quarters in all), and when he had perceived in the ten thousand worlds no one comparable to himself (for the worlds lay before him like an open court), declared, "This [northern] direction is the highest." And he took seven steps in that direction, with the great god Brahmā himself holding a white parasol above his head, a second deity bearing a fan, and numerous others following with the other symbols of royalty in their hands; and at the seventh stride the infant stopped, shouting with a lordly voice: "The leader am I of all the worlds." [10]

In the Amarāvatī relief the ceremonious ritual of this elaborate nativity, with its two groups of four gods, each receiving the newborn child before handing him over to human beings, appears in a simpler form, based, perhaps, on a less elaborate version of the legend. The central figure, the child itself, is invisible, in accordance with the early art tradition discussed above; [11] for although enlightenment has not yet been attained—which is what extinguishes all the signs and traits of human, even superhuman, nature and communicates to the Buddha a transcendental, indescribable character ("not being anything definite any more" [*akiñcana*], as an old text phrases it)—early Buddhist art avoids representing the Buddha child, so as not to imply that this unique being was an average baby. At the left are four gods, holding outstretched a fine cloth on which to receive and carry the newborn savior. The somewhat smaller figure of the female attendant

[10] *Jātaka* I. 51–52.

[11] *Supra*, pp. 6 and 60–61.

waiting upon the queen in the right corner represents her royal suite, the ladies of the court, who accompanied her on the journey. And perhaps by a similar abridgment, the four gods connote the two groups of four of the legend.

The statures of the figures indicate their rank and dignity. The human attendant is very much smaller than the four gods, who are of a monumental stature, while the queen herself, standing in the foreground, is of the size of the gods—even a little larger. Between the four and the queen is a kind of footstool or low pedestal: evidently the place on which the Bodhisattva took his stand when he surveyed the ten quarters and uttered his lion roar of victory: "The leader am I of all the worlds."

There is no unity of time in this composition, but a juxtaposition of successive moments. One has to imagine the child, who is invisible, first lying on the cloth supported by the gods and then—or simultaneously—standing on this pedestal, uttering his victory shout. And there is even a third moment; for since the queen is still holding the branch of the sāl tree with her left hand, she is in the act of giving birth. The child must be imagined emerging from the right side; because just as the white elephant in the dream of conception entered, so did the Bodhisattva leave his mother's womb. This way of birth from the right side is a mythical motif of very ancient standing: the superman, the supergod, the being who is to accomplish what for others is impossible, namely the salvation of the world, is unique from the beginning of his miraculous career. Indra, the Vedic king of gods, who slew the dragon, restored the universe, and inaugurated a new eon by his divine and perfect reign, refused, while still in the womb, to enter the world in the usual way, and so he too (long before the Buddha) was born through his mother's side.

In the present relief the most striking feature is the posture of the queen. She stands in the so-called *sālābhañjikā* position, a classic attitude of tree-goddesses in Indian art. Compare, for example, the vṛkṣakās just discussed.[13] Apparently the Hindu craftsmen here again put to use an ancient pattern for the rendition of a new theme; for if the nāga and yakṣa could serve as models for Pārśvanātha and the Buddha, so could the classic posture of tree-goddesses for Queen Māyā at the moment of the nativity. When compared with the dryads of Sāñcī the figure in this relief is clearly of the same tradition. Like an actress or a dancer the blessed mother assumes, with a playful momentary gesture, the attitude of a tree-nymph, or of a human damsel fertilizing a tree magically by seizing its branches with her hand and giving its trunk a gentle kick with her left heel. The same animation

[13] *Supra*, pp. 71–72 and 76.

that was apparent in the nymph is evident here, though somewhat subdued by the artist's respect for the dignity of his theme. Note, too, the figures of the gods and the female attendant watching the miracle with rapture. The vitality that shapes and suffuses these and throws them into living postures of momentary gesture and action is a lasting bequeathal of the art of Amarāvatī to the subsequent, classic periods of the Indian tradition. There is a realization of the involuntary oscillation and restlessness of life in all the sculpture of Amarāvatī executed in this animated style. Organisms are no longer made up of separate pieces simply added together as combinations of charming details. The task of viewing the human figure as a living unit filled with the forces of emotional and sensual life has been definitely mastered.

Certain other reliefs from Amarāvatī show influences from the arts of Gandhāra, Mathurā, and the Kuṣāṇas (e.g. Plate *92*, right), betraying traits derived from the North that are in part, and in varying degrees, non-Indian. However, these are by no means the most significant pieces from this important stūpa, in spite of the stress placed upon them by historians eager to demonstrate the debt of India to the West. Many tablets in the purely Indian tradition of this nativity exhibit the qualities and powers of native Indian art at its best. In fact, with its fluid, masterful handwriting and the suppleness of its gracefully restless forms, Amarāvatī stands at the threshold of the golden age of the Gupta period and is a true forerunner of the brilliant achievements of the subsequent Middle and South Indian styles. Its sculpture is distinguished by an almost nervous and oversensitive unrest of the human body, moving and reacting with the alacrity of quicksilver (Plate *95b*). *Pl. 92b* *Pl. 95b*

The subsequent periods achieve a balance of this animation with a sweet, dreamy repose. Maṇiyār Maṭha, for example, at Rājagṛha, the ruin of a circular building of the early Gupta period dating from the fifth century A.D., is decorated with figures in niches representing nāgas and nāginīs (Plate *105*, lower left). *Pl. 105b* The old Indian ideal of the female figure is still to be discerned, but its main features have been toned and blended to a graceful plasticity; no longer overemphasized and played off against each other. And having lost their local accentuation, they have united in a comprehensive unit. There is a perfect balance between the static calm of these forms and the inner life-force by which they are continuously molded.

In the panel shown at the top of Plate *105* the grace and sweetness of vegetal *Pl. 105a* life pervade and enliven the lovely bodies of the mother, lying blissfully in a relaxed posture beside her child, and the four standing figures of the female at-

tendants with the fly-wisp or chowry [12] and other implements of comfort in their hands. Here fertility, maternity, the grand old theme of the figures of the mother goddesses, relieved of its ancient abstractness and diagrammatic monumentality, has been applied to a scene of refined and intimate realism. Brought down to the terrestrial plane from the sphere of ideals, it has entered into the warm and quiet, intimate atmosphere of a royal sleeping chamber, fragrant with perfumes and with the sweet smell of a healthy, young, and vigorous human body—but in this descent has forfeited nothing of its magic. On the contrary, the form of the young mother has been imbued with the vivifying force of an archetype.

This piece is something of an enigma as far as the legendary reference of its subject matter is concerned. Sometimes it is labeled, in a rather evasive way, "The Birth of a Savior," which is probably not incorrect; for the child may well be some infant-savior slumbering beside his mother, and the mother is obviously a queen among gods and men. The work belongs approximately to the seventh century A.D. and, judging from its style, stems from the Hindu, not the Buddhist, tradition. Moreover, there is no instance in the whole corpus of Buddhist art of Queen Māyā in such an attitude, since the mother of the Buddha did not live to bring up her son but died seven days after his birth. The conclusion and climax of her career having been the miracle of her maternity, the madonna theme has no place in the Buddha's legendary biography.

Some of the books on Indian art have boldly labeled this relief "The Birth of Kṛṣṇa," and indeed, at first sight, one is tempted to think of the infant as this most outstanding and best beloved child-savior in the traditions of Hinduism. Kṛṣṇa's birth and his miraculous rescue from the Herod-like tyrant-king Kaṁsa, his childhood among the cowherds and milkmaids in the wilderness, and his playful tricks and miraculous exploits among them, have furnished some of the most popular and delightful chapters of Hindu epic and myth. The details of the relief, however, do not support such an identification but directly contradict it; for Kṛṣṇa was born in secrecy, at night, and there was no one present but his mother, Devakī, and Vasudeva, his father. They were in the palace of the tyrant-king Kaṁsa, held captive in anticipation of the birth of their child, whom the tyrant wished to slay.

Kaṁsa was a demon. Defeated by the gods in a former incarnation, he had been reborn as a man, and since it had been foretold to him that he would be slain by the eighth child of his cousin Devakī, he imprisoned both her and her husband in

[12] From the Hindustani *caurī*, which is derived from the Sanskrit *cāmarī*, which in turn comes from *camara*, "yak." Fly-wisps are made from the hair of the streaming white tail of this Tibetan beast of burden.

his palace when the time for the child's birth drew near. He had already killed the first six of their children. The seventh had been saved, however, by a miraculous device: he was transferred to another woman's womb just before being born. That child had been named Balarāma and was an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The eighth fruit of Devakī's womb was to be Kṛṣṇa, and at the time of his birth the drums of the gods (the great thunderclouds) joyously resounded with a prodigious sound, to drown whatever noises might emerge from the bedchamber of the mother and child. The hour was midnight. And the father, to save his infant from the henchmen of King Kaṁsa who were waiting to seize and kill it as they had already killed the six earlier children, bore it away covertly from the palace and the capital city, across the river Jumna, to an encampment of cowherds. Protected in this flight by the magical power of Viṣṇu himself, the Creator and Preserver of the world, Vasudeva with his divine son slipped unnoticed past the watchmen stationed before his apartment, past the door-guardians of the town, and by the same wondrous magic waded the great river, swelled though it was by rains. (See Text Plate C12.) The savior was thus conveyed to safety, but the mother was left alone—and so it is neither likely, nor even possible, that there should appear in India any work of art representing Devakī with her child Kṛṣṇa in the presence of four female attendants. These details of the nativity are basic to the whole legend and flatly contradict the details of the relief. On the one hand, four attendants are incompatible with the atmosphere and theme of secrecy, while on the other, the utterly reposeful idyllic atmosphere of security contradicts the essential idea of mortal danger. *Pl. C12*

It is equally out of the question that this relief should represent a scene from the life of any Jaina savior—for example, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, as at least one great scholar has proposed.[14] Because, though Jaina art participates somewhat in the evolution of style of the Hindu tradition, reflecting to a certain extent its artistic epochs, the monuments can be immediately recognized, almost unmistakably, and their peculiar features are not present in this specimen: their massive realism and lack of sensual atmosphere, their stony monumentality and lack of animating sweetness. We simply have to confess, I am afraid, that no convincing label has yet been found for this typically Hindu work of art.

Some of the finest female figures of the Gupta and later periods represent popular river-goddesses, in particular those of the Ganges, Jumna (Yamunā), and Saraswati, which are the holiest rivers of Northern India. In Plates 219 and *Pl. 219*
220 the goddess Yamunā is seen standing on a tortoise. She is placed between two *Pl. 220*

[14] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), fig. 178.

tall columns surmounted by an arch, and on the top of each pillar is a recumbent makara—a sea monster with the head of an elephant or crocodile that represents the life-force of the waters. Gushing from the uplifted mouths are streams with rippling waves, which meet above to form an ornamental arch. This beautiful figure appears in one of the cave-temples of Elūrā and is of the eighth to ninth century A.D. To some extent the archaic pattern has been retained, but again, as in the other later works that we have seen, the symbolic areas of the body have lost their specific accent and what strikes the eye is the graceful attitude of the entire form in its perfect balance of a sweet repose with a slightly subdued movement surging from within.

The heritage of Amarāvatī, as brought to perfection by the artists of the Gupta period, was carried forward in masterly variations by the sculptors who decorated the temples of the early Cāḷukya dynasty, in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and the artists of the other contemporary dynasties of the Deccan. The structural *Pl. 116* temple of the goddess Durgā at Aihoḷe (Aivaḷi) (Plate *116*), a few miles from the Cāḷukya capital of Bādāmī, in the central Deccan, was erected by the kings who reigned 550–642. It comprises a porch, a main hall, and an innermost sanctuary surmounted by a spire that is now in ruins. The pillared porch on the two sides, running the length of the building, widens to a gallery that encircles the structure and is meant for the ritual of circumambulation. The devotee should walk clockwise around the inner block with his right side to the monument—the usual form to be observed when approaching or leaving any shrine, image, or living saint to whom reverence is due. The pillars within are decorated with ornamental friezes representing chains of pearls and others representing dancing girls; these indicate that the sanctuary was designed as a copy of the celestial abode of the goddess. For such decorations represent the sensual pleasures and amorous delights held in store in the next world for all faithful worshipers who approach with due devotion the benign mother of life. Such devotees become gandharvas, consorts of the apsarases or divine dancing damsels, and enjoy this position for the period of their residence in the heaven; that is to say, as long as the treasure of the fruits of their meritorious behavior lasts. The reliefs show *Pl. 118, 119* numerous couples of this kind in this beatific celestial abode (Plates *118* and *119*), enjoying in youthful bodies a heavenly period of sensual bliss following their earthly lives of virtuous devotion.

This early Cāḷukya sculpture is—if possible—superior even to the Gupta. The weight and matter of the stone have vanished, obliterated by the perfectly natural playful contortions of the floating bodies, and the patterns of the flying couples have been projected with a fluent skill that has rendered forms derived

not from the world of waking consciousness but from vision. Vigorously carved in the round, the chisel providing for deep and powerful shadows, the apparitions are yet immaterial and unearthly. For the particular character of celestial beings, according to the Hindu view, is that they are formed not of the "gross" (*sthūla*) matter that constitutes all bodies on earth, but of "subtle" (*sūkṣma*) matter, the matter of dreams and inner contemplation. In these forms the quality of this phantasmagoric substance has been masterfully imparted to a solid mass of gross and earthly stone.

The peculiar quality of those superterrestrial spheres that play such a role in Indian yoga and religion—their subtle reality, which for the soul still shrouded in the gross bodily frame is something to be experienced only in the mind—has found in Indian art a manner of representation completely adequate. To forms hewn from solid stone there has been given the unearthly intangibility and lightness of sheer vision, the matter of the rock being transmuted into shapes of foam and mist comporting perfectly with the subtle mind-substance of supersensuous experience. Indeed, I wonder whether in the whole artistic tradition of mankind there exists another sculptural style in which this effect has been aspired to with such fervor and realized with such consummate ease. The works betray no trace of strain or exertion on the part of the artist-craftsmen. They seem to have appeared simply as a matter of course, as the anticipated result of a traditional skill in the handling of tools and patterns. And it is to be noted that in these works the male and female bodies are contrasted only as much as necessary for the theme of the compositions, there being no emphasis whatsoever on the differences of sex. All are filled with the same superb vitality, the youthful inexhaustible strength of celestial mates, while their soaring flight is the main subject of the composition—a voluptuous, dreamlike floating in the harmony of perfect union. The bodies, their details not insisted upon, are welded into a single dynamic hieroglyph, whose meaning is "floating in heavenly bliss."

The chief Cāḷukya monument is the series of cave-temples at Bādāmī, on the capitals of whose pillared verandas are some of the finest figures of goddesses in India. The new ideal of beauty, which had been developing since the period of Amarāvatī and which gained poise and harmony in the Gupta river-goddesses, here attains perfection. The height of the gracefully animated body in Plate *130* *Pl. 130* is emphasized by a tall tiara that surmounts the head, adding to the length already given by the long legs, which merge with the slender hips, as do these, in turn, by imperceptible transitions, with the supple waist. The animated musical line that descends from the armpit to the ankle shows perfectly what new image of womanly charm has been attained. The last traces of the archaic neolithic pattern

that played off the abundance of the breasts, hips, and thighs against a sophisticated, narrow waistline have been discarded definitely, in favor of a spirited slenderness that embodies the very soul of the flesh and of womanly being, here
Pl. 128, 129 and in Plates *128* and *129* rendered in attitudes of tender voluptuousness approaching celestial spirituality.

A somewhat broader style and a more vigorous substantiality prevail in the Northwest, in the Śiva temple of Elephanta, which was carved for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Pl. 257 princes of the eighth century A.D. Plate *257* shows the goddess in her manifestation as Pārvatī, the daughter of the mountain-king Himālaya, at the moment when Śiva, in the presence of all the deities of the pantheon, took her hand in the Pāṇigrahaṇa ceremony and so became her spouse. Behind the bride is King Himālaya, her father, also known as Parvatarāja, "the King of the Mountain," while to the right of Śiva is Brahmā, performing homa, as the chief priest at the marriage ceremony. A jubilant circle of flying divinities fills the background above.[15]

Pl. 259 The bride's figure, steeped in a deep earnestness (Plate *259*), is stirred, beneath its outward demureness, by a most passionate emotion and incredible delight at this climax of her life; for the union is here about to be fulfilled for which she has endured the most extreme ascetic austerities. Her form is slender and graceful, suffused by a quality of contentment, quietness, and solemnity, as befits the supreme occasion; yet she has retained something of the sweet heaviness—that more robust substantiality—which was the basic ingredient of the earlier ideal and which, as we shall see, remains to the end the fundamental Indian requirement of woman. It is a concept that was discarded only in certain periods, when schools of artists in the service of specific princely families—for example, the Gupta, Cāḷukya, and Pallava princes—aimed consciously at the celebration of a definitely aristocratic strain and so produced works that mark a radical departure from the perennial popular conceptions and constitute a kind of esoteric aesthetic ideal.

The art of the Pallava dynasty at Māmallapuram, in the South, dating from the seventh century A.D., represents the most spectacular and successful attempt to break completely from the traditional and popular ideal. There is a portrait-relief
Pl. 280a (Plate *280a*) of a royal donor, King Mahendravarman, with two of his wives, in a cave dedicated to Viṣṇu as the "Primeval Boar" (*ādi varāha*). The king holds a lotus on the open palm of his uplifted right hand in the attitude of pūjā.[16] The broad-shouldered, broad-chested physique, established firmly on its strong legs, the royal bearing, and the attitude of calm concentration are in contrast to the slim

[15] For an account of this wedding, cf. Zimmer, *The King and the Corpse* (New York and London, 1948), pp. 264–285.

[16] Cf. *supra*, pp. 70–71, 72–75.

and slender bodies of the two queens. With their heads slightly bent and their delicate limbs and tender bodies, which because of the tiaras seem taller than they actually are, these women are like flowers on long stems, swaying in a gentle breeze.

At Māmallapuram the art of the Pallava dynasty developed an ideal of the human form that was unique, something quite its own when compared with the works of the rest of the Indian mainland. Contrast the figures in the Ādi Varāha panels (Plate *283*), for instance, with the doorkeepers (*dvārapālas*) of Elephanta *Pl. 283*
(Plates *250* and *262*), guarding the four sides of the quadrangular rock-cut *Pl. 250, 262*
shrine containing the liṅgam.[17] These date from the eighth century and stand in the same underground hall as the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. In a different spirit from that of the Cāḷukya works, the substantiality of the stone was here preserved. The artists who carved the solid walls and massive columns, inspired by the material out of which they were to bring forth their work of negative sculpture, turned the interior of a mountain into a subterranean realm of apparitions in which all the figures are endowed with the qualities of the living rock from which they are formed. And this rock, as the artists believed, was part of the body of Mother Earth. Hence, though exhibiting the heroic physiques of the male principle, the door-guardians make manifest equally the calm forbearance of the motherly female. Their bodies are at once vigorous and tender. They are, in fact, among the most sublime and magnificent divine beings in human form ever created anywhere, either in the Orient or in the West. And they offer a most appropriate background against which to contrast the singular achievement—the particular ideal of beauty—of the Pallava domain.

The dvārapālas of Plate *283*, guarding the inner sanctuary of the Ādi Varāha *Pl. 283*
shrine at Māmallapuram in which the panel of King Mahendravarman and his wives appears, are of a gentle slenderness and grace that well represent the specific quality of the more southern style. There is in the deportment of these youths a meditative dreaminess, a lyrical musicality, that has keyed down their manly valor to such a degree that they can hardly have been meant to protect the shrine. They are, rather, reflections and inspirations of the mood of pious delight that the worshiper is to feel when he steps into the visible and tangible presence of his god. The sensitive bodies, symbols of an attitude and representing a sentiment and force of soul, are suffused by the refined voluptuousness of some spiritual realm.

In the communication of the sentiments of delight and pious rapture through the forms and attitudes of divine beings, Pallava sculpture is second to none, and this

[17] *Supra*, p. 23.

communication, as its spiritual aim, accounts for one of its most striking features, namely, its almost complete obliteration of the contrast of the two sexes in their
Pl. 272–277 outward aspect. Consider Plates 272–277. Here we behold the greatest monument of the Pallavas. A prodigious rock wall, in the broad sunshine, has been turned into a single relief, representing the mythical descent of the river Ganges from heaven to the earth at an early period of the legendary history of the world.[18] The sculptural spectacle measures eighty-eight and a half feet in length, thirty in height, and covers the whole face of the perpendicular surface. Multitudes are represented—deities, mortals, animals. Most of the forms are hastening from the two sides in the direction of a huge vertical cleft that breaks the surface of the rock and constitutes the center of the composition. This is where the celestial river, which in the beginning of time flowed in the firmament, condescended to fall to the earth in response to the request of a royal yogī, the sage Bhagīratha.

The mythical event has been recounted in detail in *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*.[19] For the present it will suffice simply to know that at an early period in the history of the world the earth was deprived completely of water as a result of certain curious magical happenings, and that the holy sage Bhagīratha gained the grace of the celestial river-goddess Gaṅgā by a series of incredible austerities, so that she consented to descend to the earth. The yogī had then to gain, through further austerities, the favor of Śiva, enthroned on the Himālayas, and beg him to receive the weight of the river on his adamantean head; for its fall would otherwise crush and shatter the surface of the earth. This boon too having been granted, the river—a kind of Milky Way—came down and became entangled in the masses of Śiva's matted hair, which somewhat slowed the mighty rush and reduced the destructive force of the heavenly stream. From the god's head the waters descended to the Himālayas, and there they break into the world to the present day.[20]

The Ganges leaves the northern mountain ranges at the so-called "Gate of the Ganges," Gaṅgā-dvāra, at Hardwar in northern India, and this holy place has been one of the most important resorts of pilgrimage in India since immemorial times.

Pl. 411–414
Pl. 256

[18] The most detailed account of this miracle appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakānda 38–44; cf. also *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan 108–109 and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 9. 9.

[19] Pp. *112–121*.

Pl. 139, 258

[20] Since the river is supposed to flow through Śiva's hair on its way from heaven to the Himālayas, the goddess Gaṅgā is commonly represented on Śiva's head in his images. She can be seen among the outflung locks in the Dancing Śiva of Plates *411–414*. See also the head of Śiva in Plate *256*. In the eighteenth-century miniature shown in *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, figure 70, the waters spring from the top of the deity's head and pour to the earth in a powerful cascade. The god is shown there in his androgyne manifestation, as *ardhanārī*, "the Half Woman." Compare Plates *139* and *258*, and *infra*, p. *146*.

Many of the most celebrated mythical events in the histories of the gods and demons, and of the great saints in the early periods of creation, are supposed to have taken place at Gaṅgā-dvāra; and even today one may see yogīs practicing their austerities in the cold, swiftly running waters and along the banks. The area has been visited for millenniums by a continuous stream of devotees.

In the relief at Māmallapuram the Ganges is to be thought of as descending through the central vertical cleft (Plate 276), which is seen peopled with water divinities. A giant nāga-king surges from the depth, followed by his queen, both steeped in pious delight and grateful wonder as the world-enlivening miracle comes to pass. Their heads are framed by gigantic cobra hoods and their bodies terminate in great coils. They are followed by a third nāga, in the form of a snake with expanded hood. And meanwhile, from every side, animals, demons, men, and gods flock to behold the miracle, to plunge into the celestial stream, and to worship the water. At the lower level are the elephants; a pair of monkeys squat on a ledge of rock; and above, in mid-air, the deities are approaching in quick flight, expressing reverence with their uplifted hands. Pl. 276

A prominent place has been assigned to a bearded personage, standing on one leg and stretching his arms upward in the classic yoga posture known as *ūrdhvabāhu*, "lifted arms." At his right is a four-armed figure of larger size, holding a trident (or perhaps a lance) and attended by a company of potbellied goblins. The god is Śiva with his gaṇas, or celestial host, and the yogī is Bhagīratha, receiving his boon. One of Śiva's left hands is in the "gift-bestowing posture" (*varada-mudrā*).

Another part of the composition shows an old man sitting in meditation beside a little temple built in the typical Pallava style. This again is the sage Bhagīratha. He is here engaged in the first series of his meditations, those that drew to him the god Brahmā and the boon of the promised waters. Again, therefore, as in the scene of the birth of the Buddha rendered at Amarāvatī, we are confronted with a single composition of successive moments—and even of widely separated places; for whereas the austerities addressed to Śiva took place in the Himālayas, those to Brahmā were accomplished in the South, at a holy place of pilgrimage known as "Cow's Ear," Gokarṇa. The vast panorama, that is to say, has been conceived and rendered in terms of the unity rather of a process than of space and time.

On the top of the rock, out of sight, are cut a number of channels, leading to the cleft, which indicate that a cistern once was up there. It seems to have been some twenty-three feet square, with a concrete bottom and plastered walls. The remains of a flight of rock-cut steps lead up to it, which suggest that it was filled by hand labor. On festal occasions, apparently, the water was allowed to flow down

the cleft in the form of a cascade, animating with its motion the serpent coils of the nāgas.

The heavenly couples flying to behold the miracle are excellent specimens of Pl. 274 the Pallava ideals of masculine and feminine beauty (Plate 274). The members of the two sexes, in their outward appearance, have more in common than in contrast. They are angelic figures, full of a subtle, unearthly sensuality; for they do not share the weight and bulk of earthly beings. Made of mind-stuff, "subtle matter" (*sūkṣma*), they are being carried along, not by wings, as in the tradition of the West, but by the nimble movements of their lovely, airlike forms, like melodies or sentiments, flowing on from sheer delight.

In the chief monuments of this Pallava style Indian art blossoms in the realization of a new and graceful idealism. The abstract symbolism of the neolithic period has been completely discarded; so, too, the realism of the donor figures in the cave-temples of the last centuries B.C. and the first A.D., which emphasized a robust earthly beauty and implied a richness of animal life-force. Nor do we feel any sense of the great weight and eloquence of the rock, as at Elephanta. The beings are conceived as phantasmagoric; seen, as it were, from a distance, or in a mirage, in silent vision. Nevertheless, their forms are realized from within, with plastic strength. Everything has been softened and keyed to the orchestra of a chamber music full of sweetness, and yet there is a vivid inhabiting force, derived from the bold generalization of anatomy to the essentials of the major forms. There are no deep undercuttings, no dramatic gestures, no violent effects. The manner of presentation, based on a mental synthesis of idealized structures, ignoring details, produces the qualities of dignity and austerity, combining an abundance of latent energy with restful serenity. And this quality of repose accords exactly with what is conceived to be the attitude of the Indian gods themselves, whenever they descend, in dreamy aloofness, to enact their parts in the cosmic drama of the world-process.

4. *The Forms of the Great Goddess in Indian Art*

ONE of the most amazing and delightful specimens of the Pallava conception of Pl. 285 feminine beauty is the figure of the great goddess shown in Plate 285. She is here represented in her triumphant aspect, in the fierce manifestation known as Durgā: she who is "difficult (*dur*) to go against (*ga*)"; that is to say, "the unassailable,

unconquerable one." For the mother of the world is unyielding and unattainable by force; she manifests her favors only when pleased by some act of complete surrender. Men, therefore, to win her grace, have gone so far as to sacrifice themselves at her altars, cutting their own heads off and spilling their lives before her terrible feet.[31] And yet she is called *Tripura-sundarī*, "The Fair One (*sundarī*) of the Three Cities (*tripura*)"; that is to say, the fairest being in the three spheres of the universe—heaven, earth, and the air between. The highest goddess, this divine incarnation of the supreme power of womanhood, is feminine charm incarnate, both in its spellbinding and in its devastating aspects, and since we are at present involved in a consideration of the Indian ideal of feminine beauty, let us devote to her the next few pages.

The title of the relief shown in Plate 284 is Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, "The Unconquerable Goddess (*durgā*), Crushing (*mardinī*) the Demon (*asura*) Buffalo (*mahiṣa*)," and depicts one of her most celebrated and wondrous exploits—that of rescuing the universe from the tyranny of the buffalo-shaped demon Mahiṣa. This triumph, one of the most popular and well known in the long romance of her mythical career, is shown frequently in Indian art, and its details are recounted in a dramatic poetical style in the celebrated Sanskrit poem *Devī Māhātmya*, "The Description of the Great (*māhā*) Self (*ātman*) of the Goddess (*devī*)." *Māhātmya* is a technical term designating a special branch of sacred writings devoted to expositions of the divine power of the hidden Self, as the very core both of deities and of those holy shrines of pilgrimage where the deities' powers, invisibly present, are continually working visible miracles. In the *Devī Māhātmya* the Inner Self of the Goddess, which is veiled by her outward form, is revealed to the devotee in the popular legend of her miraculous origin and exploits; and this includes, as one of its most thrilling moments, the battle with Mahiṣa. Pl. 284

What is most striking in this relief is the nimble, slender grace and dashing courage of the maidenlike goddess. She appears as a young amazon, bestriding her mount, the lion, and rushing at the clumsy demon who is greater in stature and strength than all the gods. Another remarkable feature is the extraordinary restraint and discreetness with which the vigorous theme has been rendered; for what is shown is not the victory. On the contrary, the battle is still far from its decisive stroke. The adversary of the divine order stands mightily on both feet; he weighs in his hands his great iron club; and he watches for the moment to

[31] See J. Ph. Vogel, "The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, VI (1931), pp. 539–543, and for an example of this type of self-offering, Zimmer, *The King and the Corpse*, p. 210. There is a discussion also in Leo Frobenius, *Indische Reise* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 189–191.

fling this against his enemy. The demon-host that he commands has not yet been conquered, the parasol of universal kingship is still held above his towering body, and the diadem has not been dislodged from his head. He is moving away, yet watching for his moment to lunge. And the goddess, showering arrows at him and his host, is still engaged in the opening stratagems of battle.

Nevertheless, there can be no question as to who will eventually prevail. The subtle and unique achievement of this masterpiece is that though an undecisive, fleeting phase of the encounter has been presented, the outcome is obvious from the attitudes of the adversaries. The demon has not been touched, yet one sees that he is ultimately to be overcome. For the unconcern of the goddess, which is revealed in the playfulness of her handling of the bow and arrows and in the way in which she bears her sword as she rides ahead, is in telling contrast to the posture of her crafty opponent, stubbornly and reluctantly falling away while watching for an opportunity to deliver his blow. The exuberance of valor and soul-force, cheerfulness and self-assurance, on the side of Durgā and her attendants, playing in opposition to the cunning, brutal strength and the material bulk of the demon-host, represents an antithesis of spiritual powers that immediately shows who is going to win.

If now we compare this and other works in the Pallava style with the characteristic monuments of earlier and later Indian periods, it will be apparent that the particular gift of the Pallava craftsmen lay in their use of undertones and half-shades to hint at the meanings of their subjects by allusion and foreboding—never
Pl. 234 directly representing them in decisive dramatic scenes. Plate *234*, for comparison, is a monumental relief, treating the same subject of the goddess conquering the buffalo demon, in the Rāmeśvara cave at Elūrā, probably dating *c. 650* A.D. In a solemn gesture, the four-armed deity manifests herself in the supreme act of slaying the titan who has upset the order of the universe. Triumphantly, and as if carrying to completion a task preconceived in every detail, she sets her right foot calmly on his back. She is not in haste; for she is beyond time. The fierce struggle is for her like some ritual act, to be completed solemnly. Flying divinities, dimly visible, float in the space above, while armed attendants, in awe and admiration, watch her enactment of the role of world savior. There is a majestic mocking leisureliness in her procedure. She makes herself manifest to the eyes of her devotees in an attitude of almost complete repose, expressing, as it were, her timeless superiority to the demonic self-centered forces that for a brief spell of some millenniums have been disturbing the harmony of the cosmic order. What is rendered is not the drama of the struggle but a hieroglyph of timeless victory—a "static manifestation," in the manner of an image fashioned for worship. Durgā

here breathes forth all the calm and self-assurance of the supreme maternal principle, which is eternally victorious through the reaches of time.

About one century later (in the second half of the eighth century A.D.) the relief shown in Plate 210 was carved in the Kailāsanātha temple, also at Elūrā, Pl. 210
and though it is devoted to the same theme, the moment is now loaded with tension and dramatized to the utmost. Having eight arms and brandishing weapons of all kinds in a veritable forest, or halo, of hands, Durgā rides her lion. The mount, with a magnificent bound, makes for the adversary, while the attendants of the goddess, from beneath the lion, move forward in support of the attack. All the gods who have been deposed from their cosmic thrones by the bull-shaped titan have come together in the sky, immediately above, full of tension and yet with confidence, watching the struggle that is to liberate the universe and restore their own auspicious rule. Three arrows from the goddess's bow are reaching the demon simultaneously and the battle is approaching its climax. The cornered giant is not falling back, however; the scales of the balance still are in equilibrium. The moment of supreme tension, when the adversaries actually clash, has been selected as the subject of this effectively dramatic work.

In a relief on the Vaitāl Deul, Bhuvaneśvara, Oṛissā, dating *c.* 1000 A.D. (Plate 326), the moment of the climax of the goddess's triumph has again been selected, Pl. 326
as in the Rāmeśvara cave, but here, instead of a mood of static repose, one of extreme dynamism and dramatization has been achieved. From between two couples of donors, who are depicted in amorous intimacy, the figure of the warrior-like goddess emerges as a challenging contrast. She is trampling her titan foe, and he is breaking, sinking before her. Having planted her right foot upon his shoulder, she is firmly yet calmly pressing back his muzzle with one of her left arms, and meanwhile, with a long stafflike trident, stabbing down at him with all her might, yet playfully. For the performance of the exploit does not tax her. There is something perfunctory, negligent, even easygoing, about her attitude—as if this deed, which is second to none and far beyond the power of all the gods combined, were but an episode or mere matter of routine for a being of her unattainable and irresistible nature.

In comparison with the subdued undertones and half-shades, innuendoes and forecasts, of the graceful Pallava relief, we have here a display of direct realism. One can feel the vertical shock by which the huge body of the demon is being crushed, while the irradiating bodily energy of the goddess tends to burst the frame of the composition. Such realistic brutality and dynamism are traits dominant in the later style of Hindu sculpture and part of the rich manifestation of its virtuosity. Nevertheless, they enclose the germs of a slow decline—that gradual

deterioration, during the course of which the ineffable charm of the Gupta, Pallava, Cāḷukya, and Rāṣṭrakūṭa periods was to be dissipated, irrecoverably. For Indian art lost, eventually, the subtle sense of spiritual voluptuousness and paradoxical aloofness from its representations of superhuman beings.

A preponderance of the horrendous in the apparitions of the cosmic mother is a characteristic of the later periods of Hindu art and worship: it is not, however, something quite new; for fury is an archaic trait intrinsic to her ambivalent nature. She brings forth and fosters all creatures, but is simultaneously their common grave. Relentlessly, she swallows back like a monster the beings that she pro-
Pl. 424 duces. In Plate 424, which is a late work, in bronze, from the South, she is seen lolling her tongue to lap the life-blood of her children. Her garlands are made of deadly cobras, not flowers, and yet her hands are lifted in the gift-bestowing and fear-dispelling mudrās. This wild demon is "The Dark One," Kālī; she is absolutely black. The name is derived from the noun *kāla*, meaning "black" but also "time." She is Time—relentless, irresistible—licking up mankind.

Mahākāla, "Great Time" (that is, "Eternity"), is one of the names of Śiva, the male counterpart of this prodigious goddess. Kālī and Kāla connote time and eternity as the highest cosmogonic principles. Eternity is the substratum, the home and the beginning of all life and all becoming; time is what brings everything forth and presently destroys it, obliterating, swallowing, and annihilating the beings that originate from it and then are carried on its flow for the brief periods of their lives. Time is simultaneously the origin, life, and oblivion of all things: appearance, duration, and disappearance: the all-producing, all-maintaining, all-devouring maternal substance of the universe. Time is the wheel of birth and death.

This recognition of the negative aspect of the maternal principle descends from the antiquity of the neolithic. It is one of those perennial images that persisted in the popular religions of the non-Āryan branches of the Indian folk, and in the period when the predominantly masculine pantheon of the Vedic Āryans began to wane it returned dramatically to a dominant position. The old mother goddess came back into her own after the conquering wave had been absorbed by the Indian land. And this victory of the finally unconquerable goddess over the gods—not merely her victory over the buffalo—is the real theme of the myth of Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, as recounted in the *Devī Māhātmya*. The text in which the tale appears forms a portion of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, "The Old Sacred Tradition (*purāṇa*) as Told by the Divine Sage Mārkaṇḍeya." [22]

[22] Tr. by F. Eden Pargiter (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal: Bibliotheca Indica; Calcutta, 1904), pp. 465 522. The killing of the asura Mahiṣa is described in cantos 82–84 (pp. 473–488).

Indian mythology is filled from beginning to end with accounts of the periodic struggles of the gods (*devas, suras*) with the demons (*asuras*), their half brothers by the same father but a rival mother. It is a warfare comparable to that of the Olympians and Titans in the early Greek mythology, or of the gods and giants in the Nordic tradition of the Eddas. The order of the universe is conceived to be supported and controlled by the various divinities in their proper spheres: the wind-god (Vāyu), the fire-god (Agni), the sun-god (Sūrya), besides numerous deities of more limited powers, and the king of the gods (Indra), who, wielding the thunderbolt, commands the rain clouds and pours down their fertilizing waters. Time and again this beneficent government, controlling the metabolism of the organism of the universe, has been overthrown by the pride and ambition of some violent demon-king, possessed of a reckless will-to-power. Invariably, such a monster begins his rise by accumulating psychic energy through a severe regimen of ascetic exercises. By inflicting upon himself bodily mortifications he overcomes the feebleness characteristic of mortals, and by denying to his life-energies every possible natural outlet he builds a tremendous reservoir of force. Thus he creates a magic tension between himself and others that makes the very gods tremble in their seats. Damming ruthlessly the stream of his life, he converts himself into a power center of high potentials capable of smashing every obstruction.

This kind of psychic exercise is known in India as *tapas*. Primarily, the word denotes "fiery heat." Etymologically, it is related to the Latin *tepidus*, English "tepid," etc., being the Sanskrit equivalent, sound for sound and letter for letter, of "tepor." The Indian term connotes, however, not gentle but severe heat: the merciless irradiance of the tropical sun or of blazing fire. The accumulation of such glowing energy through self-control conduces to a spiritual incandescence in the "glowing ascetic" (*tapasvin*), which ultimately attracts to him one or another of the highest gods: either Brahmā or Viṣṇu or Śiva. It is usually Brahmā, sometimes Śiva, least often Viṣṇu. Drawn to the superman by the magic of his yoga,[13] the god inquires: "Can I help you?"; for the Lord of the World—the god beyond the gods—is compelled to recognize the almost unbounded soul-force of such a yogī and must grant, in reward for his titanic effort, whatever he asks.

Invariably, the demand is for some kind of physical superiority, practical invulnerability, and immortality, and once this has been yielded the gods can escape destruction at the hands of the demon only by abdicating their thrones and abandoning the universe to his arbitrary despotism. The monster then throws everything into a state of chaos and confusion by founding a New Order based on impiety and on his own selfish enjoyment of the limitless power he has attained.

[13] Compare *supra*, p. 88, Bhagīratha and the Descent of the Ganges.

After that, nothing but the intervention of the highest, world-supporting, transcendent principle itself—in the guise of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, or her son, the war-god Skanda Kārttikeya—can subdue him and restore the wind-god, fire-god, sun-god, king of the gods, etc., to their proper spheres.[24]

When Viṣṇu enacts the role of the divine savior, his intervention takes place through an "incarnation" or "descent" (*avatār*), an emanation or spark of his divine essence that descends from his divinely unconcerned sphere of eternal bliss and carries into the turmoil of the world a minute yet tremendous fraction of supramundane, world-enclosing and -supporting power. This invincible particle of absolute being then takes the form of some divine animal, human hero, or avenging monster. Comparably, in the mythical tale of the salvation of the world from the demon buffalo the deed was wrought by the cosmic mother.

As we learn from the text of the *Devī Māhātmya:* once again, through terrific austerities, a powerful demon had acquired invincible strength. Assuming the shape of a gigantic buffalo—in keeping with his strength—he expelled the gods from their spheres of power and regaled himself in reckless, selfish tyranny over the universe. Whereupon all the gods, finding themselves unable to conquer him, went, with Brahmā in the lead, to Viṣṇu and Śiva. Complaining of the triumphant demon, they implored the assistance of these two high gods. And the great two became filled, immediately, with wrath. They poured forth from their mouths fiery flames. So did all the other deities: breathing out the fiery energies of their wrath, each exhaled the peculiar force of his particular nature. And these vehement fires, issuing from all the mouths, combined into a single cloud of flame, which grew, condensed, and eventually took form, assuming the shape of the goddess—with eighteen arms.

"By what was Śiva's energy her face was developed, and by Yama's energy grew her hair, and her arms by Viṣṇu's energy, by the Moon's her twin breasts; and her waist came into being by Indra's energy, and by Varuṇa's her legs and thighs, by the Earth's energy her hips, by Brahmā's energy her feet, her toes by the Sun's energy, and by the Vasus' energy her hands and fingers, and by Kuvera's her nose; and her teeth grew by the Prajāpati's energy, and three eyes were developed by Agni's energy; and her eyebrows were the energy of the two twilights, and her ears Vāyu's energy; and this coming into being of the energies of the gods

[24] *Editor's note:* A distinction is made between *Īśvara*, the Lord God, who is the personification of the Absolute, and *deva*, a god charged with a limited function. In the former role appear those great divinities who are represented as creating, supporting, and annihilating the universe: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, or the Goddess. These are not quite comparable to the Hebrew Yahweh, since the Absolute (*brahman*), which they variously personify to the human intellect, is beyond all name and form and hence beyond theology. The lesser gods—wind-god, fire-god, sun-god, etc.—who come into being at the creation of the world, personify cosmic forces, and dissolve with the world dissolution.

became the auspicious goddess. Then gazing at her, who had sprung from the combined energies of all the gods, the Immortals who were afflicted by Mahiṣa felt a keen joy."[25]

The particularized and limited powers of the various divinities, their severally specialized, one-sided attitudes, thus became integrated in an apparition of the divine mother of the universe. They formed a single overwhelming totality, which was identical with the primeval, cosmic life-force and so connoted omnipotence. The differentiated energies of the various gods or functioning aspects of the universe were sent back, through a gesture of perfect self-surrender, to the primeval center and source of force from which they had originally sprung, when the universe first unfolded into its multitude of differentiated spheres. Or, looked at the other way: in a moment of extreme emergency, the primeval maternal principle reabsorbed what had been evolved in the beginning from its own all-containing, all-producing essence. And the gods then confirmed their abdication by a most significant gesture: they bestowed upon the goddess their weapons, ornaments, implements, and symbols; placed them in her numerous hands and on her numerous limbs.[26]

"The bearer of the bow Pināka, drawing a trident forth from his own trident, gave it to her; and Kṛṣṇa gave a discus, pulling it out of his own discus; and Varuṇa gave her a conch, Agni a spear, Māruta gave a bow and a quiver filled with arrows. Indra, lord of the Immortals, gave a thunderbolt, pulling it out of his own thunderbolt; the Thousand-eyed gave her a bell from his elephant Airāvata. Yama gave a rod from his own rod of Fate, and the lord of the waters a noose; and the Prajāpati gave her a necklace of beads, Brahmā an earthen waterpot; the Sun bestowed his own rays on all the pores of her skin, and Kāla gave her a sword and a spotless shield; and the Ocean of Milk a spotless necklace of pearls and also a pair of undecaying garments. And a celestial crest-jewel, a pair of earrings, and

[25] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 82. 13–18 (tr. by Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 474).

[26] *Editor's note:* The logic of the goddess's supremacy is that all names and forms are of her creation, hence even those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva as personifications of the absolute. Only *brahman*, the Absolute in itself, transcends her inflection, being that which through her is inflected. She is time (cf. *supra*, p. 94), *brahman* is eternity. Śiva ineffable, as *brahman*, is therefore coeval with her, but as a personification (name and form) of *brahman*, he is of her creation.

When, syncretistically, Brahmā is represented as the Creator, Viṣṇu as the Preserver, and Śiva as the Destroyer, these three are but the chief functionaries of Time. Likewise, when each is represented, by his sectarian devotees, as subsuming all the roles, he is again the functionary of Time. Only in his ineffability can the Lord God (cf. *supra*, p. 96, Editor's note) be said to be transcendent; but the ineffable is equally the essence of the goddess. "She is the Primal Energy," declared Śrī Rāmakrishna, her most recent great devotee. "When that Energy remains inactive, I call It Brahman, and when It creates, preserves, and destroys, I call It Śakti or Kālī." "That which is called Brahman is really Kālī." (*The Gospel of Śrī Rāmakrishna*, tr. by Swāmī Nikhilānanda, New York, 1942, p. 734.) For her devotees she is the All in all.

bracelets, and a brilliant half-moon ornament, and armlets over all her arms, and also a pair of bright anklets, a necklet of the finest make, and rings and gems on all her fingers—these Viśvakarman gave to her, besides a brightly polished ax, weapons of many shapes and armor that could not be pierced. Ocean gave her a garland of unfading lotus flowers for her head and another for her breast, and a very brilliant lotus flower besides. Himavat gave her a lion to ride on and gems of various kinds. Kuvera gave a drinking cup full of wine. And Seṣa, the lord of all the serpents, who supports this earth, gave her a serpent necklace adorned with large gems. Honored by other gods also with gifts of ornaments and weapons, the goddess uttered a loud roar blended with a horselaugh, again and again. The whole welkin was filled with her terrible roar. By that penetrating and exceedingly great roar a great echo arose, all the worlds shook and the seas trembled, the earth quaked and all the mountains moved. And 'Conquer thou!' exclaimed the gods with joy to her who rode on the lion and the holy sages extolled her as they bowed their bodies in faith." [37]

The great roar of Durgā and the agitation of the universe brought the demon rushing to the focus of the disturbance, attended by the innumerable myriads of his armies. And he beheld the goddess, pervading the cosmos with her light, causing the earth to bow at the touch of her feet, grazing the firmament with her crest, shaking the underworld with the playful twang of her bowstring, and filling the sky with her numerous arms. Then began a battle between the goddess and the enemies of the gods, in which every quarter of the heavens was illumined with the weapons and arms hurled in abundance. Durgā, seated on her lion, armed with the implements of all the gods and inflated by their hymns of praise, having become the manifest totality of the amalgamated forces of the universe, clove, as it were in merest play, the weapons and arms that were rained at her by raining forth her own weapons and arms. She betrayed no exertion in her countenance. And the lion that carried her, raging and with ruffled mane, stalked among the armies of the demon, like fire through the forests.

"And the deep breaths, which the goddess fighting in the battle breathed forth, came into real being at once as troops by hundreds and thousands. These fought with axes, with javelins, and swords and halberds, destroying the asura bands, being invigorated by the goddess's energy. And of these bands some raised a din with large drums, and others with conchs, and others besides with drums, in that great battle-festival. Then the goddess with her trident, her club, with showers of

[37] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 82. 19–34 (tr. by Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–475). This eloquent ceremonial is represented in a curious and interesting miniature in a manuscript of the *Devī Māhātmya*. Cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, fig. 56.

spears, and with her sword and other weapons slaughtered the great asuras in hundreds, and laid others low who were bewitched with the ringing of her bell; and binding other asuras with her noose she dragged them along the ground. Others, split in two by sharp slashes of her sword and crushed by blows from her mace, lay on the ground; and some, grievously battered by her club, vomited blood. Some were felled to the ground, pierced in the breast by her trident. Some, being closely massed together, were cut to pieces by the torrent of her arrows in the battlefield. Some were cloven by the goddess into two parts, with a single arm and eye and foot to each part; and others fell and rose again, although with head cut off. Headless corpses, still grasping the finest weapons, fought with the goddess; and others danced there in the battle, keeping time to the strains of the musical instruments. Corpses, with heads severed, still held swords and spears and lances in their hands; and other great asuras were shouting to the goddess, 'Stand! Stand!' With the prostrate chariots, elephants, horses, and asuras the earth became impassable where that great battle took place. And large rivers, formed of torrents of blood, straightway flowed along there amidst the armies of the asuras, and among the elephants, asuras, and horses. Thus the goddess brought that great army of the asuras to utter destruction in a moment, even as fire utterly consuming a huge pile of grass and timber. And the lion, with quivering mane, stalked on, roaring aloud." [28]

The Pallava representation shown in Plate 288 of the victory of the goddess, *Pl. 288*
when, following the mighty battle, she met, crushed, and beheaded the asura
Mahiṣa himself, avoids—as does the Pallava relief already discussed (Plate 284) *Pl. 284*
—even the slightest suggestion of the wild effects and sanguinary details described with such emphasis in the actual text of the legend. Though Durgā is here provided with ten arms and a forest of hands, she is not boasting of them in a frantic display of cosmic energy; on the contrary, she is simply exhibiting her trophy, the head of the bull, in calm serenity, while standing above it in a benign and graceful attitude, being herself of a wonderfully gentle form. The art of the Pallava dynasty, in all of its representations of the breath-taking episodes of Indian mythology, might be said to be anti-Wagnerian in its attitude—at least in so far as its instrumentation and choices of the moments to be depicted are concerned. For its tendency is to avoid dramatization and to eschew the rich orchestrations that result from playing up energetic, magnificent, or brutal effects. The style, its aims and results, are in the range rather of chamber music than of the gorgeous baroque opera with violent climaxes, which the other periods of Indian art so often suggest.

[28] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 82. 51–67 (tr. by Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 476–478).

The Pallava period represents a climax in the development of the South Indian art of the early Middle Ages, and yet its achievements were practically obliterated in the south by the work of the later dynasties, the Coḷa and the Pāṇḍya. In the finest, most noble and wonderfully gifted schools of art of Further India, on the other hand, it exerted a long-lasting and fundamental influence. The monuments of Java and Cambodia, in their first stages, are reflections, in the main, of the Gupta and Pallava forms; for, apparently, the stream of settlers from the Indian mainland to these islands came largely from the Pallava sphere, and they laid the foundations, first of a Hindu and then of a Buddhist civilization. They seem to have clung for centuries to the ideals and techniques that had been favored in their motherland when they left it. And so they perpetuated the tradition of classical India in the new surroundings even after it had been supplanted by a later style in India proper.

Pl. 288 Pl. 284 Though the goddess in Plate *288* is more full-bodied than the amazon in Plate *284*, she is still far from the ancient and popular ideal of feminine beauty. The hips are trim, and the delicate but solid form is without accent on symbolic detail. Its gentle contours serve subtly as a commentary on the sweet and calm expression of the divine face and on the graceful gesture with which the triumphant goddess exhibits the symbols of her strength. The trophy of her victim is sufficient proof of her valor. She does not insist. She simply appears, manifesting herself for the delight of the devotee—because the victory, violent though it was, had been that of the womanly, maternal principle over the brute force of sheer vitality, which had been embodied in the buffalo-shaped tyrant. According to the Pallava view of the goddess, the wonderful, more mysteriously potent, gentler yet finally victorious principle that is the female is the dominant inspiration of all her manifestations. Hers was a victory, therefore, not of, but against, the aggressive and destructive, violent, self-centered manly force, which, in its bull-like onrush is simultaneously creative and destructive. Masculine powers are chaotic in their unbridled fury, aimless in their frantic and blind assault, whereas the mother restores harmony and order, since she is the presiding principle of co-operative control and harmony represented in the archetypal cosmic family.

The ascendancy of this principle over the male gods who yielded their weapons and symbols to the goddess, so that their various single attitudes might be amalgamated in an omnipotent totalization of cosmic force, represented a great crisis in the history of Hinduism. The willing, nay enthusiastic, abdication of the whole male pantheon marked the return to power of that old mother whom the Āryans—patriarchal and warlike—had suppressed, but who now ascended in triumph to the very pinnacle of the Indian Olympus. She had held that paramount

position in the neolithic age—indeed, she had never really resigned it. Nevertheless, for a period of somewhat more than a millennium it had looked as though her reign had been superseded, decisively, by that of the gods under their warrior-king Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt and the sender of fertilizing rains.

An extended epoch of history came to a close when the goddess took back her powers and returned, supreme, to the zenith of the universe. The curtain fell upon a stage on which a violent drama, full of victories, compromises, defeats, and reconciliations, had been enacted—that of the gradual merging and amalgamation of the Āryan with the pre-Āryan civilizations of India. In the eyes of the perennial mother of life, however, it had all been but an episode, and when it closed it was as though nothing at all had happened. Her sweet, victorious self-manifestation betrays no exaltation—nor any weariness—following the vicissitudes of the conflict. She simply stands here again, as before: spotless womanly charm, the life-force incarnate; the same irresistible, unattainable one as ever; unwearied and betraying no sign of having suffered even a moment of anxiety and incertitude before emerging in her own true character again, triumphant.

This divine figure of the mother who supports and blesses all her children, all the creatures of the world, even while crushing the fierce foe, after having reabsorbed into herself the forces of the cosmos, has become the supreme symbol of present-day India in her awakening to belligerent nationalism.[29] The trophy, as far as I know, has never been understood as a reference to John Bull—the foreign rule of the British administration—and yet it is surely a pleasant coincidence that, in her supreme historic victory, the goddess did away with a demon who was a bull-necked, bull-headed, usurping tyrant. In the sentiments of the present-day situation the paleolithic and neolithic figure of Mother Earth has become Mother India, the holy motherland, the native soil, which is to be cleared of the interfering foreign power ruling from afar. And in the atmosphere of India's long, and now culminating, struggle for freedom and self-sufficiency, this transformation has placed the cosmic great goddess in the highest position, so to speak, of a contemporary political mythology. It is to her that the new national anthem is addressed—a grave, solemn hymn, *Bande Mātaram*, conceived and composed by Bankim Chatterji, a Bengali poet of the generation just preceding Rabindranāth Tagore. The chant begins: "I praise and adore the Mother. . . ." This is the great anthem of the New India. And in this invocation of the mother of old, the whole weight of India's deep religious devotion has been brought to focus in a vow of self-surrender (*bhakti*) to the modern national cause.

In late medieval and contemporary Indian art the most striking detail of the

[29] *Editor's note:* These lectures were delivered in 1941.

images of Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī is often a human figure emerging from the
Pl B4a neck of the beheaded buffalo. In Text Plate *B4a,* for example, the huge head of the tyrant has just been lopped off by the goddess and the teeth of her lion are still sunk in the animal's back, but a human figure is breaking into view and she has caught him by the hair. This is a definitely sanguinary version of the great event, representing an art of harsh, even brutal realism, answering the demands of popular taste and quite off the line of the subtle Pallava creations. Yet it corresponds exactly to the textual tradition of the combat, as related in detail in the *Devī Māhātmya.*

For—as we are told—when the goddess and her divine host had annihilated the army of the demon-king with showers of arrows, great strokes of the sword, blows of the club, and snarlings of the noose (the Indian lasso), the goddess, in a series of single combats, did away with the military leaders and champions of the enemy, and so came, eventually, to the decisive, hand-to-hand collision with Mahiṣa himself. "And he, great in valor, pounding the surface of the earth with his hoofs in his rage, tossed the mountains aloft with his horns and bellowed. Crushed by his impetuous wheelings the earth crumbled to pieces; and the sea, lashed by his tail, overflowed in every direction; and the clouds, pierced by his swaying horns, were rent to fragments; mountains fell in hundreds from the sky, being cast down by the blast of his breath.

"Caṇḍī ["The Wrathful One": a favorite name for the terrific, disastrous aspect of the goddess] looked on the great asura, as swollen with rage he rushed on, and gave way to her wrath, then, in order to slay him. She flung her noose full over him and bound the great asura fast. But he quit his buffalo shape when held bound in the great battle and became suddenly a lion. While Ambika ["The Mother"] was cutting off the lion's head he took the form of a man with a scimitar in his hand. Straightway the goddess, with her arrows, swiftly pierced the man, together with his scimitar and shield. Then he became a huge elephant and tugged at her great lion with his trunk and roared, but the goddess cut off his trunk with her sword as he tugged. Next the great asura assumed again his buffalo shape, and so shook the three worlds, with all that is movable and immovable therein. Enraged thereat, Caṇḍī, the mother of the world, laughed, as her eyes gleamed ruddy, and quaffed a sublime beverage, again and again [from the bowl filled with the mead of immortality, which she carried in one of her many hands]. The asura roared out, puffed up with his own strength, valor, and frenzy, and hurled mountains against Caṇḍī with his horns. And she, with showers of arrows, shivering to atoms those mountains that he hurled, spoke to him, with her mouth made the more ruddy by the mead that she had drunk.

" 'Roar, roar on thy brief moment, O fool,' she said, 'the while I quaff this mead! The gods will soon be shouting, when I slay thee, even here.'

"She spoke, and leaped upwards and came down on that great asura, and she kicked him on the neck with her foot and struck him with her trident.[30] And thereupon he, being assailed by her foot, half issued forth from his own mouth in sooth, being completely encompassed by the goddess's valor. That great asura, being thus attacked, half issued forth indeed. And the goddess struck off his head with her great sword and laid him low.

"Then perished the whole demon army with great lamentation. And all the hosts of the gods rose to the highest exaltation. The gods and the great heavenly sages poured forth praises to the goddess. The gandharva chiefs burst into song and the bevies of the apsarases into dances." [31]

The detail of a human shape emerging from the neck of a buffalo trodden to the ground by the goddess is an unmistakable sign of an image of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī. One of the finest examples is a piece not of Indian but of Hindu-Javanese sculpture (Plate 502), which is generally referred to as the "Durgā of Leiden," *Pl. 502* since it is preserved in the museum at Leiden, Holland. It is a work of but moderate size—like many Hindu masterpieces—measuring only five feet nine inches from top to ground. But to see such a form and attitude reduced to this unpretentious scale leaves the beholder spellbound.

The use of diminished proportions for subjects which, considering their concept and details, might seem to require monumental rendition is one of the secrets of the peculiar charm that emanates from many Indian works of art. The same device was used in modern Europe by one of the most gifted and daring sculptors of all time, the French master Rodin, not a few of whose creations in bronze and marble were rendered in scales considerably less than that of life. Rodin broke completely with the thoughtless habit of clinging literally to actual dimensions, and he disdained equally the colossal, which is often devoid of vitality and simply tiring to the eye. The effect of his condensations is amazing. But the art of India, in somewhat the same spirit, had rejected the life-sized image centuries before. It has produced a few colossal figures, to render ideas that demand the gigantic, but these are filled with a tension from within that justifies the superhuman dimension; for the size itself is always charged, in these cases, with a specific spiritual meaning.[32] In general, however, Indian masterpieces surprise and enchant by their moderate size and their utter indifference to the actual stature of the human frame.

[30] Śiva's weapon, here in the hand of his *śakti* or living-force (cf. *supra*, p. 97, Editor's note, and *infra*, p. 195).

[31] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 83. 24–41 (tr. by Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 480–481).

[32] E.g., cf. *infra*, p. 187.

This betrays the main source of their inspiration, which is not surrounding nature stubbornly studied and slavishly copied from living models, but inner vision, divine apparitions held within the concentrated mind. The godly beings portrayed are first brought into focus before the artist's inward eye by yogic meditation, and the interior presence then serves as the model for the craft of the artist's hand. Thus Indian forms proceed from the heart, not from physical perceptions gathered through the eye from without, and their vitality is that of subtle matter, not of gross.[33]

The Durgā of Leiden is the work of a late Javanese period, yet is in every respect worthy of the best traditions inherited from the Gupta and Pallava periods of India proper. The earliest Indian immigrants into the island seem to have settled during the first to sixth centuries A.D. in the western part, and to have been followed, during the seventh and eighth centuries, by a second wave, which arrived in middle Java and still further east. The great classical period, which saw

Pl. 476–494 the construction in central Java of Borobuḍur (Plates 476–494) and many other incomparable Buddhist, as well as Hindu, monuments, came to its flowering during the eighth century and the first half of the ninth, and was terminated *c.* 860 A.D., when the brilliant dynasty of the Śailendras of Sumatra, which had spread its sway over the middle portion of the island, withdrew. Following the change of rule, there was a renaissance of Hindu art under local Javanese royal houses, and to this later period belongs the Durgā of Leiden. The image was wrought in eastern Java in the thirteenth century under the dynasty of the city of Siṅgasāri (1280–1292 A.D.), and was placed in a temple to the goddess that had been constructed in that capital in the form of a great tower.

During the second half of this later period of Javanese art and culture there was a gradual, slow, yet irresistible rise to ascendancy of native Indonesian elements. The effects are not yet perceptible in the present piece, however, where the gentle and idealistic tendency of the Gupta and Pallava styles dominates throughout. The goddess is shown at the supreme moment of her merciless triumph, but there is no trace of brutal sanguinary realism. No hint of her terrific, disastrous aspect can be detected in the apparition, which is pervaded, rather, by a sublime calm and divine serenity, a dreamy aloofness from the cruel task. Neither does the mighty hulk of the buffalo, trodden to the ground, reveal any trace of either threatening fierceness or despair. The conquered animal is peacefully recumbent beneath the feet of the goddess, and in this attitude bears more resemblance to the body of an immolated victim—a domestic ruminant offered to the gods in some solemn sacrificial rite—than to a tyrant of the universe, just fallen, following

[33] Cf. *supra*, p. 86.

many startling attempts to escape his doom by a series of cunning transformations.

The grotesque feature of an armed man issuing, as far as to his waist, from the neck of a bull has been discarded, demanded though it is by the textual tradition; instead, the human shape of the demon has emerged completely from the beast. Moreover, the sovereign freedom with which the Pallava monuments stylized mythical subjects remains evident in this much later Javanese masterpiece. For the superdemon, deprived of his might and fury, has become a defenseless victim of moderate size and without weapons—in no sense a match for the goddess. In fact, he is being viewed in this piece not with the eyes of the frightened gods, whom he overthrew and who were impotent before him, nor with the eyes of men, defenseless against such overbearing tyranny, but as he appeared in the divine clairvoyance and to the transcendent power of the universal mother. What she perceives in all living beings, whether gods, demons, men, or beasts, are babes—infants—the short-lived creatures whom she has brought forth from her eternal womb.

The goddess stands upon the buffalo in a superb display of charm and strength. The legs, standing wide apart—a most daring and risky feature, exhibiting courageously her womanly form—constitute the secret of the triumphal attitude and of the immediate spell that the image lays upon the beholder. The plastic vigor and easy freedom that we recognized first in the art of the Indus civilization; the virtuosity in the utterly natural rendition of the boldest contortions of the feminine body that we saw in the reliefs of Amarāvatī; the sublime sweetness of the Gupta masterworks and the divine spirituality of the Pallava: all have contributed to this unique achievement. The goddess retains her helpless victim by his locks, with a perfunctory unconcern, not deigning even to bestow on him a glance. She elevates her sword and there is about her firm sweet mouth a trait of merciless determination. Nevertheless, both her majestic attitude and her face are suffused by a strange and inspiring aloofness from the really great exploit that she is about to perform. The attitude suggests the inner superiority of the perfect actor to the part that he is acting. Yet it is more than that. For there is a deep meaning intended by the obvious discrepancy between the serenity in the goddess's bearing and the situation of all-out struggle that the piece is known to represent. Her apparition, in short, is moved in its peculiar gesture by the Hindu principle of māyā, which is a dominant concept in all Indian philosophy, multifariously illustrated in the pictography of Hindu mythical tales.

The manifestation of the highest divine principle in any such act as that of crushing a buffalo-demon, since it is a crisis within the realm of phenomenal event,

coming to pass in time and space, on the stage of the created universe, is but a moment—even though a vivid one—in the unending evolution of catastrophes, triumphs, downfalls, and recoveries that constitute the dreamlike biography of the world-organism. The highest divine principle, divine life-force in and by itself, on the other hand, is centered beyond this phantasmagoria of the world-process. The fluctuating mirage is a display of cosmic power, but the fundamentally changeless supramundane source and being of the power is not implicated in the mirage. The goddess represents that supramundane source and being. Nevertheless, she enters the phantasmagoric stage in a spirit of compassion, to play a role in the universal romance. That is why, though the role may have all the fury of a nightmare, she is not completely in it. To the supreme being (as well as to the enlightened devotee) the whole spectacle—the tyranny of the demon, the agony of the world, and the coming of the wonderful savior to rescue nature, the gods, and mankind—is but a cosmic dream, a convincing yet delusory reflex of the force of māyā. And though one may watch the goddess make her entrance upon the stage of this play in which we are all acting ephemeral roles—assuming new masks and garbs at each rebirth—she is never trapped by her act as we are by ours. She assumes her important role playfully at one of the supreme climaxes of the opera—like someone playing the hero in his own dream while remaining aware of the dream character of the entire manifestation. The goddess, fundamentally, is unconcerned with her gigantic task.

Hence it is that in the Durgā of Leiden a soft though perceptible undertone of irony swings in the attitude of the figure, minimizing this supreme moment in the divinity's career on the illusory stage of world affairs; and this irony is hers, not ours or the artist's. In the culminating instant of her long and complicated battle, in the very act of delivering the *coup de grâce*, she remains shrouded in aloofness and unconcern. The peerless deed, which is to redeem the universe, will be accomplished: this the silent lips of the firm mouth proclaim. Nevertheless, the mask of the face is suffused by a calm, dreamy sweetness: the eyes, half closed, as though looking inward, are like those of a quiet sleeper absorbed in the serene concentration of a deep vision or, equally, like those of someone somnambulant, enacting a dream in outward gesture and deed. This wondrous paradox in the attitude minimizes, almost annihilates, the weight and importance of the act, reducing the brutal reality of the depicted blow to a kind of mirage. The repose of the aloof sleepy attitude, in spite of the force of the activity displayed, tells of the unruffled serenity of the divine being in her supramundane essence: tells of the transcendental calm of that higher Self which, when enacting a phenomenal manifestation on the fluid stage of the world (indeed, when evolving

this universe, teeming with its creatures and carried on by illusory vortices of individual consciousness), puts a veil over its own real nature—the veil of its māyā.

The great mother goddess is beyond time and change. As the principle of universal procreation, she is by definition precedent to the First-Born, be this god or man. Out of her timeless womb the sphere of becoming proceeds endlessly, made up of the hosts of her transient creatures. She is eternal being. When, therefore, she condescends, out of compassion, to participate in the cosmic chorus of these ephemeral and frail children for the period of one of her manifestations, accomplishing deeds second to none, it is only in visible and tangible appearance that she becomes part of the phenomenal action; her consciousness of her transcendental nature does not partake of the role that she is required to enact; the role transpires in spite of a fundamental unconcern. Like the Buddha, she is fully aware of the delusive character of everything that happens in the world. To unenlightened beings events cause anxiety: throughout the universe the creatures of the goddess feel crushed by the weight of terrible ordeals. Nevertheless, for her, the ordeals—even the beings themselves—are but a mirage, born of her own all-powerful māyā.

By definition, as Time itself, the great mother is beyond time and change; and she is actually timeless in the history of Indian thought—and in archaeology. The various figures through which she has been visualized in the course of the centuries are no more than historical projections on the shifting plane of art and symbol of man's experience of an unchanging transcendental reality. She is the unimplicated source, a supramundane reality from which the universe and all its creatures have proceeded. And to the clairvoyant insight of the fervent devotee and perfect yogī she visibly underlies and dwells within every living being as the secret nucleus of its life force, the imperishable kernel shrouded by the layers of its transitory, limited and limiting, individuating traits. She is the all-comprising anonymous Self beneath the veil of every particularized individual.

That is to say, the mother goddess—this pre-Āryan feminine personification of the life-force of the cosmos and all its beings—personifies the same neutral essence that in the Āryan philosophy of the Brāhmanical Vedas was named and known as Brahman.

Brahman is the sacred power that inhabits the holy Vedic formulae and incantations and dwells within the holy man, the priest. Brahman becomes personalized in the wizard and sage, the priest and conjurer, soothsayer and medicine man—and, through these, conjures and commands the divine forces of nature (which likewise are manifestations of itself) by means of the elaborate traditional

rites (which are equally carriers of the power of Brahman). "The offering is Brahman," declares the *Bhagavad Gītā*; "the oblation is Brahman, offered by one who is Brahman, in the fire that is Brahman." [34] Brahman, the holy power that is the essence of all priestly strength, is nothing less than the power of the universe. It is present in the complex sacrificial ritual and is the force in every kind of magic; it is fostered, strengthened and brought to focus through the routines of the priest's sacrosanct daily life, and it is compassed also—even more effectively—by the yoga practices of the hermit-ascetic. Brahman is the ultimate substratum of the forces of the universe, and these cosmic forces, in turn, are what are personified in the popular religion as divine or demonic beings.[35]

The concept of Brahman stems from the Vedic tradition of the Indo-Āryans; the mother goddess from the non-Āryan Dravidian sphere. But this older feminine personification of the universal life-force reappeared in the Brāhmanic-Āryan civilization in the form of Umā Haimavatī, Umā "the Daughter of King Himālaya," who is known also as Pārvatī, "the Daughter of the Mountain." And the earliest known text in which she reveals herself is not the *Devī Māhātmya*, which we have already read, but the *Kena Upaniṣad*, a philosophical treatise in which the unyielding attitude of the orthodox Brāhmanic tradition first shows itself to be breaking down. For whereas, for centuries, the conquerors had clung tenaciously to their highly developed cult of sacrificial ritualism, ignoring very haughtily the non-Āryan conceptions, in the *Kena Upaniṣad* they definitely open the door to certain of the native beliefs. Indeed, it is confessed in this text that when the non-Āryan goddess manifested herself to the host of the Vedic-Āryan gods, she proved herself superior to them all, through her knowledge of Brahman. That is to say, a syncretistic juncture of the two antagonistic traditions had already been achieved.

This legend begins with another of those cosmic crises when the gods, in battle with their half brothers, the asuras, contending for the dominion of the universe, were enabled to win by the power of Brahman. However, these gods had not, up to that time, been aware of Brahman; they had supposed that they had gained the victory themselves, through their own strength. Therefore they shouted: "Ours is the victory! Ours the glory!" Whereupon the hidden essence of Brahman manifested itself before them. They were unable, however, to recognize its mysterious being and it remained an enigma to their self-possessed minds.

"Brahman," we read in the text, "won a victory for the gods. The gods exulted in that victory of Brahman and thought: 'Ours, indeed, is this victory! Ours this glory!' Then Brahman understood their pride and appeared before them,

[34] *Bhagavad Gītā* 4. 24.
[35] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 74–83 and 333–378.

but they did not know what Brahman was. 'What sort of specter (*yakṣam*) can this thing be?' they asked. They said to Agni [the fire-god, their messenger, the high-priest initiate among them]: 'O Almost Omniscient One, find out what this thing is.' 'Yes,' Agni answered, and he ran to it. Brahman inquired, 'Who are you?' 'The famous Agni am I, the Almost Omniscient One,' he replied. Brahman said: 'What power in you warrants such fame?' and the god replied: 'I can burn everything, whatever there is on earth.' Brahman put a straw down before him. 'Burn that!' Agni came at it with all his force. He was unable to burn it. He returned to the gods. 'I have not been able to find out,' said he, 'what that specter is.'

"Then the gods said to Vāyu [the wind]: 'O Vāyu, find out what this specter is.' 'Yes,' he answered, and he ran to it. Brahman asked: 'Who are you?' 'The famous Vāyu am I, the One Who Moves through the Sky,' he replied. Brahman said: 'What power in you warrants such fame?' and the god replied: 'I can carry everything off, whatever there is on earth.' Brahman put a straw down before him. 'Carry that off!' said Brahman. Vāyu came at it. With all his force he was unable to carry it off. He returned to the gods. 'I have not been able to find out,' said he, 'what that specter is.'

"Then the gods said to Indra [their king]: 'O Worshipful One, find out what this specter is.' 'Yes,' he answered; and he ran toward it, but it vanished before him. In that very place he came upon a woman of great beauty, Umā Haimavatī, the Daughter of the Snowy Mountain. He asked her: 'What was that specter?' She answered: 'Brahman. Through the victory of that Brahman you attained the glory in which you take such pride.' From this, Indra knew Brahman." [36]

The goddess was no initiate in Vedic wisdom; nevertheless, she—not the Vedic gods—knew Brahman. And she taught them to know that divine essence, so that these three then became the greatest of the gods, "because they were the first to know Brahman." [37] By this text we see that already at a comparatively early period (*c.* seventh century B.C.) it was the goddess, and not the seemingly dominant masculine divinities of the Vedic pantheon, who was the real knower of that hidden, central, holy power of the universe by which all victories are won in the unending drama of the world-process. For she herself was that selfsame power. She is Brahman, the life-force of the universe that secretly dwells within all things.

In this episode in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, where the mother goddess appears for the first time in the orthodox religious and philosophical tradition of India, she—womanhood incarnate—becomes the guru of the male gods. She is represented

[36] *Kena Upaniṣad* 3. 1–4. 1. [37] *Ib.*, 4. 2.

as their mystagogue, their initiator into the most profound and elementary secret of the universe, which is, in fact, her own essence. Brahman and Śakti, the neutral and the female aspects of the divine life-force, the Āryan and the non-Āryan truths, thus were recognized as fundamentally one. And this identity of herself with Brahman is the ultimate secret of the goddess.[38]

5. The South Indian Bronzes

AMONG the many superb feminine figures in the rich treasury of Indian art are a number of South Indian bronzes of the late medieval period, representing Pārvatī and Lakṣmī and dating from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries A.D. Those

Pl. 415 shown in Plate *415* combine the aristocratic delicacy of the earlier classical periods with the perennial popular ideal of feminine beauty. They are images of Pārvatī. The full-blooded sensuality of the firm breasts contrasts dramatically with the slim waists; the forms, rendered with virtuosity and a rare craftsmanship, are of an exquisite perfection verging on sophistication. But there is a fine touch of conscious preciosity, which will eventually, in the seventeenth century, lead to coldness, stiffness, and ossification; one can already feel that the life-force, welling from within, is ebbing slowly. The accent has been shifted from the interior life-current that swells the delicate forms to the superb outlines confining the figures. The plastic values have been achieved, not through a stress on the heaving mass of life-substance, but through a superb drawing of fascinating contours—and this feature is due, in part, to the special requirements and possibilities of the Indian craft of casting images in bronze.

The technique employed was that known in the West as cire-perdue, the "lost wax" process. The Indian handbooks of the ancient craft-traditions (treating of architecture and the construction of roads, fortresses, tanks, ponds, and locks, as well as of sculpture, painting, metalwork, and the other handicrafts), the so-called *śilpa-śāstra*, "the authoritative texts (*śāstra*) of the handicrafts (*śilpa*)," state with respect to the casting of metal images: *lohajam sakalam yat tu madhūcchiṣṭena nirmitam*, "All metal images are made by means of wax."

A waxen model (*madhūcchiṣṭa-vidānam*) having been carefully formed, it was wrapped in a thick coat of soft clay kept in shape by wires. The clay was allowed

[38] Compare *supra*, p. 97, Editor's note.

to harden and the whole was then heated. This fixed the clay but melted the wax, which ran away through a channel in the mold, leaving a hollow into which a molten metal could be run through the same channel. The metal having been poured, it was allowed to set and cool; the clay wrapping then was removed and the resultant figure chiseled and chased to a fine finish.

According to the Śilpaśāstras, the alloy poured into the mold should be an amalgam of five metals: copper (the chief ingredient), silver, gold, brass, and white lead; these are called "the five metals" (*pañcaloha*).[39] In the present practice the gold and silver are generally dispensed with; instead, ten parts of copper, one-half part of brass, and one-quarter part of white lead are used. The pañcaloha figures of South India always are solid, and some of the Śilpaśāstras forbid expressly the casting of hollow forms. In the Ceylonese Buddhist Śilpaśāstra named after Sāriputra (one of the principal disciples of the Buddha himself) we read, for example: "No images, either of gold or of other metals, should be cast so that they are hollow within. The fashioning of hollow images will result within a short time in the loss of wife and wealth and will lead to quarrels and famine." [40]

Everywhere in India the rational processes of building houses, working images, painting walls, etc., were tied up with superstitions of this kind. The hollow image was looked upon as incomplete, deficient in substance, devoid of a kernel: literally a hollow symbol and therefore a fraudulent gift, cheating the god to whom it was dedicated. Its empty, unsubstantial character was expected to cause an analogous loss (a lack or gap) in the life of the one who made it, bereaving him of wife, wealth, and food, as well as of the co-operative sympathy of his fellow craftsmen—wherefore the quarrels. Nevertheless, the interdiction itself points to the fact that in South India hollow images must have been fashioned; probably not to cheapen the product by saving metal, however, so much as to make the figure lighter and easier to carry in processions.

For South Indian bronzes belong to the category of "moving images" (*cala-mūrti*) or "ceremonial images" (*utsava-mūrti, bhoga-mūrti*), which are carried around in processions and festivals—in contradistinction to the "fixed image" (*acala-mūrti, dhruva-mūrti*), i.e., the liṅgam, or the main stone image in the innermost cella, in the so-called "womb chamber" (*garbha-gṛha*), which is the holy of holies and life-center of the sanctuary. Festival images display the various aspects or manifestations of the divinity: they are "gifts to the gods" (*deva-dāna, mūrti-dāna*) and are presented in groups of three (*tri-mūrti-dāna*) or four

[39] The same formula was used for Siamese bronzes, according to an old treatise.

[40] Cf. Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes* (Calcutta and London, 1915), p. 29, citing Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art* (Broad Campden, England, 1908), p. 154.

(*catur-mūrti-dāna*). And whereas, in the temple, the liṅgam or main stone image remains as a fixture, the secondary bronze festival figures are set up in rows, in long corridors around the main shrine, or in passages conducting to it, so that they form a sculpture gallery in the procession path of the visiting pilgrims.

North India, in contrast to the South, is familiar to this day with hollow metal images. The numerous copper-gilt bronze Buddhist figures from Tibet that we so frequently see in museums and private collections are almost always hollow
Pl. 602b (Plate *602b*). But there is a good reason for this hollowness—one at least as sound as that of the Southern interdict, which, as we have seen, was based on a fear that the lack within might diminish the figure's value and cause a corresponding deficiency in the life-substance of the man who made it. The Northern images
Pl 610 are hollow because they are meant to contain something (Plate *610*).

Every religious image represents the superhuman force of some divinity or divine savior, or of one of the tutelary guardians that attend such presences. But divine forces are known to exist not only in visible forms—such as can be visualized in concentrated meditation (*dhyāna*)—but also in oral and written forms; specifically, in the magic formulae that evoke and conjure the superhuman beings into manifestation. The muttering of such a formula in a silent, continuous repetition of its powerful syllables (*japa*), with or without the help of a rosary, steadies the mind bent on visualizing a divinity and summons up the manifestation. The formula (*mantra*) constitutes the spiritual body, as known to the ear and mind, whereas the visible, tangible image is the manifestation for sight and touch. The two supplement and complete each other; they are parallel revelations of the selfsame divine essence, respectively its "name" (*nāman*) and its "form" (*rūpa*).[41] For, whereas the deity itself is beyond both spheres fundamentally, it can be approached only through conceivable, audible, visible, and tangible means.

The rule with respect to these hollow images, therefore, is that they should contain a diminutive manuscript, a tiny scroll, on which an appropriate holy formula (*mantra*) has been written. This is the verbal form of the divinity, as the image is the visual. When the statue is finished, the little document is placed inside, to the accompaniment of a life-bestowing ritual, and this act has the sense of imparting to the figure its spiritual vital essence. Any image that has been emptied of this nucleus of its spiritual force is regarded as of no use; it is a hollow shell from which the living being, which it should be sheltering, has departed.—And the tiny scrolls, by the way, help the archaeologist to identify the subjects, since for each demon, savior, and deity there is a particular mantric charm.

When a hollow bronze figure is to be cast, first a core of clay is shaped and on

[41] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 23–24.

its surface are molded the details of the intended image. This clay core then is covered by a layer of wax. Wires are left protruding from the clay core and through the waxen layer, like small tags, to serve for the fixing of the outer cover of clay, which now is wrapped around the wax. The entire construction is heated. There has been left an opening at the top and another at the bottom, so that when the wax between the modeled core and the outer layer liquifies, it flows away through the opening at the bottom; liquid metal, poured in at the top, fills the narrow space between the outer layer and the inner core, cools, and forms a kind of mantle in the form of the sculpture desired. When the clay cover is removed, the inner core is chipped out, and the result is an image that is hollow, nearly devoid of weight though made of weighty metal, and ready to receive its little paper scroll. Sometimes these hollow statues are hardly more than tin foils and as brittle as masks.

The Tibetan images in copper-gilt bronze represent a colonial branch of a Northern Buddhist style stemming from Bengal and Nepal (Plates *598–601*), and *Pl. 598–601* the same art spread from Bengal southward, across the Indian Ocean, to Java. The method of work produced a new form; one inspired more by the art of designing than by that of the sculptor in stone, who, with his chisel, chips at a completely unpliable material until a figure appears. By pressing the possibilities of this technique to the limit (Plates *587–591*), Buddhist art in Siam produced many *Pl. 587–591* strange and truly marvelous masterpieces. Some of the works, as they have come down to us corroded by time and the inclemencies of the climate (having been covered by earth for centuries and by the dust of ruins), are so eaten away that they are as frail and brittle as autumn leaves. One of the most impressive—almost too fragile to be touched even by the most careful and delicate fingers—I once saw at an exposition of Buddhist art in Paris. It was the mask of a Buddha, in the wonderful style of the Mon-Khmer (Plate *589a*). Completely corroded, the metal *Pl. 589a* was a grayish green, like the copper roofs of old steeples weathered by the centuries, and the visage was breath-taking in its silence and composure. A Buddha face of a definitely Cambodian type, it was an example of Khmer art at its height of inspiration—such a thing as India never dreamed of, and yet a perfect response of the Khmer genius to the message of Buddhism, which had come from India. The frailty of transitory beings, which is at the root of their suffering, has gone into the substance of this indescribable face, and has nearly destroyed it. Still, it is there, a brittle foil, wiping out and ignoring the powers of pain and destruction through the sublime indifference and knowing composure of its features. The vision of some unknown artist and the ruthless processes of time (executing the sorrowful sentence of destruction, from which the wisdom of the Buddha brings release)

have collaborated almost equally to give the finishing touch to this Buddhist revelation of the meaning and destiny of being.

After the metal has cooled and the outer clay cover has been removed, the graving chisel of the metalworker brings a finish to the piece. Obliterating the traces of the wires that passed from the inner core to the outer cover, it polishes the surface. Finishing in this way is a kind of designing; the chisel used resembles that of an engraver. It does not chip off bits of the material like a stonecutter's tool but works over the surface with lines and dots. That is why the plastic values of such an art, when the technique attains self-conscious virtuosity, become antagonistic to the aims and achievements of sculpture in stone. The patterns, as a result of endless masterly repetitions, become frozen and tend to ossify, and the works assume a character that is really masklike. All life departs. In the end a superb hieroglyph, a balanced harmony of mathematical accuracy, is achieved, but the life-current has deserted the glittering shell.

These few examples will suffice to suggest something of the technical background of the Hindu images in metal—the general conditions and possibilities laid down by the raw material itself and by the creative techniques. Inevitably the line, the outline, the element of design, tends to acquire major, if not overwhelming, importance, and the artist is compelled to attend to quite different aims and means from those that predominate in a work in stone. The two arts cannot be measured by the same standard. Indeed, one of the most impressive facts about the aesthetic tradition of India and Indonesia is that in the course of its rich development the contrary possibilities of stone and metal sculpture were so well realized that the distinctive qualities of both techniques were developed to the limit.

And so now we can return to the South Indian bronzes and their evidence of the evolution of the Indian ideal of feminine beauty. The Ceylonese Paṭṭinī Devī of the
Pl. 462b seventh to tenth century shown in Plate 462*b* is close to the traditional form, with its marked contrast of the slender waist against the heavy breasts and hips. The goddess, dignified and graceful in this manifestation, represents the chastity and virtue of the housewife and mother. Her image expresses fully the perennial type of Hindu womanhood—though with a certain dryness peculiar to the Dravidian tradition, which accords readily with a work in metal. For in this art the human body is not conceived of, primarily, as a mass emerging slowly, under hammer and chisel, from the shapeless matter of the rock; it comes into form as a kind of engraving imposed on the soft material of a waxen model, there being no resistance to the instrument that cuts into wax. And the finishing process, in its turn, is a technique like that of designing. It does not shape a formless block,
Pl. 420 but smooths out and covers an already modeled surface (Plate 420).

One feels, when looking back from such a late work to the much earlier yakṣīs of the Mathurā school of the second century A.D. (Plate *74*), that, essentially, the *Pl. 74* general features of feminine beauty have scarcely changed in India through the centuries; and yet the type found in other works of the South (Plate *416*) is dra- *Pl. 416–418* matically different from that of the North. This cannot be explained as the result of a general evolution in the Indian ideal of woman; neither is it a consequence of the special conditions and possibilities of the metalwork technique. It derives simply from the fact that there is here involved another population (that of Southern India), another ethnic group (the Dravidian), and that this race is portraying its own women in its divinities. Noses with a markedly thin ridge, long, and set in oblong faces; thin, long arms and legs; very slender upper thighs: these are the prominent anatomical traits. And the eyes, slightly bulging, in the form of oval bubbles, resemble, according to the local metaphor, the eyes of fish. "The Fish-Eyed One," Mīnākṣī, is a favorite epithet of the goddess in South India, celebrating this much appreciated detail of beauty. The chief temple at Madura, which is one of the most magnificent examples of religious architecture in the late medieval period (Plate *448*), is dedicated to Śiva and his goddess under her name *Pl. 448* of Mīnākṣī.

The contour of the hips of the female forms greatly varies in the art of the South, sometimes following the traditional outline, emphasizing breadth and weight, sometimes exhibiting an extraordinarily slender grace, corresponding to the actual, rather delicate and slim figures of the women of the region. Such an image as that of the Pārvatī in Plate *416* is striking for the vitality of its refined realism *Pl. 416–418* and its almost portraitlike vivacity. The hips show no suggestion of the traditional ideal and are as remote as possible from the usual type of the North. Consider in contrast the yakṣī in Plate *75b*. The upper part of this pillar-relief once formed *Pl. 75b* part of a stone railing around a stūpa, probably built in the Kuṣāna-Amarāvatī period of the second century A.D. It depicts the balcony of a palace in the blissful realm of the yakṣas, and one sees there a divine couple—inmates of the yakṣa realm, in amorous dalliance, enjoying the sensual bliss of that paradise. Like Kubera, the king of yakṣas,[42] this sumptuous beauty stands on a crouching human vāhana. She carries in her right hand the cage of a pet bird, and, laden with rich ornaments, wears immense anklets to mark with their tinkling the rhythm of her sensual gait. She is "burdened by the weight of her hips and thighs, and bent slightly forward with the weight of her breasts." Her walk resembles, according to constantly recurring Indian metaphors, "the gait of a swan or of a duck along the shore," also the heaving and swelling stride of an elephant as it passes, noiselessly

[42] Cf. *supra*, p. 44.

and almost nimbly, with its massive form. In the fully blossoming body of this goddess of life-force and earthly welfare the characteristics of abundance, fertility, exuberance, and sex are emphasized. And yet she is not a mere geometrical symbol. She reflects an ideal of feminine beauty that still is evident in the living forms of women throughout the North of India.

The South, on the other hand, has had its own ideal. The figure shown in
Pl. 416-418 Plate *416* of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, conforms to the traditional mold; yet the long, slender limbs pay full tribute to the type of the South. The shape and expression of the face are unmistakably Southern, with the long features and thin, pointed nose; and when the image is viewed from the rear its departure from the traditional Northern pattern becomes still more apparent. One is reminded of the dancing girl of Mohenjo-daro, with her delicate, exceedingly
Pl. 8c slender, nearly sticklike legs (Plate *8c*).

This ideal of a delicate slimness, even verging on the bony and fleshless, inspired by the particular charm of the actual South Indian type of feminine beauty, was carried by the intractable boldness of the Hindu genius to a limit that borders
Pal. 422 on the grotesque in the daring masterpiece of Plate *422*, which is among the treasures of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City. In its rigid attitude, stiffness and daring, the figure reminds one, at first sight, of a primitive idol; as though an archaic pattern had been rendered with the developed skill of a later period. But actually, this piece is one of the most sophisticated that India has produced.

From an agelong, fundamentally pre-Āryan inheritance the artists of the South derived a sophistication that keeps many of their most skillful and complex masterworks from being appreciated by the comparatively simple eyes of Occidental art criticism. Indeed, without that broadening of our Western aesthetic standards and ability to understand that was effected by the rise of Expressionism at the end of the nineteenth century and the parallel awakening of our appreciation for the highly stylized and abstract forms of the various primitive and Oriental arts, we should not have found it possible to recognize the boldness of this amazing image. A wholehearted departure on our part from the classical ideals and conventions that restricted our aesthetic history and understanding until the beginning of the present century was required before pieces of this kind could be exhibited in public museums—or even in private collections. A symbolic date for this spiritual crisis in modern Europe was the period around 1912, when Pablo Picasso began showing African figures along with his own abstract and daring works.

Pl. 422 In the South Indian bronze of Plate *422* a radical departure from every suggestion of the Northern pattern, as well as from the neolithic tradition, has been

achieved. Or perhaps one should say that this is not a departure, since the Northern models seem never to have exercised any influence on the local ideology from which this curious and precious piece derives. In Hindu poetry, and in the sacred writings, we find feminine beauty celebrated with tiring monotony and in endless repetitions, but never with any hint of such an ideal as this. The usual Indian description of a beautiful woman is about like the following, chosen at random from a religious text celebrating the charms of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's chief mistress when he was a youth among the cowherds. "She possesses solid breasts, great buttocks, a narrow waist. She is bending with the very weight of her buttocks, solid loins, and elevated breasts. Her nose puts to shame the beak of the prince of birds." [43] Of all these fair attributes the present figure exhibits only the last—but that to a most remarkable, even obtrusive, degree. The others have been replaced by their opposites. And this brings us to the special meaning of this amazing image.

Kālī is the goddess represented, and she has cymbals in both hands, which means that she is paying worship to some god. But who, we may ask, can be the god whose favor is courted by Kālī, as by a devotee? Kālī, the Great Goddess, is the highest feminine principle in the universe. The answer to the question, therefore, must be Śiva Mahādeva, the Great God, the supreme male.

In the course of the interminable romance of this cosmic couple there have been periods of bereavement and despair; Śiva has even become insane with grief. The most notable of such occasions was that following the goddess's sudden death, after she had become his bride in the manifestation known as Satī.[44] Eons later she returned to the world as Umā, the daughter of King Himālaya—who is known also as Durgā and as Pārvatī, "the Daughter of the Mountain"—and to summon Śiva again, the master yogī and cosmic ascetic, from his aloof and absolutely indrawn state of perpetual meditation, she devoted herself to the most demanding ascetic practices known to the sages of the meditation groves. Following a prolonged period of glowing concentration (*tapas*), she proved herself to be Śiva's match: her intense spiritual force reached, touched, and finally moved him. And it is the climax of this ordeal, when she was dried and shriveled to the very bones, that we behold in this tender work of South Indian art.

The reason for Umā's determination to rouse the yogī of the gods from contemplation and bring him to her in love was that the world was being ravaged by a demon named Tāraka, who could be overcome only by a son of Śiva and herself. This monster, like others before and following him in the Hindu view of history,

[43] *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Kṛṣṇa Janma Khaṇḍa, 124 adhyāya. Garuḍa, the celestial solar eagle, is the prince of birds.

[44] Cf. Zimmer, *The King and the Corpse*, Part II, "Four Episodes from the Romance of the Goddess."

had acquired his power by such severe penances that Brahmā, the all-pervading spirit of the universe, the impartial witness of the unending struggle for supremacy that is everlastingly waged between the demons and the gods, had been forced at last to grant his wish. Whereupon Tāraka had demanded the boon of invulnerability. And the wish had been granted; but with a limitation. Brahmā said: "No living beings endowed with a body are exempt from death. Choose therefore your death; let it be by the hand of the one you fear the least." And the demon had answered that he would choose to die by the hand of an infant seven days old; for he thought: "What infant of seven days could kill me?" Whereafter he set forth to conquer the universe, driving the gods from their thrones and realms; and because of his virtual invulnerability none could withstand him.

Tāraka established his tyrannical empire and enjoyed the riches of the universe, even presuming to release the gods after he had overthrown them. "Go," said he, "where you please! The universe is your prison. You cannot escape; you cannot oppose my will." Indra, the king, and all the other deities, were roaming over the surface of the earth like vagrant beggars, or like destitute monarchs in exile, while impudent Tāraka sat on high, on Indra's throne.

Filled with despair, the gods betook themselves in impotent wrath to Brahmā, begging his assistance and advice, but he replied: "The being to kill Tāraka does not yet exist; for what infant possesses strength enough to kill this demon? What parents, moreover, should be potent enough to generate such an infant-hero? None but the Great Goddess could bear the child; no male but the Great God, Śiva Mahādeva, has, through his timeless austerities, stored up the boundless energies needed to beget such a being." The gods, therefore, began to concentrate on the bringing of this divine couple together; and it was a long task, beset with difficulties, disappointments, even catastrophes. When it was achieved, there elapsed another long period of troubles and discomfiture before the boy-savior finally was born, who, on the seventh day of his life, was to rid the universe of
Pl. 137 the monster. (See Plate *137*.)

The goddess was the one who first entered the stage of action, taking birth as Umā, the daughter of King Himālaya, out of compassion for the gods and the universe. And in this form, she longed to become Śiva's wife—just as she had longed, eons before, in another period of creation and under totally different circumstances, to be Śiva's bride as Satī. And her problem, again, was that of arousing the god from his profound yogic trance; for Śiva, steeped in a continuous contemplation of the pure void of his own being, is the archetypal yogī, who cares nothing for the world. Śiva cannot be tempted by sensual pleasure, nor by the

prospect of a blissful married career. It was in vain, therefore, that the gods tried to stimulate his passion when the goddess came to adolescence.

Umā was dwelling in the home of her father King Himālaya; Śiva was in a hermitage among the Himālayan peaks. And the gods sent the god of love to pierce Śiva's side with his shafts of desire, but the great deity merely opened the eye in the middle of his forehead—his third eye—and a flame burst from it with the force of a lightning flash, burning the beautiful body of the sweet god of love to cinders. Śiva himself then disappeared and Umā, the lovely maid, wept. But she was not to be deterred from her cosmic aim. And so, though her mother forbade her absolutely and her father consented only reluctantly, she resolved to gain Śiva's favor through a regimen of prolonged ascetic exercises severe enough to match his own.

Departing into the mountains, quite alone, without attendants to protect her against wild beasts and the other dangers, the beautiful young goddess-princess took an extremely rigorous vow and began her work. First she lived on fruits. She built four great fires in the four directions and stood in the mid-point among them, while the sun with its merciless rays—the fifth fire—blazed above. That was the way she spent the hot season. When the cold came, she entered the ice-cold water of the Ganges at Gaṅgā-dvāra, the holy place where the celestial river breaks through the mountain ranges,[45] and there stood, neck deep, in meditation. She reduced her diet and subsisted on water. She reduced it again and ate only the leaves and twigs that the wind tore from the trees. And finally, she gave up even this and lived on nothing. Thus she passed thirty-six thousand years—during the hot seasons among the fires and during the cold in the freezing waters of the mountain river. And she stood on one leg with her mind fixed on Śiva, repeating silently the magic formula of six syllables: *Om nāmah Śivāya:* "Om! I adore Śiva!" Umā stood and sat in every attitude of yoga; she meditated and conjured Śiva with her inner fire; and when thirty-six thousand years had passed, she felt that the god might draw near to her and fulfill her selfless wish.

That is the ordeal suggested in this bronze. The body, emaciated through merciless fasting, has lost nothing of its juvenile charm. On the contrary, though the bones of the upper arms, at the shoulders, nearly pierce the skin and the soft swelling thighs have been reduced to shanks, the realistic details are suffused by a strange grace. There is no touch of hideousness, no appalling, naturalistic brutality in these features. One observes them, and they do not disturb. Rather, they convey a sense of spiritual fervor and of the indomitable inner fire that has melted

[45] Cf. *supra*, pp. 88–89.

all natural weakness, all the frailties of the flesh. Each detail bespeaks a steady glow of relentless determination that has turned the charming vessel of a girl's body into an ascetic receptacle of pure, unwavering light. For the time being, the physique has been burnt out by its insatiable passion, a passion transformed into limitless patience, conjuring and waiting for the highest god, and able, finally, to break his resistance. Will power, weathering millenniums as though they were passing showers; soul-force aiming at omnipotence and the fulfillment of the unattainable: these are what this tiny figure discloses to us through its strange features. It represents one of the most characteristic themes of the Indian mythical tales—an experience common, moreover, in the daily life of the sages through all the periods of Indian civilization; the most fundamental and significant attitude, indeed, of Indian culture, going back to that remote pre-Āryan antiquity that was represented in the seals of Mohenjo-daro.[46] The inhuman character of a fantastically severe, archaic style of yoga practice that worked through self-inflicted sufferings—physical and psychological agonies going beyond all human (not to speak of humane) bounds—gains a truly masterful expression in this tiny South Indian form. Most significant is the fact that this ruthless system of passive heroism (which was familiar not only to the ancient Hindu but also to the Jaina tradition, whereas Buddhism rejected it) should have found its most vivid representation in a female form.

There is another small bronze representing Umā during her austerities (Plate
Pl. 462a 462, above). It is a work of the Southern school, of the art of Ceylon, and belongs probably to the fifteenth century A.D. Here we see the goddess, the fairest of the three worlds, without her regal attire—without necklace, bracelets, or other jewelry—wearing only a thin loin cloth and her sacred Brāhmanical thread.[47] Her hair is arranged in the manner of the Brāhman ascetics, in a knot of matted plaits. The delicate body is lean and slim from the prolonged ordeal. But she is sitting in a relaxed posture, the position known as "kingly ease" (*rājalīlā*), with one knee bent and the other leg hanging to the ground; for at this moment she has just attained the goal of her asceticism. At the conclusion of her long penance, she is musing on Śiva, who, she knows, will come.

This is one of the most touching and graceful of her representations, full of an intimate lyric charm. Its fascination lies in the tension between its seeming deli-

[46] Cf. *supra*, p. 26.

[47] The Brāhmanical sacred thread (*upavīta*) is worn by all upper-caste Hindus. It is a cotton thread of three strands, running from the left shoulder across the body to the right hip. It is first placed on a youth by his guru at his ceremony of initiation, which takes place, usually, when he is between eight and twelve years old, and it is the symbol of the spiritual rebirth and initiation that he has won through his scholarship in the holy tradition of the Vedas. (Cf. *Myths and Symbols*, p. 183, note.)

cacy and its boundless strength. The feather-light body is of an unearthly beauty: the seemingly frail vessel of an illuminated soul-force, capable of any sacrifice and feat of endurance, it shows woman as the helpmate and mistress, alter ego, double, and Self of the male. For Umā is to be the bride of the Great God as a result of having matched him in will power and determination. And she will fetter her husband with her indescribable charm, just as she has conquered him with her unrelenting force of soul. The simultaneously demonic and enchanting aspect of womanhood here finds expression: her spirit of daring and conquest, which does not stop before any obstacle. In this image the whole life-force of the feminine principle is shown concentrating on the most vital task of the woman's career, namely that of becoming united with him—the great male being—to whom she belongs through all times and ages, and who is hers eternally as she is his.

There is a silent triumph in the utter calm and repose of the goddess's anticipation of the marriage for which the whole universe, with all the gods, is now waiting. Presently Śiva, in the guise of a vagrant Brāhman ascetic, will appear and mockingly subject her to the last trial, inquiring why she is determined to win the austere god when she might have chosen some more gentle and charming spouse. The Brāhman will depreciate Śiva, describing his loathsome, uncanny appearance. Śiva's body, he will tell her, is smeared with ashes from funeral pyres; Śiva carries a human skull as his begging bowl, wears hissing serpents for his armlets and necklace, dwells in burial grounds, and is clad in a tiger's skin: no one knows who Śiva's mother was, he has neither relatives nor children, his attendants are terrifying specters and howling demons.

Umā, however, will bid the deluding Brāhman be silent and, to atone for the offense to Śiva, will give the deity praise, not knowing that this mocking Brāhman is himself the god. And when the Brāhman threatens to resume his abuse, Umā will try to flee; but he will follow, smiling, and overtake her, give up his mask and assume his proper form, conquered by her love. It is the moment just preceding this climax of the romance that we behold in this bronze of Ceylon.

Kālī's austerities constitute one of the most popular themes in the Indian tradition of mythical tales, and her perfect devotion to Śiva sets the model for the Hindu wife. The concept of her unbending will power, gentle stubbornness, irascibility, and easily roused, unfounded jealousy is no doubt derived from the basic experiences of the Hindu male in happy marriage, while the ideal model of marital bliss and anguish in India is the sacred bond of the divine couple.

The South Indian art of founding images in bronze goes back to a great antiquity. There are Buddhist figures from Buddhavani, in the Kistna district, that date from the Gupta period (fifth or sixth century A.D.), while many fine Buddhist

works in bronze dating from the fifth to twelfth centuries have been recovered from various sites in Ceylon, chiefly among the remains of a Mahāyāna monastery of about the ninth century in Anurādhapura. By this time a wave of Śivaism was sweeping over the whole of Southern India and this gave rise to a school of unique distinction under the Coḷa dynasty (tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.), which had inherited the achievements of Pallava stone sculpture (seventh and eighth centuries) as well as something that we can attribute only to the deepest Dravidian past.

Pl. 411–414 Plates *411–414* show Śiva Naṭarāja, the King of Dancers, in his manifestation as Nṛtya-mūrti, the cosmic dancer. He is here the embodiment and manifestation of the eternal energy in five activities (*pañca-kriyā*): (1) creation, pouring forth, unfolding (*sṛṣṭi*), (2) maintenance or duration (*sthiti*), (3) destruction or taking back (*saṁhāra*), (4) concealing, veiling, hiding the transcendental essence behind the garb of apparitions (*tirobhāva*), and (5) favoring, bestowing grace through a manifestation that accepts the devotee (*anugraha*). The god is dancing on the dwarfish body of the demon *Apasmāra puruṣa*, "forgetfulness, loss of memory"—called in Tamil *Muyalaka*—who represents ignorance, the destruction of which brings enlightenment, true wisdom, and release from the bondage of existences.

Śiva's upper right hand carries a small drum, shaped like an hourglass; for sound was the first element to evolve in the unfolding of the universe, sound being the characteristic of ether (according to the Indian view), which is the most subtle form of cosmic matter. The upper left hand, in *ardhacandra-mudrā* (the half-moon gesture), bears a tongue of flame: the element of the final destruction of the universe. Thus in two of the hands are symbolized the balance of creation and destruction. The lower right hand, in *abhaya-mudrā* (the fear-not gesture), bestows protection, while the lower left, in the *gaja-hasta* posture—imitating the outstretched trunk (*hasta*) of the elephant (*gaja*)—points to the lifted foot as the refuge or salvation of the devotee. This foot should be worshiped, in order to gain union with the god and therewith enlightenment; for whereas the right foot, planted on the back of the demon Forgetfulness, symbolizes Śiva's world-creative driving of life-monads into the sphere of matter, the lifted left symbolizes their release. The two feet thus denote the continuous circulation of consciousness into and out of the condition of ignorance.

The ring of fire surrounding the figure (*prabhā maṇḍala*) symbolizes the dance of nature (*prakriti*), which is the life-process of the universe and its creatures, and within which there is taking place eternally the dance of the prime mover, the Lord God. According to the ascetic Hīnayāna Buddhist doctrine, this dance of

nature is to be extinguished. According to the Śivaite view, on the other hand, it is not different from the dance of wisdom-knowledge, since it is itself a reflex of the transcendental being of God.

The whole form, finally, may be read as the mystic syllable OM or AUM, which in the Devanāgarī alphabet is written ओं or ॐ, and which is the totality of the world and psyche in the four states of awareness known as (1) being awake, (2) being in dream, (3) being in dreamless sleep, and (4) being reintegrated in the pure, transcendental essence of divine reality. Each of these four states is expressed in one of the four parts of AUM: respectively in *a*, *u*, *m*, and the following silence.[48]

We have already noted the resemblance of the posture of the Dancing Śiva to that of the dancer of Harappā. The probability of an actual connection is great, since the Dravidians were in possession of the Deccan centuries before the Christian era. Linguistically they seem to belong to the Turanian group who occupied southern and eastern Persia in pre-Āryan times. The historical perspective that opens is prodigious; for the roots of this group are lost in the deep neolithic, while its branches, broadly proliferated, show their forms among the dancing tribesmen of Oceania no less than among the Basques of the western Pyrenees.

We may conclude our study of the South Indian bronzes with the words of Auguste Rodin on the Dancing Śiva:

"Epanoui dans la vie, le fleuve de vie, l'air, le soleil, le sentiment de l'être est un débordement. C'est ainsi que nous apparaît l'art de l'Extrême-Orient! . . .

"La divinité du corps humain a été obtenue à cette époque, non parce qu'on était plus près des origines, car nos formes sont demeurées toutes pareilles; mais la servitude de maintenant a cru s'émanciper en tout; et nous sommes désorbités. Le goût manque . . .

"L'ombre va de proche en proche, travaille le chef-d'oeuvre, lui donne ce qui charme: la morbidesse profonde venant de l'obscur, cet endroit où elle reste si longtemps . . .

"Elles sont admirables ces deux mains qui séparent les seins et le ventre. Ce geste peut lutter pour la grâce avec celui de la Vénus de Médicis, qui défend ses charmes par les bras, tandis que le Çiva semble se protéger par l'ingénieux geste.

"Ces jambes aux muscles allongés ne contiennent rien que la vitesse.

"Les cuisses rapprochées, double caresse, jalouses enfermant le ténébreux mystère; le beau plan d'ombre rendu plus marqué par la lumière des cuisses. . . .

[48] *Editor's note:* Compare the form of the Devanāgarī letter with that of the dancing image. One hears the sound OM, which is the sound of the universe, while contemplating Śiva. For an elucidation of the symbol OM (also written AUM, since, in Sanskrit, *o* is analyzed as a compound of *a* and *ū*), see Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 372–378.

"La pose est connue, selon les artistes; mais il n'y a rien de commun; . . . il y a la nature, et si loin! Il y a surtout ce que les uns et les autres ne voient pas: les profondeurs inconnues, le fond de la vie. Dans l'élégance, il y a la grâce; au-dessus de la grâce, il y a le modelé; tout va plus loin, on l'appelle doux, mais c'est puissamment doux! Alors les mots manquent . . .

"Ces lèvres comme un lac de plaisir que bordent les narines palpitantes si nobles.

"La bouche dans les humides délices ondule, sinueuse comme un serpent; les yeux fermés, gonflés, fermés d'une couture de cils. . . .

"Le tranquille beau temps de ces yeux; le tranquille dessin; la tranquille joie de ce calme. . . .

"Ces yeux dessinés purement comme un émail précieux. . . .

"Bouche, antre aux plus douces pensées, mais volcan pour les fureurs. . . .

"Pour toujours, la vie entre et sort par la bouche, comme les abeilles rentrent et sortent continuellement; douce respiration parfumée."[49]

6. *The Tāntric Influence*

IN SUCH feminine figures as those of the South Indian bronzes described above there has been attained a complete independence from traditional patterns. The spiritual force of the subject has almost dissolved the bodily frame from within, transforming it into a manifestation simultaneously of spiritual energy and of passionate feeling. This complete release from the mold that had determined the evolution of the feminine figure during the period of early Buddhist art, and which had been derived from a remote neolithic age, produced a flowering of almost incredibly vigorous schools, whose power of expression was no less masterful in the virtuosity of their craft than manifold in the teeming spectacle of their creations.

Pl. 322b The figure represented in Plate *322b* is a tree-goddess, from the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., showing a transformation of the popular motif from static repose to dynamic expressivity. The divinity stands with crossed feet, in the traditional posture of a tree-goddess, lifting one foot a little to give her tree the kick

[49] Auguste Rodin, Ananda Coomaraswamy, E. B. Havell, and Victor Goloubew, *Sculptures Çivaïtes* (Ars Asiatica, III; Brussels and Paris, 1921), pp. 9–13.

with her heel that will impart to it her life-force (portions of the foliage are visible, though mutilated, in the corners above); yet she neither kicks the tree nor grasps the branch. These traditional acts, which formerly gave the meaning of the attitude,[80] have been discarded, as though the mere appearance of the goddess were enough to explain her character and function—as in fact it is. For the same principle of growth and burgeoning as the plant world makes manifest, the Indian artists of the Tāntric period recognized in the flourishing of the human body. Moreover, through a projection upon the plant world of the inner physical experiences of the human organism in its maturation and in the acts of love, a sense of intrinsic kinship with the plants was achieved. The initiations of sensual delight were conceived as bestowing on mankind a secret wisdom, by virtue of which the silent joy-in-being of the vegetable realm could be sympathetically understood. Hence in figures such as this, the eloquence of nature was rendered, not in the way of allegory or symbol, by analogy or by a conventional sign, but directly, in an immediate manifestation. The artists even drew into life the matter of the cold stone, which also, though in a manner more subdued, participates in the general festival of being. For the whole cosmos—according to the Indian view—is animate. All spheres are pervaded by the one current of being.

Plate *385* is an image of Gaṅgā, the goddess of the Ganges. This late specimen *Pl. 385*
of Bengalese art is a work of the twelfth century, in the style of the Sena dynasty, carved in black steatite—which is the main material used in Bengal for sculpture. In that province the Ganges is a goddess of outstanding rank, holding a position far above her sister goddess, the Jumna, and logically so, since the Ganges is the principal artery both of fertility and of transportation throughout Bengal, whereas the Jumna belongs to Northwestern India. Yamunā, the Jumna, flows past Mathurā, the chief center of Kṛṣṇa's life story and cult, and merges with the Ganges at Prayāg (Allahabad), long before the joined waters enter Bengal, through which they flow together to the sea.

The reason given by the Bengalese people themselves, however, for holding the Jumna in lower esteem than their own river is based on mythology, not geography. In the later popular tradition the goddess Yamunā became confounded with a very old mythological figure, Yamī, whose name means the "she-twin"; the "he-twin," Yama, her brother, having been the first man and Yamī the first woman. They were the two halves of that mythical primordial human hermaphrodite which, in the Greek tradition, as rendered in the allegory of Plato's *Symposium*, was split asunder by Zeus. Yama appears also in ancient Iran, as the first mythical king of Persia, Yima. In Firdausi's *Shah Namah*, the national

[80] Cf. *supra*, pp. 71–72, 76, and 80.

Persian epic, we are told that Yima was sawed in two like a piece of wood—which again is a variation of the severing motif known from Plato's *Symposium.* In the Greek version, it will be recalled, the gods split the primordial hermaphrodite into a male and a female being; which is why there are men and women in the world, each searching for its missing half.[61] That, moreover, is how Eros came into existence; for Eros is the love and desire of the separated sexes for each other. And that, finally, is why one feels happy and definitely content when one has found the missing half and is united with it in love and marriage. The two portions embrace and thus reconstitute that being—the primordial hermaphrodite—whom all the gods feared because it seemed to them too perfect. The gods severed it to weaken it, and they set the halves apart so that they should be completely occupied with the task of seeking each other, each looking for its lost mate, its other half, obsessed with longing and riddled with desire until the reunion is effected and the two are absorbed in the long-desired delight.

This mythological hermaphrodite of the beginnings of time is found in the Vedic texts as well as in the Persian and the Platonic. The parted Vedic twins are Yama and Yamī. And there is a metrical dialogue, a sort of ballad consisting of entreaties and refusals between them, in which the female attempts to seduce the male and persuade him to sexual intercourse and marriage. Yama shrinks from the sin of incest, however, and so Yamī's desire remains unappeased. Yama dies and ascends to heaven, and there, as the first deceased mortal, becomes the king of the realm of death.[62]

Since the people of Bengal associate the river-goddess Yamunā with Yamī, the "she-twin" of the first couple, who was filled with the sinful desire of incest, they regard her as inferior to the stainless goddess Gaṅgā. And yet the two are commonly represented in Bengal side by side, as elsewhere in India, frequently as female door-guardians (*dvārapālas*) flanking the entrances of Hindu sanctuaries. In popular worship, the representation of the goddess Gaṅgā by means of unbaked clay images wrought especially for each ceremony and at the end of the service thrown into the river to dissolve still plays a role in daily household life—particularly among the peasants, who depend for their rice crops upon the bounty of the stream.

[61] *Editor's note:* The reader will also recall, however, that Plato modified the traditional theme (which the Hebrews rendered, by the way, in the myth of Adam's rib) by positing three types of primordial being, not one: a male-male, a male-female, and a female-female, the most worthy, "because the most manly," being the male-male.

[62] In his origin Yama belonged to heaven; for he was the son of the sun-god Vivasvant, "He who irradiates in all directions." Yama's patronymic epithet Vaivasvata, "descendent of Vivasvant," corresponds precisely to that of his Persian counterpart in the old Zarathustrian tradition of the Avesta, who is known as Yima Vīvanghusha, Yima the Brilliant, the son of Vīvanghvant.

The Sena period, to which the steatite image of Plate 385 belongs, was preceded by the Pāla, an era fertile in masterworks. During the eighth century the Pāla dynasty put an end to an interlude of chaos and anarchy, and thereafter secured peace and prosperity for a long spell through a firm but benign rule. The artists of the period both preserved and transformed the heritage of the preceding Gupta period, establishing patterns that were to inspire the finest eras both of Javanese and of Nepalese art—even reaching, through Nepal, to Tibet. Pl. 385

In this image of Gaṅgā the new quality can be felt. The figure is completely Bengalese in conception, sentiment, and technical skill—a revelation of vitality and sweetness, youth and beauty, such as the artist beheld about him every day in the Bengalese maidens and young matrons. The goddess is a vision of health and wealth, prosperity and abundance, dignity and prowess: the boons bestowed by the Ganges. The gentle ripples of the swiftly flowing, gigantic stream, whose surface is animated by a light breeze, play over the torso. And the river's power to bestow prosperity and wealth is indicated by the rich diadem framing the goddess's forehead and fastening her abundant chignon, by the necklaces encircling her neck and descending between her breasts, and by the rich ornaments and chains of her girdle and loincloth. For the Ganges is the true source of the health and wealth of the Bengalese people. It is actually divine grace, flowing in a liquid, tangible form to the very doors of the inhabitants of the province, spreading fertility over the rice-growing country and washing away the stains of sin from those devotees who, in their daily morning rituals, immerse themselves in her holy water. She represents, therefore, both joy in this life on earth and hope for the life to come: hence she is styled "The Mother Who both Bestows Happiness-and-Prosperity (*sukhadā*) and Secures Salvation Hereafter (*mokṣadā*)." By removing all sins and impurities from the one whose ashes or remains are committed to her waters she brings him to a blessed rebirth among the gods in the realm of celestial bliss. Indeed, Śiva himself sings a hymn in her praise:

> She is the source of redemption. . . . By the mere contact of a wind charged with her vapor, the heaps of sin accumulated by a sinner in the course of millions of births are destroyed. . . .
>
> As fire consumes fuel, so this stream consumes the sins of the wicked. The sages mount the staircase of the Ganges, go higher than the high heaven of Brahmā himself, ride on a chariot free from danger, and come to my domain.
>
> Sinners dying, through the grace of God and as a result of karma, on the waters of the Ganges are released from all sins and acquire my form. They become the best of the attendants of Śiva and dwell by his side. Becoming like unto me in form, they never die, not even on the day of the dissolution of the universe. Moreover if the dead body of a person falls into the water of the Ganges, that person abides with Viṣṇu for as many

years as there are pores in the skin of his body . . . and if a man starts on an auspicious day to go to bathe in the Ganges, he will dwell cheerfully in Viṣṇu's heavenly world, Vaikuṇṭha, for the number of years commensurate with the footsteps of his journey.[53]

In the refined realism of this Sena masterpiece no trace survives of the archaic ideal of feminine beauty that was already discarded in the Gupta period. The young goddess stands in graceful solemnity and benign repose, clad in her festive attire and rich jewels, much as a Bengalese bride on the supreme occasion of her wedding ceremonial, or like some happy young housewife able both to procreate new life for the family lineage and to manage a large household teeming with affairs. The loveliness of the actual women of Bengal has replaced an old convention. Art has been clarified and resynthesized in terms of a new ideal. A meaningful balance and a perfect harmony have been attained between the earthly material from which the image has been made and the concept that it symbolizes. The earth-bound, idyllic self-possession of prosperous Hindu peasant life [54] has been blended devoutly with a symbolic rendition of the divine energy that pervades and constitutes the universe, sustaining all living creatures. A harmonization of the temporal and eternal, as well as of the human and cosmic, has thus been attained.

Pl. 323 The relief in Plate *323*, the head of which has been destroyed, seems to me to be the finest rendition of the Hindu conception of womanly beauty among the stone remains of North India. It belongs to the tenth century A.D. and has been tentatively identified and labeled as Rukminī, one of the chief wives of Kṛṣṇa, the warlike folk hero and world savior revered as the ninth of the ten avatārs of Viṣṇu. There may exist similar figures that I do not know, which show clearly their title to the name Rukminī; or perhaps this figure has been so labeled only because none of the familiar emblems and traits of any other divinity or legendary woman can be found in it. In any case, ignorance of the subject detracts nothing from the simultaneously calm and dashing spell that the relief lays upon the beholder. The woman is remarkably tall, and in this respect shares the dignity and grace of the statues of the river-goddess from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period in the temple *Pl. 219, 220* of Kailāsanātha at Elūrā (Plates *219, 220*); as in most Indian female images, the form is nude to the waist. From the hips down it is clad in a diaphanous muslin garment that enhances the delicate contours of the long slender legs, while the metal ornaments of the rich girdle fastening this garment, descending along the thighs, contrast superbly with the innocent smoothness of the limbs. The main

[53] *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Kṛṣṇa Janma Khaṇḍa 34, 13–40.

[54] Prosperous, that is to say, as it *was* in the Gupta, Pāla, and Sena periods.

impact, however, is made not by the proportions of the figure, but by the subtle and detailed interpretation of its animate surface. The artist's chisel has glided caressingly along this living organism, everywhere halting to record the infinitesimal form of some subtle nuance. The relief, indeed, is not based on sensations of the eye, though the eye is invited to enjoy it. Such an intimate knowledge of the female body could not have been derived mainly from the observation of a standing model or from a recollection of primarily visual impressions. It is the product and expression of the sense of touch: of a devoted familiarity and experience in love, from which an effective intuition has been derived of the secret of the inner life announced in the beauty of the forms.

To render such a living contour map, the artist started from within: from the hidden well that, according to Hindu philosophy, sends life surging outward to create and sustain the masses and the limbs. He began, that is to say, with the intangible life-force (*śakti*), which is ever evolving and transforming itself into the phantasmagoria of the visible universe (*māyā*), ever creating and sustaining the macrocosm and its microcosmic part and counterpart, the human organism. He did not become lost or entangled in details. The whole figure was treated simultaneously; each nuance, every line, voiced the one impulse of life and the subtle bliss of being. One feels a current of life in these delicate yet vigorous forms; there is a movement going on without pause underneath the gently heaving surface. The simple and universal fact of the life-process maintaining and refreshing the organism every minute of the day and night is rendered visible in this piece to a degree difficult to match in any art outside of the Indian sphere.

Such living forms are suggested to the Indian artist by a dynamic philosophy that is intrinsic to his religious and philosophical tradition; for the worship of the life-force pouring into the universe and maintaining it, manifesting itself no less in the gross matter of daily experience than in the divine beings of religious vision, constitutes the very foundation of Indian religious life. According to this doctrine, which was particularly influential in the great periods of Indian art, release from the bondage of our normal human imperfection can be gained not only through the world-negating methods of asceticism (*yoga*), but equally through a perfect realization of love and its sensual enjoyment (*bhoga*). According to this view, which has been eloquently expressed in the so-called Tāntric symbols and rituals of both the Hindu and the Buddhist traditions,[55] there is, intrinsically, no antagonism between yoga and bhoga. The role played by the guru, the spiritual guide and teacher, in the stern masculine disciplines of yoga is taken over in the initiations of bhoga by the devout and sensual female helpmate. The initiating

[55] These are discussed in Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 552–602.

woman plays the part of Śakti while the male initiate assumes that of Śiva, and both attain together to a realization of the immanence within themselves of the consubstantiality of the Goddess and the God.

These Tāntric rites have not only been misunderstood and grossly misrepresented by Western critics, but have also been systematically disparaged as "teachings of the left-hand road" (*vāma-mārga*) by the Indian partisans of the way of yoga. Undoubtedly they have been at times abused and degraded by people seeking pious pretexts for a complicated sex life. Nevertheless, throughout the first millennium A.D. they were a basic element of normal Indian experience. During that period [56] both Buddhism and Hinduism were transformed by the rites and ideals of this discipline, and its joys were depicted as a matter of course on the façades of temples. Apparently it was something that had emerged from the depth of an agelong popular tradition going back to primitive times.

The subtle sensuality and spiritual voluptuousness of the Hindu relief shown in
Pl. 323 Plate *323*, in its delicate knowledge of the inner secret of the charm of this woman's form, derive directly from the religious and philosophical background of the Tantra, and its particular qualities can be appreciated through contrast if it is confronted with any comparable art work of the Greek tradition: for example (chosen at random), the *Daughter of Niobe*, from the third century A.D., which is
Pl. B15 now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome (Text Plate *B15*). To analyze these two works with a view to announcing a decision between them as to which is the superior would be nonsensical and unjust. Simply confronting them, however, one realizes how divergently—even antagonistically—the experience of the human body and the interpretation of feminine beauty have been expressed by the Hindu and the Greek. The Hellenistic piece forms part of a group of the seven sons and daughters of Niobe, showing them in attitudes of fright and agony as they are struck by the invisible arrows of Artemis and Apollo. Niobe, boasting of the number of her children, had challenged the pride of Leto (the mother of Artemis and Apollo) because the goddess had borne only two; and the deities had taken quick revenge. This is a chapter from the Greek book of the mythical conflict of the gods against titanism.

The daughter of the mortal woman has suddenly dropped to her knee, struck in the back by Apollo's invisible shaft, and the next moment she will fall to the ground, never to rise. Her body tightens under the grip of pain; she throws back her head and twists her hands to the wound. The extreme tension of the girl's vital power and the vigorous display of her juvenile charm are rendered the more

[56] The so-called Tāntric period, so named after the Tantras, the basic books of revelation in which the doctrines were announced.

emphatic by the hopelessness of the struggle. A supreme moment of the contest between life and death having set the stage, the Greek artist utilized this dramatic climax of life's agony to underline the bloom of youth, which is here fully and divinely animate, yet already gone.

There can be no question about the masterful conception and execution of the piece, any more than about the vast difference that sets it apart from all Hindu representations of the womanly form. Though swelling from within with life, heaving with youth and pain, what this work renders is the visible and tangible aspect of the female body, not the mysterious operation of the life-current and life-saps within. Greek art was derived from experiences of the eye; Hindu from those of the circulation of the blood. Greek sculpture developed to its acme of perfection through a portrayal of the handsome athletic bodies of the attractive boys and youths who won prizes for wrestling and racing at the national religious contests at Olympia and elsewhere; Hindu, on the other hand, in its great period, rested on those intimate experiences of the living organism and mysteries of the life-process that derive from the inward awareness gained through yogic experiences—and simultaneously had a definitely heterosexual flavor, distilled and refined to a subtle enchanting fragrance. Whereas the Indian Tāntric realization, "when each is both," brings the Indian art work forth from within, like a gesture of life, the Greek beatifying vision, taken in through the eye and re-rendered with the chisel without having become integrated into the artist's bodily experience, remains a blessed sight, empirically viewed.

7. The Jaina Style

JAINA art shared in the development of technical skill that characterized the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, yet remained widely aloof, essentially, from the aims and achievements of the Hindu works of the Golden Age. There is a majestic Jaina sanctuary among the rock-cut monolithic temples of Elūrā, dating from about 800 A.D., which represents the celestial abode of Indra, king of the gods; and here it is obvious that the wonderful achievements and transformations of the Hindu style, which can be followed in the Cāḷukyan art of Bādāmī, the Rāṣṭrakūṭan of Elephanta and Elūrā, and the Pallava at Māmallapuram, had been allowed to pass unnoticed. A great technical skill, much patient labor, and a

painstaking accuracy are evident in these solid and heavy pillars, hewn out of the rock (Plate 242), and much care for exact detail is shown in the foliage of the tree overshadowing the bulky figure of Indra seated upon his elephant. And yet a lack of imagination, as well as of lightness and spirituality, is evident in this dignified though clumsy style, the moment it is compared with the celestial visions at Bādāmī, the spiritualized sensuality of the flying gods of the Descent of the Ganges, or the mysterious voluptuousness and intimate experience of the inner life-process so wonderfully rendered in multitudes of other Hindu figures of the seventh to tenth centuries A.D. In contrast, there is here a puppetlike rigidity and an almost primitive bareness—and these traits remain characteristic of Jaina sculpture in all its periods.

Pl. 242

The complemental niche, exhibiting a statue of Indrāṇī, Indra's wife, the queen of the gods (Plate 243), is from the same period and executed in the same style. There is an impressive three-dimensional realism about the clear contours and ornaments of the bulging columns, emphasizing the vigor and solid resistance of the rock. Intentionally, the stone has not been transmuted into living, breathing, or mysteriously floating matter, as in the pillars of the subterranean Śiva temple at Elephanta, but has been allowed to retain its mineral nature; for the utterly realistic, materialistic-ascetic doctrine of Jainism [57] rejects the Hindu experience of the world as māyā. The world, according to the Jaina view, is not a phantasmagoric transformation of the spiritual principle (*brahman*), but an all-too-solid disposition of full and heavy matter, from which it is the destiny of the spirit to escape by asceticism. Even the realms of the gods, the heavenly worlds that rise one above the other in the lofty cosmic skyscraper, belong to the material realm: they are of a substantiality more subtle indeed than the gross materials of earth, yet equally distinct from—and inferior to—the crystalline luminosity of spirit. And this absolute unregeneracy of all matter, even of the subtle matter of heaven, is what is rendered, intentionally, in the ponderous inflexibility of the Jaina works of art.

Pl. 243

In the present piece, the tree above the head of Indrāṇī is a "wishing tree" (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*), one of those heavenly trees that fulfill any desire, instantaneously granting, through their fruits, every wish. Such plants abound in the pleasure groves of Indra's paradise. And as we look at the foliage of this one we can all but hear the relentless pounding of the patiently laboring artist chisels, carving leaf after leaf and respecting, with prosaic devotion, each minute detail. Indrāṇī sits in almost the same posture of ease as Pārvatī's in the tiny bronze of Plate 462a. The great queen is of a graceful appearance, but massive; for the image, under its

Pl. 462a

[57] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 181–279.

polished and shining surface, has preserved the full weight and substantiality of a solid stone. Such a rendition is a far cry from the nimbleness and aerial charm of divinities in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pallava styles. The life-force has been expressed through bulk and substance, through a massiveness, and not through the onflow and pulse of an inward life-current building and nourishing blooming forms. There is about this goddess a fine stateliness, and a sense of the beatitude of the animalic life of nature, but no hint that she is a queen of gods, dwelling in a spiritual sphere. Likewise Indra, her spouse, the king of the gods, who from the Jaina point of view is but a minor superhuman, is in Plate *242* rendered as a kind of super-rāja, Pl. 242 vigorous but dull, completely retained in the meshes of ignorance.

The statues of the Jaina saviors, on the other hand, those Passage-Makers (*tīrthaṅkaras*) who have broken the way that leads beyond life and heavenly beatitude to the crystalline stasis of absolute perfection, shine forth with a transcendental purity and aloofness (Plates *245*, *247*, and *389*). For the essence Pl. 245, 247 389 of such released and isolated beings transcends by far the sphere of the god Indra, who, fundamentally, is regarded as but a mighty and benign ruler in the lower middle stratum of the celestial hierarchy, dwelling in a middle story of the towering cosmic apartments, not very far above the terrestrial plane. The techniques employed for the depiction of Tīrthaṅkaras cannot be applied to Indra, the mere king of gods.

Yet even in the saviors we note the characteristic Jaina rigidity. These absolutely perfected beings have purged themselves of all idiosyncracies—all those charming specifications and limitations that make for the movement and variety of life. They have become isolated (*kevala*), released (*mokṣa*), beyond history—perfect, cold, and aloof. Their blood, moreover, is not red, but white, like milk; hence they are of the hue of alabaster, which, together with the rigid symmetry and utter immobility of their stance, renders an adequate statement of their spiritual aloofness. And they are generally represented, if not seated in a yoga posture, then standing in the attitude known as "dismissing the body" (*kāyotsarga*) —rigid, erect, immobile, with arms held stiffly down, knees straight, and the toes directly forward. The ideal physique of the Tīrthaṅkara is compared to the body of a lion: powerful chest and shoulders, no hips, slim feline buttocks, a tall pillarlike abdomen, and strong toes and fingers, long and well-formed. The chest, broad and smooth from shoulder to shoulder, fully expanded and without the least hollowness, shows the effect of prolonged breathing exercises, practiced according to the rules of yoga. Such an ascetic is termed a "hero" (*vīra*), for he has achieved the supreme human triumph: this is the sense of the title Mahāvīra, "the great (*mahat*) hero (*vīra*)," which was bestowed on the Buddha's con-

temporary, Vardhamāna, the twenty-fourth and last of these Tīrthaṅkaras. Such a saint is also termed *Jina*, "the victor," and his disciples, therefore, *Jainas*, "the followers, or sons, of the victor."

Jaina art, then, clings tenaciously to its own archaic tradition, so that whether rendering the gods, who are the lords of the world, or the Tīrthaṅkaras, who have gained release from the domain of the gods, it remains always rigid and somewhat massive and bulky. In the handwriting of the outlines and in the building up of the body and its surfaces there is a broad and effective generalization, but no subtle experience and realization of forms. An almost threatening, dignified heaviness outweighs vitality and the work derives whatever vigor it possesses from its kinship with popular art—its obvious affinities with the fetishes of the primitive
Pl. 452 layers of the population (Plate *452*). The origins of this art reach back, like the origins of Jainism itself, to the remotest depths of the unrecorded Indian past.

In their temple building, on the other hand, the Jainas usually followed the structural tradition of the Hindu sects. Their temples in Rājputāna and Gujarāt belong to the same period to which we owe the magnificent Hindu monuments of Upper India, constructed just before the Muslim invasions of the tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D. At that time the śikhara temples of Oṛissā and the temples at Khajurāho were constructed. We shall consider the breath-taking Jaina phase of this rich period in a later chapter.[58]

8. *The Art of Java*

JAVA had the great good fortune to nurture an art that was a flowering of the finest and fairest seeds from the Indian mainland. It was a colonial development, first of the Gupta and Pallava styles, and later of the Pāla, from Bengal. Moreover, this fine growth, revealing clearly the traditions from which it was derived, became, in due course, vitally fused with the native impulses of the Javanese genius, which is an artistic genius second to none, distinguished by a perfect inner balance, a quality of supreme harmony, and a tendency to the lyrical idyl. Javanese sculpture is sensitive—exquisitely so—to the forms and nuances of the native life. It is the gentle product of a refined realism, fond of the well-known details of the plant and animal worlds of the island, as well as of all the implements and

[58] *Infra*, pp. 265–268.

routines of the Javanese household; and it is definitely touched with humor. In this attitude, however, it necessarily failed to appreciate and re-render certain of the most vital tendencies of the art and genius of the Indian mainland.

One finds no signs in Java of India's deep-rooted yearning for extremes: that amazing tendency to go to the very limits of delight and terror, and even to press almost beyond them, in the representation both of the wonders of the world's sensual charm and of the hair-raising, horrifying aspects of destructive forces. Art in Java is a pleasantly balanced outgrowth of harmonizing tendencies. So that, whereas in the Indian works there is always lurking, just beneath the surface, an impulse to upset all balance and drive in a frantic burst of mastery toward the mystery of something beyond (something superhuman, or inhuman, that dwells in the nature of man and within all things, and the tension of which gives to Hindu visions of the gods and of the universe a quality of incredible magnitude), the gentle Javanese productions are deliciously human. That is why they could appeal to Western taste in the nineteenth century, when most of the great monuments of India were still regarded as grotesque, baffling, strange, distorted, and even hideous.

Before the rise of Expressionism in Germany and France, and the almost simultaneous discovery of primitive art as something of value, the appreciation of practically all Indian works was rendered impossible for Europeans, both by the conventional classicistic ideals that prevented the understanding of even baroque painting, sculpture, and architecture, and by a squint-eyed Protestant-Puritan outlook on life, which simply stood piously aghast at the wild display of the sensual and demonic offered by the Indian revelation. The much gentler character of Javanese art, on the other hand, offered almost no shock to this arrogant approach to all exotic forms. In fact, the lovely sculpture seemed to carry classicism itself to a new and surprising fulfillment; for Javanese art, while remaining perfectly Oriental, is the most humanized tradition within the Indian sphere.

Plate 473 shows the mother goddess in her manifestation as Hāritī. The first occurrence of images of this deity, together with her male consort Pāñcika, is in the art of Gandhāra, in Northwestern India, from the early centuries A.D. (Plate 64, upper right). She belongs in the pantheon of those popular, pre-Buddhistic divinities who remained favorite objects of worship for many lay followers of the gospel, being one of the so-called "seven mothers," who were patronesses of family life. We are told in the Buddhist legend that she was originally a demon-goddess who would steal and devour children; but she was converted by the Buddha and immediately gave up her natural attitude of merciless ferocity. Moved by the doctrine of compassion, and in keeping with the paramount Buddhist ethical

Pl. 473
Pl. 64b

commandment of *ahiṁsa*, "not to injure any living being" (which is the first commandment also of Jainism and of later Hinduism), she ceased destroying and became a tutelary deity of children, a madonnalike being, surrounded by babies, whom she fosters and protects. She is styled a yakṣī in the Buddhist tradition and is named, not only Hāritī, "the Snatcher," but also Abhirati, a word meaning delight, pleasure, satisfaction, attachment, and devotion.

Before her birth as a yakṣī, we are told in one account of her,[59] Hāritī, or Abhirati, had been a herdsman's wife in the city of Rājagṛha, which was that capital of the kingdom of Magadhā where the Buddha was later to pass the greater part of his life, cherished and supported, as an itinerant teacher, by the king. The name of the city means literally "King's House," for it was the residence of the realm, a prosperous and brilliant metropolis. And at one of its numerous festivals, the herdsman's wife had been forced to dance while pregnant. She lost her child, and thereupon was filled with a passion for revenge so violent that it resulted in her rebirth as a malignant demon devoted to devouring the children of the city.

The people of Rājagṛha made offerings of food, perfume, and flowers, with the hope of appeasing the ogress; the city was cleansed and redecorated; music was played and rites of exorcism were performed; but nothing availed. At last, however, the tutelary divinity of the capital made it known, by sending dreams, that the only help would be in the Buddha. And so the Enlightened One, who was in the city at the time, turned his mind to the problem, enlarged his begging bowl miraculously, and hid Hāritī's youngest child beneath it. When the yakṣī, searching everywhere and distracted by her loss, came before him, he pointed out to her the obvious moral, converted her, and returned the infant. Then he promised that offerings of food would be made to her regularly in Buddhist monasteries, and declared that she was to become the protectress of these sanctuaries. That is how this mother goddess of evil portent—an incarnation of the plagues that destroy children—was cured of her obsession and admitted to the Order. "We may say," Dr. Coomaraswamy remarks humorously, "that having had her complex cured by the great master of psychology, she reverts to the normal." [60]

The Chinese pilgrim Ī-tsing declares that in the monasteries of India Hāritī's image used to be painted near the refectory door. She gave her children into the Order, but since they were of demonic descent—that is to say, ritually unclean—they had to receive their food at irregular hours and it had to be, like themselves, ritually unclean. She was worshiped as a giver of children, and was a very popular divinity in Buddhist India.

[59] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II (Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Publication 3059; Washington, 1931), p. 5.

[60] *Ib.*

Hāritī thus combined perfectly the three archetypal activities of the Great Mother: that of bestowing life, that of fostering and protecting life, and that of destroying it. The same three activities characterize the Hindu trinity of Brahmā the creator, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Śiva the destroyer. The triple character is the triple mystery of life itself, with its mutually antagonistic features, wondrously balancing each other. Hāritī's original character as an ancient mother goddess, therefore, can be readily discerned under a thin veil of popular Buddhist legend.

She is, in fact, identical with Śītalā, the Indian goddess of smallpox, who ravishes infants in sudden assaults that cannot be resisted. Such divine demons of disease always have ambivalent traits; for though they personify plagues and illnesses, and so are evil, they are generally invoked to spare their victims and to protect them against their own malevolence. There is an encyclopedia of Hindu medicine, compiled by a certain Suśruta, which contains a large section devoted to children's maladies. Eleven chapters deal with nothing but demons, describing their origins and malignant activities, and the means by which they may be conjured and propitiated. Ablutions in herbal decoctions, anointings, packings, and disinfection by fumigation, are the principal external means of treatment recommended; vegetable drugs with milk, fat, or melted butter constitute the medicines for internal use. The child is protected also by an amulet. Moreover, an indispensable part of every treatment is the ritual appeasing the malignant monster. Offerings must be made to compensate for the prey that it is being entreated to release, and the rite culminates with a hymn and prayer, imploring the fiend to cast off its wrathful manifestation and show, instead, its other side—its propitious nature—by taking the child that it has assailed under its protection.

In Hindu legends of the mythical origins of the demons that personify children's diseases it appears that some are incarnations of the highest goddess Umā, the consort of Śiva, who, as we have seen, is the life-force and the mother of the universe. Others are manifestations of the goddess Gaṅgā, who, as we have also seen, is another manifestation of the life-force. Still others are forms of the Five Goddesses of the Pleiades (*kṛttikās*), the foster mothers of that wonderful son of Umā and Śiva who, when he was but seven days old, killed the tyrant Tāraka.[61] All the goddesses of disease, that is to say, impersonate aspects of the wrathful, terrible moods of the mother goddess of the world; the dark side of the life-process; death and destruction, which balance the bright aspects of maintenance, fosterage, and birth.

In this Javanese image, Hāritī is depicted in her auspicious, benevolent aspect, tending and fostering children, as a kind of Buddhist madonna, exhibiting the

[61] *Supra*, pp. 117–118.

idyllic side of family life. The archaic pattern of womanhood that we studied in the earlier Buddhist works of the Indian mainland [62] plays no role whatsoever in this representation. That formula had already been discarded in the Gupta and Pallava styles from which Javanese art took its start; and yet the slender Indian types of womanhood represented in those styles, with their graceful, spiritualized sensuality, seem not to have played any significant part, either, in the fashioning of this figure. It derives its form and charm, rather, from an original, unbiased observation of nature, being based on a refined, idealistic realism, rendering a Javanese feminine type. The Javanese atmosphere of life has a quality of ingenuous, candid delight, which is evident in this image. So that, though rendering an Indian deity, it is definitely Javanese. And it is delicate, though earth-bound, as befits the subject.

The beautiful women who appear in the innumerable relief-panels of the gigantic Buddhist monument of Borobuḍur (erected between 750 and 850 A.D.) exhibit the same character. They are strictly nonsymbolic; expressing, rather, a
Pl. 482c refined and graceful naturalism. On the bottom panel of Plate 482, we see the women of the young prince Gautama Śākyamuni's seraglio, before his Great Departure on the road of asceticism. As the heir apparent to his father's throne he had been living in secular splendor and royal ease, and the women of the palace had sought by every means to entertain him with their dancing and singing, to distract him from the meditative mood that began to turn him away from their youthful charms. The young prince was soon to renounce the worldly life, quit his princely residence, and follow the path of austerities that would lead, ultimately, to the enlightenment not only of himself but of the world.

One night, as we are told in the *Lalitavistara*, "The Complete Narrative of the Phenomenal Play of the Buddha-form in the Phenomenal World," which is one of the great Mahāyāna biographies of the Buddha, the beautiful damsels, having tried in vain to hold their young prince's attention through their bodily charms, fell asleep around him. "Then the women's apartment was changed in aspect and put in disorder by the gods. And when they had given it a loathsome appearance the gods spoke from out the air to the Bodhisattva: 'How canst thou find pleasure herein? Thou dwellest in the midst of a graveyard.' " The Bodhisattva looked around upon the whole clutter of his sleeping women and, gazing at them, really *saw* them. "Some with their garments torn away, others with disheveled hair, some whose ornaments had fallen off, some whose shoulders were bruised, and others with naked limbs and mouths awry and squinting eyes, some slobbering . . ." etc., etc. The sight moved him to loathing, and he thought: "I do in

[62] *Supra*, pp. 70–72.

truth live in the midst of a graveyard." Then, meditating on the idea of purity and penetrating the idea of impurity, he saw that from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head the human body originates in impurity. At this time, therefore, he spoke: "O hell of living beings, with many entrances, O dwelling place of death and old age, what wise man, having looked thereon, would not consider his own body to be his enemy?" [63] This shattering view of the seraglio is known as the Bodhisattva's Graveyard Vision: for a moment he has visualized the distorted bodies of the young women as a heap of corpses. But whereas the text of the *Lalitavistara* dwells at some length on the loathsome features of the sight that made the Bodhisattva think of corpses in a Hindu funeral place, awakening in him an idea of utter impurity, the charming Javanese panel shows only the beauty of the sleeping young women.

On the panel of Plate 484 is Sujātā, the daughter of the village-chief and cowherd, Nandika. This fair young lady, accompanied by her maidservants, approached the Future Buddha shortly before his gaining of enlightenment and offered him a dish of milk-rice. The gods, in a vision, had said to her, at midnight: "He for whose sake thou hast made a great sacrifice is about to end his penance and partake of good and abundant food. In a former time thou didst pray: 'May the Bodhisattva, after accepting food from me, attain the highest and most perfect wisdom.' Do then what thou hast to do!" On hearing these words from the gods, Sujātā, the daughter of the village chief Nandika of the village Urubilvā, hastened to take the milk of one thousand cows, and, after taking off the cream seven times, obtained cream of the best and strongest. Then she set that cream with fresh rice in a new pot on a new stove and cooked it. And when the food was ready, she placed it on the ground, strewed it with flowers, sprinkled it with perfume, and placing and preparing a seat, said to a slave named Uttarā: "Go, Uttarā, fetch hither the Brāhman. I will care for his sweet food." Then came the Bodhisattva to the house of Sujātā and he set himself down on the seat prepared for him. The damsel offered him a golden bowl, full of sweet food, and this thought came into the mind of the Bodhisattva: "Since such food has been offered to me by Sujātā, I shall surely, this day, after partaking thereof, attain the highest enlightenment." When he had partaken of the sweet food, the Bodhisattva spoke to Sujātā: "Sister, what is to become of this golden bowl?" And she answered: "It is thine." Then said the Bodhisattva: "I can make no use of such a bowl." Sujātā said: "Do with it what thou wilt. I give no food but I give also the dish." Whereupon the Bodhisattva went out of Urubilvā with the golden bowl . . . *Pl. 484*

[63] *Lalitavistara* 15. (Tr. adapted from N. J. Krom, *The Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Bārābuḍur according to the Lalitavistara Text*, The Hague, 1926, pp. 68–69.)

and he came in the morning to the river of the nāgas, the river Nairañjanā. He laid the bowl and his monk's dress on the bank and stepped into the river Nairañjanā to refresh his limbs.[64]

The lovely figures in the relief at Borobuḍur, in their bearing and attitudes, and the whole atmosphere of the scene, clearly are derived from Javanese life. They are based on an open-minded, careful observation of what the world about was offering. The sculptor's own experiences of the common life of his period have been filtered and condensed, refined and idealized, into a gentle canon of standardized forms in which we find nothing of the element of introversion and introspection that is so strongly marked in the art of the Indian mainland. Completely missing from this calm, self-assured, harmonious, and idyllic island art is that intense focusing on visions and symbols from within, that visionary and phantasmagoric tendency, which gives to classic Hindu art its unique magnificence and often startling and bewildering traits—its inspired spirituality, its relentless and dissolving dynamism, its feeling of a fourth dimension within the three-dimensional sphere of the tangible stone. In the Javanese conception of the female body there is nothing startling or extravagant; we see no antagonistic, dramatic forms, bearing symbolic meanings. Woman is simply what the eye shows her to be: not a hieroglyph denoting the powers, divine or demonic, of sex; not the vessel of eternal cosmogonic forces; but a most lovable creature, suffused by a lyrical musicality in her graceful deportment. And in this particular case she is exhibiting her devotion and delight at the opportunity to be of service to a great ascetic.

The pantheon of Mahāyāna Buddhism includes many female powers and among them is a counterpart of the great goddess of Hinduism, the Universal Mother.
Pl. 499 She is known as Prajñāpāramitā (Plate 499), "the perfection of the virtue (*pāramitā*) of the enlightening transcendental wisdom (*prajñā*)," or according to another rendering of the term, equally warranted by the sacred texts, "the enlightening wisdom (*prajñā*) that has gone (*itā*) to the far shore (*pāram*)"—the shore of the transcendental void where that wisdom eternally abides. Prajñāpāramitā is the female embodiment and queen of the transcendent sphere that is encompassed through enlightenment (*bodhi*); she is the essence disclosed in Buddhahood and attained through the extinction (*nirvāṇa*) of human ignorance and of the passionate thirst for individual duration. This radiant form represents the indestructible hidden nature of all and everything, devoid of differentiating and of limiting or bedimming qualities. Prajñāpāramitā is the being and essence of the saviors—the Buddhas and those external Bodhisattvas who, out of com-

[64] *Lalitavistara* 18. (Tr. adapted from Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 91–93.)

passion, have postponed their final extinction so that they may remain present to rescue countless beings from the round of rebirth.

For, according to the Mahāyāna, all the saviors who walk upon the earth or preside over universes and teach the gospel of enlightenment and release are but phenomenal irradiations—projections into the phenomenal mirage of the universe—of the transcendental essence of a single, primeval, eternal Buddha, the "Buddha of the Beginnings" (*ādi buddha*), the "Lord of the Universe" (*lokeśa*), who occupies in the pantheon of this later Tāntric development of the Buddhist doctrine [65] much the same place as the highest divinity (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, or the essence of all three) in Tāntric Hinduism. Moreover, as each of the supreme gods of the Hindu tradition is provided with a spouse (Brahmā with Sāvitrī or Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu with Śrī Lakṣmī, and Śiva with Devī, the great goddess known variously as Satī, Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā, and Kālī), so is the Ādi Buddha matched by the female aspect of his own essence, Prajñāpāramitā, the "Transcendental Wisdom of the Far Shore." And since what such feminine counterparts represent is the intrinsic strength of their husbands, Prajñāpāramitā incorporates that of Buddhahood. This queen of the spirit personifies and embodies the divine "force" (*śakti*) of the Cosmic Buddha, who manifests himself in the infinitely innumerable Buddhas of the earth and of the other universes. She is the very truth, the very meaning, of the Buddhist Way.

There is a curious body of profoundly enigmatical Mahāyāna Buddhist texts carrying the term *prajñāpāramitā* in their titles. One of these, *The Smaller Prajñāpāramitā Hṛdaya Sūtra*,[66] is extremely short, hardly filling a page; but most of the Prajñāpāramitā texts are voluminous, and abound in what Western philologists and general readers usually call the most tiresome and unnecessary repetitions.[67] These texts came into existence in the first and second centuries A.D., and have constituted the basic scripture of Buddhist transcendental idealism from the beginning of our era to the present day. That is why the figure of Prajñāpāramitā is invariably represented with a book or manuscript resting on the lotus flower at her left side.

The lotus symbol is derived from the Hindu tradition and belongs, specifically, to the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī, one of whose names, Kamalā, means "lotus," and who is depicted commonly among lotus flowers. She represents earthly fulfillment and bliss, whereas Prajñāpāramitā, her Buddhist counterpart, represents the fulfillment and bliss of the transcendental sphere, which is attained by shattering the

[65] Cf. *supra*, pp. 129–130.

[66] The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIX, pp. 153–154.

[67] For a discussion of the Prajñāpāramitā literature and philosophy, cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 483–487, 534–552.

fetters of earthly bondage, transcending the passion-ridden ignorance of our limited, individualized modes of existence, and going, in realization, beyond the phenomenal illusion of the personality in its surrounding world. Just as Lakṣmī is a manifestation of the universal mother of life in her benevolent, life-bestowing, life-increasing aspect, so is Prajñāpāramitā the source and embodiment of the deeper life and reality, which is transcendental. She sends out the rays of enlightening wisdom that bring release from the agonies of our limited consciousness, bound to the round of rebirth.

The poise of this sculptured figure, its spirituality, the balance and harmony of its contours, including those of the halo and throne, and the convincing musicality of its proportions, which voice an indescribable serenity and bliss, are derived directly from a classic formula of the Gupta period. One of the chief centers of Buddhist art on the Indian mainland during that time was Sārnāth, near Benares; for it had been at Sārnāth that the Buddha—having attained enlightenment, and then having overcome his doubts as to whether anyone in the universe could understand the meaning of enlightenment and share in his experience of blissful awakening and extinction—delivered his first sermon. There, in the Deer Park, he "set in motion the sacred wheel of enlightening wisdom," which, like the wheel of the sun, illuminates all the quarters of the earth and gives spiritual light to all the beings in the world. Sārnāth was one of the main sanctuaries and pilgrim resorts of the Buddhist creed therefore; and a superb school of artist-craftsmen evolved there the finest and most spiritual of the Buddha types. These became models for Buddhist artists throughout the Orient; and we shall discover their influence in many remote domains.

Pl. 102 Plate 102 shows one of the Sārnāth masterpieces, belonging to the fifth century A.D. It is cut from a light sandstone. The height, including pedestal, seat, and halo, is but five feet, three inches; it is therefore considerably less than life size, like most of the Indian images designed for worship (the figure of Prajñāpāramitā measures four feet, one and one-half inches); yet the graceful form is endowed with a superb monumentality. This effect is gained through a perfect clarity of design and faultless symmetry of mass, controlling an utter simplicity of representation. The eyes are lowered; the gaze of the Buddha is inward turned. The brows are drawn slightly upward, in a position of unforced concentration. The face, according to the Hindu canon, is ideal in its proportions: it resembles the full moon. And the fingers, touching each other, form the circle of the chain of causes, thus giving what is known as a *mudrā*, a hand signal representing an idea, this particular sign being that of *pratītya-samutpāda*, "coming into existence by being conditioned by a preceding cause." The reference is to the Buddha's idea that the

concatenation of all conditioned phenomena is rooted in nescience and a consequent will to live, which give rise to birth and death, which in turn are the support of the ever-revolving wheel of causes with their effects, conditioning and dissolving each other, world without end. Convert nescience into enlightenment and the whole figment of conditioned experience dissolves.

The Buddha's legs in this image are crossed in the "lotus posture" (*padmāsana*) of yogīs, which is one of the favorite Indian attitudes for meditation. The form is erect. The proportions are balanced perfectly, having the lines of an equilateral triangle, which is what gives the composition its quality of spiritual poise, mental equilibrium, and absolute serenity in concentration. The head is at the apex; the horizontal legs are the base. The physique, also, according to the Hindu ideal, is ideal in its proportions: a model of the warlike prince or hero, the perfect kṣatriya type; like the body of a lion with its broad shoulders and chest (which are compared to a door with double wings) but slim waist and hips. There is no fat, for the body is that of a yogī who has discarded sensual enjoyments and lives on a light diet. The chest has become expanded beautifully by the prolonged regimen of breathing exercises. And the serene triangle of this model body is emphasized by the other symmetrical lines of the composition, as they enshrine and give echo to its equipoise. The halo is a larger circle enclosing the head, a sunlike disk through which the concentration and the spiritual forces that radiate from the face and body are made to shine forth in all directions.

Thus in this eloquent image the circle and equilateral triangle, the quietest, most stable, and most self-contained geometrical forms, have been brought together in perfect symmetry, as an expression of the imperturbable state of Buddhahood. Nevertheless, the figure is alive with expression and inner life. From both the countenance and the form there emanate serene mastership, spiritual concentration, and an all-pervading bliss—an effect as much of the delicate beauty and composure of the figure as of the geometry of the composition.

Precisely the same principles underlie the structure and quality of the Prajñāpāramitā figure from Java (which is now in the museum of Leiden, Holland). *Pl. 499*
The background—of slightly ogive form, with a rim of soft curly flames radiating the spiritual energy of enlightenment—frames an oval head closely conforming to its contours, which is elongated by a huge and rich diadem. An oval halo behind the head expresses, through its perfect contour and its stainless, beautifully ornamented surface, the pure void of the transcendental essence, which is beyond limiting qualifications, adjuncts, and coloring shades: the void that is the adamantean Truth of the Farther Bank (*prajñāpāramitā*).

This Buddhist, Indo-Javanese counterpart of the Western symbol of Sophia,

Divine Wisdom, is the most spiritual manifestation possible of the maternal principle. Her fingers touch each other in the mudrā of the Buddha of Sārnāth, that of "turning the wheel of the law" (*dharmacakra-mudrā*), which expounds, with a simple sign, the whole idea of conditioned existence and the cycle of causes. The lovely, perfectly symmetrical countenance is a model of beauty in complete harmony with the idea that it conveys, yet full of the vitality of a serenely living being. It is no sheer symbol or hieroglyph, but the portrait of an actual woman
Pl. 501 (Plate *501*). For this transcendent image seems to have been what is known as the "consecration figure" of an actual Javanese princess—Queen Dedes of the dynasty of Siṅgasāri.

As already noted (*supra*, p. 67), many of the Javanese and Cambodian statues both of Hindu divinities and of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were actually the portraits of kings and queens, expressing the idea that the members of the reigning families, when dead, were assumed into the essence of the supracelestial divine being, or that while alive they functioned as avatārs of the forces that support the world. In 1220 A.D. the ruling king of Siṅgasāri was overthrown by an adventurer, Ken Arok, who married Queen Dedes and ascended the throne under the name of Rājasa Sang Anurvadhumi. In 1227 he was killed, after many conquests but a very brief reign. And the chief treasure that remains to us from his time is this image of his consort as the Śakti of the Ādi Buddha.

9. Cambodian Art

IN CAMBODIA, as well as in Java, we find that portraits of queens and princes were rendered as divine images in conformity with the idea that these noble men and women, passing away, ascended to the presence of the god to share his blissful abode and to assume (like all who arrive in that paradise) his outward appearance. The idea is familiar also to popular Hinduism in India. Rudra, for example, who is an aspect of Śiva, is surrounded by hosts of attendants whose weapons, ornaments, apparel, and features are precisely the same as his own; they are diminutive Rudras. And the pious devotee hopes that when his time comes he too may be reborn in such a form, in the presence and likeness of his god, thus enjoying not only "the state of vicinity" (*sāmīpya*), but also "the state of identical form" (*sārūpya*). On the other hand, the idea that the sovereign was an incarnation of a divine being

did not generally prevail in India, as it did in Cambodia and Java. In these lands he was an avatār of the universal god, a particle of the all-containing supramundane divine essence embodied in flesh on the visible and tangible human plane. Hence he could properly be portrayed in the attitude and with the emblems of a divine manifestation.

The double aspect with which the art work was thus endowed in Cambodia and Indonesia resulted in a remarkable new blend of realistic and idealistic features; for whereas, on the one hand, the images rendered portraits of actual men and women (as did the figures of the donors at Kaṇherī and Bhārhut), on the other hand, the suprahuman, transpersonal character of the personages was represented. Certain Khmer masterpieces of Cambodia in which this double task was most brilliantly achieved offer impressive evidence of the form-building power of such an idea.

The highest divine essence, which in the classic period of Hinduism was symbolized in the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, representing respectively its creative, maintaining, and destructive functions, in later Hinduism tended to be viewed rather as a duad; and this could be represented either as a polarity of the male and female forces, Śiva-Śakti, the holy couple in their perennial embrace, or as Viṣṇu and Śiva—with Śiva standing for the destructive and Viṣṇu for the creative-and-maintaining aspect of the world process. In the former duad—Śiva-Śakti—the male part denotes the transcendental aspect of static, changeless repose, while the goddess is the unceasing dynamism of the universal life-force, evolving the phenomenal spheres of the universe out of the source, which in itself, as Śiva, remains undiminished.[68] When, on the other hand, the polarity is that of the two males, the functions of bringing into being and carrying on the processes of the cosmos are assigned to Viṣṇu, who in his character as the creator and maintainer of the universe now enacts the role of the goddess of the male-female duad and absorbs the activity that was formerly assigned (in the symbolism of the Hindu trinity) to Brahmā. For the idea has come to prevail that fundamentally the creation and maintenance of the phenomenal world are one, since the life-process, whether in the separate individual or in the giant organism of the universe, is an ever-renewed creation. Living beings are not first created, then simply maintained; they are continuously becoming. The force that in the beginning shaped their frames carries them on till they are dissolved by the process of decay. Maintenance and creation only *seem* to be different: actually they are identical, as two phases of the one dynamic reality of life. But creation and destruction also are one: for a single divine force brings forms into being and dissolves

[68] Compare *supra*, p. 97, Editor's note.

them. Viṣṇu and Śiva, therefore, can be thought of as identical. This union is expressed in the term *Hari-Hara*.

Hari, a popular name of Viṣṇu, means, literally, "green, greenish yellow, tawny, bay, and reddish brown." These are the colors of spring and growth, the hues of twigs and young leaves. *Hari* connotes the growth of nature, its eternal capacity to put forth new life, and the unending dynamism that moves through the generations. *Hara*, in contrast, means "he who takes away," and is a common epithet of Śiva. *Hara*, "seizing, grasping, removing, taking, depriving of," is the gesture by which nature takes back into itself the creatures whom it has produced and supported. *Hara*, this destructive grip, is therefore Śiva in his office of dissolving the individual and the universe when the life-system has reached its term.

The cosmic creative and destructive forces are never at odds; yet the human individual, as the victim of both, usually thinks that they are. Men attempt to increase the powers supporting their lives and to reduce those that are lethal by means of magic, drugs, hygiene, and the basic arts of civilization; nevertheless, like two counterpointed melodies, creation and destruction entwine each other, forming one complex effect, which is ever in balance. This wondrous mystery is expressed in the art works of India and its spiritual colonies by combining the two members of the duad in a single body. In the case of Śiva and the goddess, the right side of the resultant hermaphrodite is the male and the left the female
Pl. 139, 258 (see Plates *139* and *258*), while in the figure of Hari-Hara, the right is again Śiva, but the left is Viṣṇu.

Pl. 517–519 Plates *517–519* show an example of this supreme symbol, rendered with the same undramatic yet powerful predilection for subdued undertones and half-shades that we have observed in Pallava art; for the Khmers received their chief cultural inspiration, during the seventh century A.D., from the Pallava domain. In this image of Hari-Hara, the distinguishing traits of the two conjoined deities are not stressed, yet are clearly given. The tall tiara is vertically divided. On the left side (the right of the onlooker) it is plain, but on the other it exhibits, in a flat, subdued ornament, the intertwining tresses of the matted hair of the great ascetic, Śiva. Furthermore, if the symbols originally in the four hands of the statue had been preserved, the differentiation of the two opposed yet united gods would be still more evident.

The long, slim body is of flawless perfection, presenting itself like a ray of divine light; and yet it is clearly the body of a master yogī whose animal life has been subdued by discipline. The physique is one of spiritual beauty, beyond sensual charm, yet a perfect specimen of the masculine form, according to the

Indian and Indonesian ideal. It is a match for the athletic, youthful figures of the Greek gods, inspired by the prize winners of Olympic games, while at the same time, the solemn, powerful countenance rivals the figures and heads of the philosophers and saints of both the Greek and the Christian traditions, representing sovereign wisdom and spiritual fulfillment. Here, then, is India's challenge to the ideals of man in Western art. The whole form exhibits a blend of power, serenity, and wisdom, denoting supreme balance and a quietness through knowing—knowledge become effective in life. The countenance, as well as the body, expresses the godly character that the image is intended to symbolize: a state of being that consists in the secret counterpoise of those fundamental, mutually antagonistic principles whose perennial conflict is perennial harmony.

And yet the whole statue, both the countenance and the body, is clearly a portrait, rendered in a style of idealistic naturalism. The piece belongs, therefore, as properly in the portrait gallery of the Orient's kings and queens as in the religious gallery of the images of the Orient's gods. It is a fascinating likeness and simultaneously a supreme symbol. And just because it *is* a portrait, it succeeds in suggesting a subtle relationship to actual life such as the sacred symbolic figures of the Indian mainland seldom achieve.

The same can be said of the Hari-Hara figure shown in Plate *515*, which is *Pl. 515* also from seventh-century Cambodia. It is slightly less than life size, measuring five feet nine inches. The tiara has again the vertical division; the loin cloth shows two patterns, one on each side. The circular disk in the uplifted left hand is Viṣṇu's chief weapon, the flaming wheel of the sun, which he flings against his demon enemies to sever their heads from their necks, while the only emblem visible on the Śiva side is a huge, clublike object—which is perhaps the head of the deity's classical weapon, the trident. The countenance of the image, again suffused with serenity and composure, is of a portraitlike vivacity. And the physique, with its broad smooth chest, its perfect contour of waist and hips, has been formed and controlled, in every detail, by a mastership in yoga. It has the ascetic vigor and spirituality of Śiva's ideal body, yet is permeated by the gentle grace of Viṣṇu. And so, once more, an intimate harmony of the two supreme, antagonistic divine principles has actually become incarnate in the human body of a princely man.

Before dismissing this inspiring vision, let us dwell, once more, on its symbolic meaning. Containing as it does, within its delicate outlines, the whole prodigious tension of the great opposites, creation-destruction, life-death, it is one of the most striking reconciling symbols in the entire domain of Hindu art. A legend that survives on the Indian mainland explains how this union of Viṣṇu and Śiva in a single anthropomorphic manifestation came to pass. It is a tale attached to a

place known as Hari-Hara, in Mysore, in the Deccan, a town named after its temple, which is dedicated to the manifestation of the highest divinity under the combined aspect of these two supreme gods.

A fierce demon named Guha ("Hiding, Concealing") once inhabited this part of India, we are told. And as usual with Indian demons, he had gained his unlimited strength through an ordeal of relentless, self-inflicted sufferings, which eventually had forced Brahmā to grant him a boon. His demand had been that he should be made invulnerable even to Viṣṇu and to Śiva. And it was granted: which implies that he had gained such strength through his disciplines that he had transcended every known manifestation of power. Brahmā, in granting the boon, simply confirmed this achievement as a fact.

Secure, then, in boundless strength, the demon began dislodging from their thrones all the minor gods, from whom he had nothing to fear. He quickly conquered the universe and set up his new, demonic order. And not only the gods but all the other creatures of the world were cruelly crushed under his egoistic despotism. Moreover, since Viṣṇu and Śiva, by the conditions of the boon, had been rendered impotent to correct the situation, it seemed as though the divine natural order of the universe had been forever broken. Something had to be done. Equal to the contingency, the High Gods, in their supreme wisdom, hit upon a device by which to circumvent—or better, transcend—the pledge that had guaranteed the demon's life. Guha could not be conquered by Śiva; Guha could not be conquered by Viṣṇu. So they combined their essences, contrary though they were, into a single, unforeseen manifestation. The demon had not thought of this possibility. Whereupon, in the monstrous, paradoxical apparition of Viṣṇu conjoined with Śiva—Hari-Hara—they confronted the world tyrant, and he was overthrown.

Such an illogical, shocking union staggers reason. It baffles and is not acceptable to the intellect. Nevertheless, it is the underlying reality of the universe, at the root of everything as the very secret of its life, the source of the world's unceasing dynamism of perpetual becoming. Logical reasoning immediately rejects such an infraction of the law of contradiction as absurd—nevertheless, it is comprehended by dialectical thinking, which is not afraid of nature's contradictions and even revels in their unending permutations and transformations, whether in the Mahāyāna and Hindu philosophies of the Orient or in Hegel's dialectical system, which has transformed the thinking of the West.

The sole immediate and adequate representation of a synthesis of thesis and antithesis, making visible the paradoxical aspect of reality, is an image in which the contrary features are fused in the visible unity of one organism, and Hari-

Hara is such a symbol. The meaning of the legend is that you cannot play safe: an unforeseen combination of opposites that seemingly exclude each other can overpower even your strongest defenses. Furthermore, such combinations are bound to come to pass in the course of world history, to restore the cosmic equilibrium, whenever the normal balance of compensating principles has been upset by some self-centered, one-sided, demonic urge.

Hari-Hara, this coincidence of opposites mutually supporting each other and forming the two vital halves of one living being, is life; is every one of us. Yet who is capable of facing its manifestation with unflinching gaze? An inscrutable mask, flashing forth an ambivalent meaning, it supports an extreme inner tension of antagonistic forces—destruction and growth at the same time. It cannot be faced by anyone who, like the demon Guha, clings one-sidedly to something particular, to life, to duration without end. Not by anyone who clings to the particularized form of life constituting his own cherished ego! Not by the individualist for whom the stubborn maintenance of his own particle of existence means everything, avid to prohibit and to block change and the relentless course of the transformations that constitute the life-process! And certainly not by that rugged fellow who insists on his own power and enjoyment regardless of the sufferings that he inflicts on others through a reckless pursuit of selfish aims! Only perfect equanimity, familiar with both sides, and a sublime indifference to the fate of one's own person—the ability to encompass the two aspects of life, which are delight *and* suffering, growth *and* destruction, the expanding *and* the shrinking, the bright *and* the dark, in the knowledge that they are intrinsically one and the same, complementing each other like day and night, founded upon, and asking for, each other—can command that divine superiority and aloofness which is necessary if one is to face what at first view seems to be a divine monster. The frightening being is life and truth itself. Hari-Hara is a living duad, symbolic of the reality that is manifest through and contained within all living beings.

It is an impressive achievement of the artists of the Mon-Khmer to have rendered, in the portrait statues of their kings, such a revelation of the divine ground. In the portrait statues of their queens and princesses there is a comparable realization; that, namely, of the deep mystery of life's silent allure. The portrait images of noblewomen in the guise of goddesses shown in Plates *512* and *516* have no counterpart on the Indian mainland. They reflect, in terms of the iconography of Hinduism, the Indonesian tradition that we have already seen represented in the Javanese Buddhist image of Queen Dedes. The figures belong to the seventh century and are among the finest of the surviving works of the Cambodian Mon-Khmer. That in Plate *512* is particularly striking in its realization both of ethnic

Pl. 512, 516
Pl. 512

features and of individual expression. It achieves a beautiful balance of grandeur and serenity, dignity and vitality, without insistence on details. The human organism in its bloom is handled with a masterful plastic vigor, in a style at once broad and delicate.

Such statues, as a type, must derive from the ancient practice of setting up ancestral images for the cult of the deceased; images that, because of their function, were shaped as closely as possible to the features of the individuals they were supposed to represent. And yet the earth-bound origin and tradition from which they derive has not interfered with their expression of a semidivine ideality. They are examples of an absolutely perfect feminine beauty; calm as pillars, yet animate throughout with their own inner life. The simplicity of contour and surface inherited from the Pallava style still prevails, but the volume has increased in expanse and weight. A gracious heaviness, not burdensome but carried by a noble animal energy of life, has been instilled into what had been the more slender silhouette of the Pallava ideal.

Clad in thin muslin skirts that cover the body from the waist downward, and wearing high, cylindrical tiaras—their hair being piled in the manner of Śiva's matted locks in the image of Hari-Hara—these queenly women are enacting the role of the goddess, the female consort of Hari-Hara; for in them the goddess was actually incarnate. They stand in a regal attitude, enraptured by their own divine nature—their heads remarkable portraits, and their bodies glorious with extraordinary plastic power. The intrinsic harmony of the Khmer approach to sculpture in the round can here be studied at its best. It has no need for dramatic gestures, or violent motions, to convey the idea of a life-force surging from within the body. The material of the stone is made to resemble the substance of a ripe fruit filled with the sap of life.

The culmination of the later classic style of the Khmers was at Aṅkor Wāt, a
Pl. 531 palatial temple-residence built between 1112 and 1180 A.D. (Plate *531*), where spacious galleries exhibited the chief mythical exploits of Viṣṇu in a series of
Pl. 543 reliefs (Plate *543*), side by side with representations of the royal court and army
Pl. 552 (Plate *552*). The king, as Viṣṇu incarnate, was here surrounded by an earthly duplication of the celestial splendor of Viṣṇu's paradise, Vaikuṇṭha; and an indispensable component of this divine royal splendor was a host of heavenly damsels (*apsarases*) who constituted the king's and queen's chorus of singers and dancers. The multitude of such figures adorning the walls makes for anonymity
Pl. 540–541, 544 and standardization (Plates *540–541* and *544*). They are not individuals, but chorus girls, whose rows and hosts and single figures were to serve as a pleasant, dignified background for the display of the actual splendor and beauty of the royal

retinue. Indeed, the whole ruin vividly suggests the gorgeous processions and assemblies that must have taken place within its monumental apartments. The forms are of a refined and stylized realism, entirely derived from the local surroundings, and betray no trace of those ancient patterns of the Indian mainland on which they were ultimately, though remotely, founded.

The charm of Khmer womanhood is epitomized in these apsarases in a slightly conventionalized, idealized style; for the royal *corps de ballet* did not offer an opportunity for the display of such variety and such profound insights into the mystery of womanhood as appear in the arts of the Indian mainland, where the forms of individual goddesses were the vehicles of mythological ideas. These Cambodian dancers are simply charm incarnate and do not pretend to be much more. Nevertheless, their uniformity is by no means monotonous. The depressing sense of emptiness and boredom that one feels before their counterpart on our own secular stage, with its phalanxes and groupings of vapid show girls, is here entirely transcended. The forms, countenances, and gestures are magnificent—as a result of an inherent spirituality and a discipline of character. The young women were meant to represent—and so, to incarnate—heavenly beings, immaculate mistresses. They are not frail mortals, but the functionaries of a divine beatitude. And this imparts to them a loveliness that cannot fade.

10. Campā (Annam), and the Temper of Indonesian Art

THE ART of Campā [69]—present-day Annam, the country along the southeastern coast of Indo-China—is akin to that of Cambodia. It, too, was derived from the Pallava models of South India; but the grace and freedom achieved by the Pallava masters was continued here in a remarkably individualized manner. As a province of the Indonesian tradition, the Cam [70] style has that particular flavor, which is inherent in the Khmer monuments, of a perfect blending of spiritual grace with a sublime voluptuousness—something of the spiritual innocence of nature. Nevertheless, the work has a definite character and enchantment of its own, derived partly from the ethnic features of the Cam people. There is a special grace and

[69] Pronounced 'chumpa. [70] Pronounced chum.

naturalness, for example, about the sophisticated and ceremonious attitude of the
Pl. 511a celestial dancer shown in Plate *511*.

In general, it can be said that in Further India the masters of art achieved, in a late season of colonial maturity, something that is usually absent from the works of the Indian mainland; namely, a gentle fusion of opposites: an intimate harmony of celestial divine forces with the earth-bound sensual principle. The artists of the mainland had arrived at many of their finest achievements by insisting exclusively on the one or on the other of these two aspects, the triumphant power of the perennial life-force in all its sensual glamour and victorious voluptuousness, or else spiritual aloofness in ascetic perfection, attained through a radical detachment from the forces of nature and their spell. Indian art—like Indian ethics and Indian philosophy—tends to extremes, progressing in any single direction to the limit; or even passing the limit. So that one feels an underlying passion and violence, which demands the utmost value; a propensity for piercing realizations that break upon the mind at the outer boundary of all possible human sensation. Indonesian art, having matured in a very different, more gentle and temperate, spiritual clime, is of another temper.

In the islands of Indonesia the divine sensuality of Hinduism and the transcendent spirituality of Buddhist asceticism so approached each other that they ac-
Pl. 510 quired almost the same quality. The Buddha shown in Plate *510*, for example, is by no means antagonistic to the dancing girl that we have just regarded. He sits cross-legged, in the upright posture of the meditating yogī, aloof and utterly calm, yet the meaning of his attitude is not insisted upon. On the contrary, he shines with the same grace and sweetness as the dancing girl. The same indefinable harmony of spiritual and sensual elements pervades his presence as hers, though cast in another and seemingly incompatible mold. The realm of sensual beauty has been so balanced with the spiritual delight of transcendent enlightenment that both values are equally visible in both forms. The sweet sap of life suffuses the Buddha as well as the dancer, in a friendly, inoffensive way that is not at variance with the great being's transcendent wisdom and unruffled serenity. The contrast with the Gupta ideal is striking—though unaggressive. The figure of the Enlightened One is imbued here with that same divine essence of life which is the principle expressed in the figures of the Hindu gods.

The Gupta figures—which, as we have seen,[71] established models of pure spirituality, fixing for all time the canonical image of the Enlightened One who conquered the universe by conquering himself through deeds of self-renunciation —rendered the savior as a dazzling apparition of sheer light, self-luminous and

[71] *Supra*, pp. 142–143.

illuminating; a reflex from the transcendental source of eternal radiance projected on the mirroring plane of earthly being (Plates *100–102*). The substance of the stone was turned in the Gupta period into a kind of luminous mirage, an immaterial manifestation, devoid of weight and substantiality. Indonesian Buddhas, on the other hand, are suffused with the life of the universe, which is what circulates through the bodies of the Indian gods and their attendants but never through the Indian Buddhas. In this respect Indonesian sculpture was a more faithful reflection than Indian of that slow but irresistible merging of the later Buddhist pantheon with the Hindu which, even on the mainland, was steadily taking place. There was to be, finally, no longer any essential or very striking difference in Indonesian art between Buddha figures and the images of the Hindu gods. *Pl. 100–102*

11. Bali

LET us now turn to the famous island of Bali, just east of Java, which is inhabited by representatives of the Indonesian race—a branch of the great Austric family to which the Mundas of the Indian mainland also belong. This racial stock once inhabited southeastern Asia, whence it spread into both India and Oceania.

Before the Hindu influences reached their island, the culture of the Balinese seems to have been shaped predominantly by ancestor worship. The people's daily life was protected by the souls of departed ancestors who were supposed to be dwelling in the mountains, at the sources of the rivers without whose waters no rice could be grown. Those ancestors had been the founders of the village communities. They had established all the traditions and were in control of the sources of the magical life-force without which no human welfare is possible. Each village community, through its own ancestors, possessed its own life-power, and so was an independent organism. And there had been evolved extensive, complicated rituals of traditional acts and interdictions for the maintenance of the life-force in its salubrious equilibrium. These systems were enforced by the elders of the communities, the oldest living members, functioning as priests, conjurers, and wizards.

In the eighth century A.D. Bali came under the rule of the Javanese kingdom of the Śailendras, which, according to legend, was the chief power at that time in Java, Sumatra, and certain other parts of Indonesia. This explains why the Śivaite

and Buddhist images of Bali belonging to this period reveal characteristics of the art style then prevalent in central Java; the Śailendra kingdom having been founded in central Java by King Sañjaya in 732 A.D. Buddhist monks made their appearance in Bali probably under Sañjaya's successor, Pañcapana, in the second half of the eighth century. And the following hundred years were a period of strong Javanization—which means, in effect, a period of secondhand Hinduization.

In the Śailendra kingdom Mahāyāna Buddhism had played a predominant role; for central Java had become a focus point of Buddhist studies of international importance in the seventh century, and the Tāntric form of the Mahāyāna had then been introduced. King Pañcapana, in 778 A.D., founded on the Prambanam plain the Buddhist temple (the first in Java, and still in existence) of Kalasan, which he dedicated to a female guardian-divinity known as Tārā. During his reign the North Indian Sanskrit alphabet (the Nāgarī) was employed in one of its earlier forms. Both before and after this period, however, the so-called Kawi alphabet, which was derived from the Pallava style of writing, dominated and finally prevailed, which attests to the predominance of influences from the South Indian Pallava sphere.

During the tenth century the domain of the Javanese kings somewhat diminished, and there rose in Bali, as a reflex, the Balinese royal dynasty of the Varmadevas. However, at the close of the tenth century, Bali again came under Javanese rule—this time as the result of a marriage between the royal houses. And from this marriage a celebrated prince was born, Erlaṅga (991–*c.* 1050 A.D.), who was the only Balinese ever to govern the two islands. Bali regained its independence following his reign, and though Java thereafter tried repeatedly to subjugate the smaller island, it was successful only for occasional brief periods. The first of the later conquests took place in 1284 A.D., in the reign of that bold Javanese king, Kṛtanāgara, who dared to challenge and insult even Kublai Khan, sending back the Khan's envoy with a mutilated face instead of with the tribute the envoy had demanded. Then in 1343 Bali was again subjugated, but again only temporarily, by King Rājasanāgara of the Javanese dynasty of Majapahit (1294–1478). Ultimately Islam invaded Java; but never Bali. The island was conquered only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1846–1908) by the Dutch.

Besides monuments bearing evidence of the repeated impact of strong Hindu and Buddhist influences from Java, Bali has numerous works in a style that is completely its own. This has its roots in the ethnic traits of the Indonesian race and in the primitive ghost- and demon-ridden religion of the island's deep past. It is a most sophisticated style, unsurpassed in its mastery of the grotesque, giving

a profound sense of the weird, nightmarish element of the primitive soul; for through a prolonged contact with Śivaite art and the symbolism of Tāntric Buddhism (both of which contain the same uncanny element) the native tendencies availed themselves of the technical achievements of a supremely advanced style. What we find is that, instead of mitigating the primitive vigor and the native taste for the frightening, appalling, and demonic, the Indian technical skill and patterns, once absorbed and integrated, rather enhanced them.

Once again, therefore, in Plate *508*, we see the goddess of maternity and fertility. She is indicating, with a traditional twofold symbolic gesture, the two main functions of the female principle. One forearm lifts the breasts that nourish the creatures she brings forth, while the other hand, placed at the lower abdomen, immediately above the organ of generation, presses the ever-pregnant womb. The sensual mouth, with its half-open lips and broadening gap at the left corner, has a voluptuous, dolorous trait, suggesting simultaneously the delights of love and conception and the pangs and throes of birth. The figure exhibits, frankly, all the innocent shamelessness of archaic mother figures, but in addition—or so it seems—the challenging, calm, watchful, and consciously exhibitionistic attitude of a curiously demonic, suprahuman harlot. The hideous and grotesque features are suffused with a sinister, devilish allure of sex. Full possession by the animalic force in man and life has been expressed without a single redeeming trait. *Pl. 508*

The figure is executed in a sophisticated manner, which evolves its effects through a minuteness of lavish detail in dress; there is a blend of wild and frantic naturalism with an acute sense for ornamental outlines and design. The style is overripe and highly conventionalized. Nevertheless, it is full-blooded and still possessed of vigor. The smooth, costly incrustation of the richly decorative surface veils a volcano of indomitable force surging from the infrahuman sphere in man. Sheer nature, blending beauty with hideousness, charm with the grotesque, ambivalent and ambiguous, beyond or beneath human moral and social values and commands, is made manifest in this figure as the perennial antagonist to the purely human values of society, ethics, family, and the spiritual pursuits of mankind.

The image, though by no means isolated in the art of Bali, is one of its most challenging and meaningful specimens. The archaic concept of the motherly principle of the universe, which found an abstract, solemn, and highly dignified expression in the neolithic images and their descendants,[72] has here assumed a very challenging attitude: rawly protesting, as it were, against the lofty doctrines of release and transcendent redeeming wisdom, which, in the forms of Buddhist and

[72] Cf. *supra*, pp. 68–72.

yogic asceticism, were the most conspicuous and forceful products, in that period, of the masculine spirit. After millenniums of the struggle of the gurus to disengage man from the brutish thrall of the demonic powers of sheer nature, these—unabated, unconquered, and unreconciled—still were there. And they are both shocking and attractive. Not even attempting to conceal what is grotesque and hideous, they show forth triumphantly the basic monstrousness and ambivalence of life.

In many other Balinese figures the purely demonic, sinister, and grotesque aspects of the divine forces are displayed through curious and astounding transformations of the Hindu gods. A gifted tradition of wood carving has thoroughly reworked the familiar forms in terms of the visions of the primitive, though highly refined, imagination of an isolated, insulated population. For in spite of their long contact with the Hindu-Javanese civilization and their dwelling in a veritable paradise—one of the most delightful landscapes on earth—the Balinese are demon-haunted and terror-stricken. Among them, even the most candid and auspicious of the Hindu divinities becomes imbued with an aggressive, terrifying element—compensating for the serenity of the surroundings.

Pl. 509a The top figure in Plate *509* is a Balinese version of the god Brahmā, riding his vehicle or animal manifestation, the *haṁsa*, the wild gander. This bird is the usual symbol of the perfect Brāhman ascetic, the homeless pilgrim and mendicant, on his way to the absolute; for it represents freedom from earthly bondage. Though it resorts to lakes, it is not fettered by the watery element, the element of the life-force; it soars equally readily into the sky. It is at home in the two spheres, knowing the waters of the earth, which symbolize the visible and tangible realm of transitory, phenomenal life, but also the serene celestial atmosphere of intangible ether. The enlightened ascetic, likewise, though familiar with the earth, is free from earthly bondage and soars in the formless purity of the Infinite; he is temporarily at home on the lower physical plane, but abides simultaneously in the changeless, transcendent essence of Brahman, beyond. In Balinese art the august spirituality of Brahmā riding his vehicle, the gander, is completely wiped away. The pure god who projects the universe from his luminous inner vision, and functions as the unbiased witness of the world process, has become a kind of monster.
Pl. 562a The top figure in Plate *562*, a small bronze from Cambodia, exhibits, on the other hand, the more usual Hindu conception of the Creator. Here the god is a personification of spiritual clarity (*sattva*), devoid of violent passion (*rajas*) or demonic animal darkness (*tamas*),[73] whereas in Balinese art he seems to have become sat-

[73] For a discussion of the principles of sattva, rajas, and tamas, cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, General Index, under *guṇas*.

urated with precisely these antagonistic forces. We have already seen how in one of the Hindu myths of creation tamas and rajas, having assumed the forms of two giant demons, threatened to devour Brahmā, but were quelled by the god Viṣṇu.[74] In Bali—or at least in Balinese art—they would seem to have prevailed.

In general, the style of Balinese sculpture is extremely decorative. The deep carving is executed with the virtuosity of a fluent handwriting, producing bold effects through decisive hollows and dramatic profiles and ridges. For here, once again, sculpture has received its standardized means of expression from another art; an art peculiar to this part of the world, namely that of the characteristic cut-out figures of the Hindu-Javanese shadow play. The gods of the Hindus, the legends and hymns pertaining to them, and their deeds on earth in various incarnations, form the main material not only of the lovely Balinese dance drama but also of the very popular shadow play. And the peculiar exaggerations of these figures have determined the popular notion of the way in which the gods should be represented. Next to this art in importance in its influence on Balinese sculpture is that of the woodcuts used for printing cloth. Both techniques make the most of a two-dimensional material. Through their influence, plastic vigor has been converted into an art of bold, overexpressive outline.

Plate 425 is a late, South Indian figure of Viṣṇu, with his consort, seated on Garuḍa. Compare the Balinese version of the same benign sustainer of the universe (in Plate 509). The hand of the Balinese wood carver, inspired by the pencil and scissors used in drawing both the woodcut patterns for printed cloth and the daring profiles of the shadow-play figurines, developed an exaggerated, threateningly grotesque and sophisticated outline, which became in the course of time the rule in Bali and contributed a highly decorative, thrilling feature to the art. In the shadow-play figurines this emphasis, standardized through repetition, eventually became frozen, masklike, and tied up in its own arabesques; but in Balinese sculpture there remains effective to this day a remarkable spark of plastic life, a creative force with a firm, direct impact.

Pl. 425

Pl. 509b

We see it at its best in the figure of the goddess of fertility. In her an age-old Hindu theme has been revivified by contact with a new yet truly primitive inspiration, and as a result, the most ancient meaning of the archaic symbol has come again to the surface: the same awesome meaning that, more or less from underground, had been feeding the long series of images of the mother goddess and her many minor, particularized manifestations throughout the whole long development of Indian art.

[74] Cf. *supra*, pp. 13–14.

VI

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE LOTUS

1. The Lotus Goddess

THE SANSKRIT words for "lotus," *kamala* and *padma*, when provided with the long *ā* of the feminine ending, denote the goddess who dwells in the lotus: Kamalā, Padmā. Identical with Śrī Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, who is the creator and maintainer of the world, she is luck, prosperity, and good fortune incarnate. She presides over the fertility and moisture of the soil and over the jewels and precious metals in the womb of the earth, and is represented standing on the lotus, as the other gods on their animals or vehicles. For just as the bull Nandi is the animal symbol of Śiva's divine nature and the wild gander that of Brahmā, so is the lotus the vegetable symbol of the goddess Śrī Lakṣmī. There is a comic stanza dealing in a vulgar, popular way with the various divine abodes of the chief Hindu gods:

The goddess Lotus sleeps in the lotus calix,
Śiva on the Himālayas,
Viṣṇu on the Milky Ocean.
This they do, I suppose, for fear of bedbugs.[1]

Pl. B3b Text Plate *B3*, lower left, is a terra-cotta plaque from Basāṛh, considerably later in date than the gold plaque found in Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh that we discussed at the opening of Chapter V.[2] The goddess in this rendition stands on a lotus pedestal and is surrounded by lotus blossoms, both closed and open. She wears triple armlets on her upper arms, and rich pearl-fringed bracelets; also a heavy necklace. These are Hindu ornaments familiar from other monuments of the period B.C. But she has wings — a curious and strange trait for India. Nowhere else

[1] *Kamale kamalā śete harah śete himālaye*
Kṣīrābdhan ca harih śete manye matkunaśankayā.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 68-69.

among the reliefs and images representing the Indian goddess do we find her with wings. In fact, wings, though a common attribute of deities and angels in the West, do not appear on the gods and superhuman beings of India, except in the case of Garuḍa, who is thought of as a bird.[3] Winged divinities are common, on the other hand, in Mesopotamian art, and it was from that sphere that the Western winged divinities, the Greek Winged Victory and the Persian-Christian angels, derived their pinions. Probably this rather archaic-looking figure, with her stiff, pillar-like legs and flat, columnlike, un-Indian body, points, with her wings, to some Mesopotamian suggestion.

There are a number of representations of Lakṣmī on the gates of the Great Stūpa of Sāñcī (Stūpa No. 1), where the goddess appears in the classic, typical form that has survived through all periods of the Hindu tradition. In Plate *12* (left plaque between the lower and middle architraves) she can be seen sitting *Pl. 12* at ease on a fully opened lotus; a number of other blossoms rise around her on succulent stalks, and on two of these guardian elephants stand, sprinkling the life-giving water from pots held in their uplifted trunks over the broad-hipped body of the goddess. Her right hand holds up a lotus, in a gesture of charming import, while her left foot, supported by another lotus, allows the knee to swing wide, exposing the lotus of her sex. Just above is another medallion, showing lotuses pouring up from a jar of water, a vessel symbolizing abundance. And we behold across from her, in the corresponding medallion of the opposite upright, the symbol of the Buddha: a little stūpa worshiped by devotees. This, too, is just below a medallion showing a jar of lotuses. Moreover, we see her attendants—huge-bodied elephants—everywhere in the sculpture of the portal: supporting the great architrave as caryatids and, at the top, worshiping the Bo Tree. Obviously the Lotus Goddess, thus paired with the Buddha, was a deity of supreme significance.

Yet she does not appear among the gods of the Vedic pantheon worshiped by the Āryan immigrants on their entrance into India. Indeed, the lotus, the flower with which she is identical, belongs to India, not to the northern regions of Middle Asia and the Near East whence the Āryans sprang. The earliest literary document dealing with this goddess is a hymn, the so-called *Śrī-sūkta*, in a small supplement of late verses appended to the ancient corpus of the *Ṛg-veda*,[4] wherein she is called "the one possessed of the lotus" (*padminī*), "the one standing on the lotus" (*padmeṣṭhitā*), "the lotus-colored" (*padmavarṇā*), and "the lotus-born" (*padmasambhavā*). She is praised also as "the one possessing dung" (*karīṣiṇī*);

[3] *Supra*, pp. 52–53.

[4] J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda* (Breslau, 1906), pp. 72–73. Cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York and London, 1946), pp. 91 ff.

for she is the patroness of the rice-growing agriculture of native India, where rice is planted in the mud and cultivated with inundated fields. She is the goddess of the fertility of the soil, which is derived from water, and she bestows "gold, cows, horses and slaves." She is therefore the goddess of prosperity and riches. She "wears garlands of gold and silver" and is the very embodiment of royal splendor, bestowing fame (*kīrtti*) and success (*riddhi*), and granting prosperity and long life, health and offspring. She is lotus-eyed (*padmākṣī*), has eyes as long as the petals of the lotus blossom (*padmadalāyatākṣī*), and her thighs are lotuslike (*padma-ūrū*); she has a lotus face (*padmānanā*), dwells in the lotus (*sarasijanilayā*), is fond of the lotus (*padmapriyā*), and carries a lotus in her hand (*padmahastā*). She is also the "goddess earth" (*kṣamā devī*) and "the mother of all creatures" (*prajānām bhavasī mātā*). She is "delighted by the trumpeting of elephants" (*hastinādapramodinī*). And she is, finally, the beloved queen-consort of Viṣṇu (*harivallabhā, viṣṇupatnī*).

To understand the association of the goddess Lotus with elephants in this early hymn, and in Indian art down to the late monuments of South India, we must remember that elephants, originally, were the cousins of the clouds.[5] According to one version of their origin, when Garuḍa burst from his egg at the beginning of time, Indra's elephant-mount, Airāvata, appeared from one half of the broken eggshell, followed by seven more male elephants, while eight females came forth from the other half. These ancestral couples became, then, the "elephants of the four quarters" (*dig-gaja*), the caryatids of the universe, who support the dome-shaped shell of the firmament on their backs. They are to be seen in this role, sup-
Pl 7, 14 porting the symbolic lintels of the great gates at Sāñcī (Plates *7* and *14*), and again supporting the rock-cut celestial world of the main temple of Kailāsanātha
Pl. 209 at Elūrā (Plate *209*). Dignified and gentle, these wonderful animal-figures are the Indian counterparts of the Greek maidens who appear as columns on the south portico of the Erechtheion, on the Athenian Acropolis. They bear testimony to an intimate feeling of the Hindu for the character of the elephant: a beast honored for its usefulness both in peacetime and in war, and worshiped for its power to attract the rain clouds and to provide, thus, the enlivening element of water for the maintenance of the crops and, through them, of man and beast.

Another legend of the origin of the elephant is given in the myth of the Churning of the Milky Ocean,[6] where it appears that among the symbolic objects that emerged from the cosmic sea when the gods and titans had churned it for a thousand years were the goddess Lotus and the milk-white elephant-king Airāvata,

[5] Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff., which the following pages roughly parallel.
[6] Cf. *infra*, pp. 228–229.

together with his queen-consort Abhramū, "She Who Knits or Binds the Clouds." To this day the so-called "white elephants," which are albinos showing light or rosy spots, are valued above all others; for they possess to a superlative degree the life-bestowing power inherent in all elephants by virtue of their derivation from the Milky Ocean.

The offspring of the first eight elephant couples, we are told in the legend of the elephant-caryatids, had wings and freely roamed the sky, changing shape, like clouds. Once, however, a group alighted on the branch of a tree under which an ascetic was teaching his pupils; the branch fell, killing the pupils, and the saint cursed the inadvertent elephants, who had by then simply settled on another limb. Through his yoga power he deprived them both of their wings and of their capacity to change form, so that, ever since, they have been condemned to the ground. Elephants, that is to say, are clouds sentenced to walk upon the earth. But their cousins like to visit them; hence it is important for a king to have elephants in his stables. They are termed "the king's clouds," and they guarantee rain for his people in the period of the monsoon.[7]

One of the legends of the earlier lives of the Buddha illustrated on the gates of the Great Stūpa of Sāñcī is that of the incarnation before his last, when, as the good king Vessantara, practicing the supreme Buddhist virtue of "donating" (*dāna-pāramitā*), he committed the political indiscretion of giving his white elephant to a neighboring monarch, whose land was in dire need of rain,[8] and we may note, as the lesson in that story pertinent to the present context, that next to his wife and children the most precious object in King Vessantara's palace was the elephant. It was the priceless magical instrument whose presence in the royal stable was the kingdom's sole guarantee of rain, fertility, crops, and the wealth of life.

In their function of controlling and bestowing the life-giving element of the waters, elephants are akin to the serpents, the nāgas, the demons of divine earthly energy. Indeed, the word *nāga* is one of the many terms used in Sanskrit to connote elephant; so that there is in many cases a certain confusion where the word occurs: for instance, when the Buddha is compared to a nāga. We have already seen that images of serpent-kings may have served as models for the first patterns of the Jaina and Buddhist saviors,[9] and this may account for the tendency to read the term, when it refers in this way to the Buddha, as "serpent." However, the majestic appearance, irresistible strength, and gentle and calm temper of the elephant, its grandeur and intelligence, were virtues inherent in the Indian ideal of the character of the superman, so that there is often good reason for visualizing an

[7] For references and further details, cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*.

[8] *Jātaka* 547. Cf. *supra*, pp. 74–75.

[9] *Supra*, pp. 56–67.

elephant, rather than a serpent, when the term used as a metaphor of the Enlightened One is *nāga*.

We are told in some versions of the legendary biography of the Buddha that when he was born two nāgas sprinkled water over his mother. This suggested to the eminent archaeologist Alfred Foucher [9a] that the pattern of Lakṣmi with the elephants, which, as we have seen, is such a prominent motif in the Buddhist monuments, might have been meant to represent the birth of the Buddha. The Buddha babe himself, as we have already noted in our discussion of the Amarāvatī relief,[10] was never depicted in this period of Buddhist art, but remained invisible; hence, in any scene of his birth at Sāñcī he would certainly not be shown. Furthermore, it would seem natural that some image of the savior's nativity should appear on these gates, since practically all of the other great episodes do. On the

Pl. 7 outer façade of the northern gate (Plate 7), the historical act of the Buddha's first sermon, when he set in motion the "wheel of the enlightening doctrine," is symbolized by a wheel in the midst of a crowd of worshipers, while the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, his passing away, is denoted on the upper architrave by a stūpa, standing side by side with the stūpas and holy trees of six Buddhas who preceded him in the attainment of enlightenment and passage to extinction.[11] The temptation of the Buddha, when he was approached by the daughters and assailed by the giant demons of Kāma-Māra, is represented on the verso of the middle architrave

Pl. 12 (Plate *12*).[12] The Vessantara-jātaka occupies the lowest beam and the famous Ṣaḍdanta-jātaka [13] the top. Thus it would not seem inappropriate to read the scene of Lakṣmī with the two "nāgas" pouring streams of water from above, which is three times depicted on this gate, as the savior's nativity. This ingenious theory should not be left out of account (though, personally, I prefer to leave it to its eminent and venerable author, since it is my opinion that the "nāgas" mentioned in the textual tradition should be understood, definitely, as serpent-genii, not as elephants). Foucher's suggestion is consistent with the tendency of early Buddhist iconography to adapt pre-Buddhistic patterns to its own ends by infusing them with new meaning, as we have seen, *supra*, pp. 56–67, where the adaptation of the nāga formula to Buddhist and Jaina iconography was discussed.

Side by side with the nāgas, as favored divinities of the pre-Āryan tradition still popular in the period of the early Buddhist monuments, were the yakṣas, the tutelary deities of Indian family and business life. Numbers appear as guardians on the railings of the Buddhist stūpas, both at Sāñcī and at Bhārhut, and there

[9a] With Sir John Marshall, *The Monuments of Sāñchī* (Calcutta, 1940), Vol. I, pp. 183 ff.

[10] *Supra*, p. 79.

[11] *Infra*, p. 293.

[12] Māra sits near the center, sending his daughters to the Sublime One, who is invisible beneath the Bo Tree. To Māra's left we see his demons.

[13] *Infra*, pp. 238–239.

is, besides, a fine series of free-standing yakṣas, which are among the most impressive remainders of Indian stone sculpture from this early period. The great figure in Text Plate *B5*, the statue of a yakṣa from Parkham, in Northern India, *Pl. B5* offers a remarkable specimen of the popular art of its time. The massive bulk is expressive of enormous physical strength, while the broadness and simplicity with which the contours and vast surfaces have been treated convey a sense of grandeur and dignity. The form is full of solemn repose and loaded with hidden energy. And the yakṣī beside him, from Besnagar, exhibits comparable features. She has a natural monumentality but is by no means deficient in grace; while again, beneath an almost pillarlike rigidity, there is an astounding sense of vital force. Two more yakṣas have been found in the Northeast, in Patna (ancient Pāṭaliputra), in the country of Magadhā, where Buddhism took its rise. In the one shown in Text Plate *B6b* the treatment of the cloth and ornaments is somewhat *Pl. B6b* more elaborate and detailed than in the figures already noted; nevertheless, there prevails the same tendency toward weighty power. And this characteristic appears again in the celebrated chowry bearer from Dīdargañj, shown in Plate *5*. *Pl. 5*

An image of the same monumental type, from Sārnāth, the great Buddhist center near Benares, is dated in the third year of Kaniṣka's reign and might easily be taken for another yakṣa (Text Plate *B6a*). The inscription, however, dedi- *Pl. B6a* cated by a certain Friar Bala, discloses that this is not a yakṣa but the Bodhisattva, while the lion between the feet connotes Śākyamuni, who is commonly styled the "Lion of the Śākya clan." The figure is bold, with its athletic chest and the slight, but lively and expressive, twist of the head—a remarkable and eminently successful transformation of the traditional yakṣa form into a representation of the spiritual superman on the verge of enlightenment. The "great man" (*mahāpuruṣa*) is not steeped in inward contemplation but gazes triumphantly at the world, in the manner typical of the Buddhas of Mathurā. He belongs, still, to the plane of the earth, as its conqueror, and is in no sense a mirage appearing from the transcendental plane. Though not clumsy, the physique is massive, filled with a great strength. The physical force of the terrestrial yakṣa has not been denied.

The Indian craftsmen of the early periods of Buddhist art, when no complete, properly Buddhist canon had as yet been developed, were not reluctant to adapt the existing patterns and formulae of their craft to the Buddhist requirements. However, almost always alterations were made, so that the new motif should not be confused with the old; for example, the lion was added between the feet of the Yakṣa-Bodhisattva. On the other hand, in the numerous representations of Lakṣmī in the reliefs of Sāñcī and Bhārhut, the symbolism of the ancient popular divinity is preserved unaltered. She is placed on a lotus, surrounded by lotus

blossoms, and she holds a lotus in her hand. Such features are not warranted by the legend of the birth of the Buddha: in fact, they contradict the legendary descriptions of the scene in the mango grove.[14] Queen Māyā should be standing, not among lotuses, but beneath a tree, like a tree-goddess, a dryad or vṛkṣadevatā. Foucher's ingenious interpretation, consequently, could be accepted only with the understanding that in this particular case—for some unexplained reason—the craftsmen did not take the trouble to alter in any detail the Hindu formula in order to relate it to the Buddhist legend. A contemporary looking upon it would certainly have been reminded not of the nativity of the Lion of the Śākyas but of the well-known goddess Śrī Lakṣmī—particularly since the whole stūpa is alive with the figures of other popular divinities, representing the vital forces of the earth: yakṣas, nāgas, and vṛkṣadevatās. There is certainly no necessity, therefore (indeed, there is hardly even a possibility), to read into the figures of the goddess Lotus—prominent though they are on the early stūpas—a new Buddhist reference to the nativity.

The cosmic forces represented by the Hindu gods are made manifest to some extent in every sphere of nature, in the vegetable as well as in the animal, and in the cosmic-celestial also. They dwell in the human organism, the microcosm, which is a counterpart of the macrocosm. The fire-god, for example, inhabits the digestive fire of the bile and is made known as intestinal heat, warming the body and causing metabolism through a kind of cooking-process in the intestines. The solar force operates through the eyes; the lunar force through the mind. The wind corresponds to the breath and is the all-pervading motor force of the human body, responsible for the circulation of the energies and for all movements, both voluntary and involuntary. Similar parallels are recognized between the celestial and the vegetable spheres. Soma, king moon, dwells in the soma plant, the stalks of which yield an intoxicating juice. This dewlike elixir was the basic ingredient in the sacrificial drink offered to Indra and the other gods in the diurnal rituals of the Vedic period, being regarded as the terrestrial counterpart of the beverage of immortality, amṛta (ambrosia), which the gods imbibed in their glorious mansions on the summit of Mount Sumeru and which was contained in the cup of the moon. To attract and feast the gods on earth, the priests prepared an earthly counterpart, an adequate substitute, by a processing of the juice of a terrestrial plant.

The idea of the identity of this plant, the soma, with the Moon, who is the heavenly King Soma, belonged to the tradition of the Āryan immigrants. Other plant associations appear to have been native to pre-Āryan India. The tulsī or

[14] Cf. *supra*, pp. 78–79.

tulasī plant, for example, is held in special esteem by Viṣṇu-worshipers, who regard it as the manifestation of the god in the vegetable kingdom, while the bilva tree is the vegetal form of Śiva. The myrobalan or āmalaka tree is another plant associated with Viṣṇu. All of these belong to the flora of India and their associations with the gods must go back to pre-Āryan times: likewise the identity of the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī with the lotus. Indeed, there is even reason to believe that the latter association may have been known already in ancient Mesopotamia.

The lower figure in Text Plate *A11* shows a pendant or locket of gold, to be worn as an amulet, with a representation of the Near Eastern goddess Astarte-Ishtar. In each hand she holds a lotus. Compare the lower figure in Plate *564:* a statuette of Lakṣmī found at Bangkok, Siam, but executed in the Khmer style of the period before Aṅkor, probably eleventh century A.D. Once again, as was the case with the animal vehicle,[15] an archaic theme announced in Mesopotamia has traveled far on the Indian tide. This little figure, only eleven and one-half inches high and intended for worship on a household shrine, combines grace with a statuesque dignity. Its left hand, extended, is opened in the gift-bestowing gesture (*varada-mudrā*), "the gesture (*mudrā*) that bestows (*da*) a wish or a boon (*vara*)." In the open palm lies a fruit, symbolizing the fertility of crops and trees and connoting offspring as well, the fruit of the womb. In her right hand the goddess exhibits a lotus.

Pl. A11b

Pl. 564b

Rising from the depths of water and expanding its petals on the surface, the lotus (*kamala, padma*) is the most beautiful evidence offered to the eye of the self-engendering fertility of the bottom. Through its appearance, it gives proof of the life-supporting power of the all-nourishing abyss. This is why the goddess Lotus (*kamalā, padmā*) is an appropriate consort or śakti of Viṣṇu—Viṣṇu being the cosmic water itself, the infinite ocean of that liquid life-substance out of which all the differentiated phenomena and elements of the universe arise, and back into which they must again dissolve. When a life-period of the world-organism has attained its term and is about to be dissolved (according to the Indian myth of the end of the universe), the moisture is withdrawn, all the forms perish and go dry, and a prodigious conflagration burns them, so that nothing is spared. The fire then is quenched by rains, which produce a flood that covers everything, and thus the universe returns to its state of the beginning: the state of a timeless ocean. Viṣṇu is this cosmic sea.

As already noted,[16] the universal living waters are symbolized in India as the snake Ananta, or Śeṣa, who supports the human form of the divine sleeper, Viṣṇu. At the beginning of time (according to the myth of the flowering of the universe),

[15] Cf. *supra*, pp. 42–48. [16] Cf. *supra*, pp. 12–13.

when the waters are to bring forth forms anew, there rises from the navel of Viṣṇu the golden bud of a lotus, which expands. This cosmic flower is a transformation of a portion of the substance eternally contained within the god's gigantic body. It is an epiphany of those dynamic forces of the creative process which had been withdrawn into the body (that is to say, into the cosmic waters) at the time of the dissolution. It has now reappeared, to begin its cycle anew; and it will live again its perennial course. This radiant lotus of the world is the goddess Padmā, the śakti or divine energy of slumbering Viṣṇu. She is the awakening of his substance, in dream, as the miracle of life.

Pl. 111 Plate *111* is a classic representation from the Gupta period of "Viṣṇu recumbent on the serpent Endless" (*viṣṇu anantaśayin*). The lotus in upper center actually grows from the reclining god, but instead of the goddess Padmā on the calyx, we see a god, four-headed, who is Brahmā, the creator. Brahmā was a paramount figure in the early philosophical cosmogony that evolved under the leadership of the Brāhmans, after they had come in contact with the pre-Āryan heritage of the Indian land. The Brāhmans, however, never assigned major but only minor roles (when any at all) to representatives of the female principle; hence a goddess could not appear in their system in the position of a demiurge, evolving the spectacle of the universe. This antifemale bias was one of the main areas of antagonism between the Āryan and pre-Āryan traditions. As we have seen, however,[17] there was a gradual return to power of goddesses in the later religion, with the restoration of pre-Āryan sentiments and ideals. These had survived among the masses, and they entered the Brāhmanical sphere gradually but relentlessly when the waves of the Āryan immigration were absorbed by the races of the autochthonous civilization. Goddesses, thereafter, remain predominant in India. In fact, they have been growing in strength to the present day, even though new waves of foreign invaders have continually rolled over the land, from the period of the conquest by Islam to that of the coming of the Portuguese, the French, and the British.

When Brāhmanic ideas and symbols were in the ascendant in India the goddess Lotus had to yield her place to Brahmā, as a kind of male counterpart of herself; hence we see this divine usurper on the lotus throne—which had been the symbol, the seat and vehicle, indeed the very name, of the goddess Padmā-Lakṣmī. In this position Brahmā then exercised the same function as the earlier goddess. Padmā-Lakṣmī, however, did not completely vanish from the picture, but, as the wife-consort of Viṣṇu, was given a place at his feet in the classic position and humble role of the Hindu housewife, serving and tending her royally reclining spouse. Her right hand holds his foot and her left his leg, in a gentle gesture, as if strok-

[17] *Supra*, pp. 100–110.

ing; for the woman is supposed to massage the feet of her lord-husband when he returns from the fatiguing tasks of the day.

This impressive piece adorns the temple of Deogaṛh and dates from about 600 A.D. The five male figures at the base, with the woman in the corner at the right, represent the five Pāṇḍava princes of the epic *Mahābhārata*, with Draupadī, their common wife. In the great "War of the Bhārata family," in which these Pāṇḍava princes defeated their cousins the Kauravas, they were assisted by Viṣṇu himself, incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, who, acting as their friend, first asked the enemy cousins whether they would prefer to have his armed forces or his personal advice. They chose the army, and by this foolish, materialistic decision brought upon themselves ruin; for they did not realize whose personal advice they were rejecting. The god, returning to the Pāṇḍavas, took the reins of Arjuna's chariot and, in the seemingly neutral and humble role of charioteer, assumed the leadership. Kṛṣṇa's superior advice then carried the day.

Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the five Pāṇḍavas, who is regarded as an incarnation of the god Dharma, the god of righteousness and moral order, stands in the center of the base. At his right (our left) is Bhīma, an incarnation of the wind-god Vāyu. In Bhīma's hand is the huge iron club with which, in singlehanded combat against the leader of the Kauravas, he smashed (by a foul) the latter's thighs. Arjuna is in the corner, the most beautiful and valorous of the Pāṇḍava princes, Kṛṣṇa's close friend and brother-in-arms, to whom the god revealed, at the opening of the battle, the doctrine of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. At Yudhiṣṭhira's left stand Nakula and Sahadeva, the twin half brothers (from the same father but two mothers) in whom the Aśvins, the Vedic twin-gods-on-horseback (corresponding to Castor and Pollux of the Greek mythology), became incarnate. And finally, in the corner at the right is Draupadī, their common wife—hers being the unique example of polyandry in the Brāhman tradition. She was an incarnation of Indrāṇī, or Śacī, the wife of Indra.

Above, to the right of the four-faced Brahmā on the lotus calyx, we see Indra on his elephant Airāvata. At Brahmā's left, the couple seated on the bull and soaring through space are Śiva and his spouse. The youthful, boyish form in the upper left-hand corner riding on a bird is perhaps Skanda Kārttikeya, the war-god, the son of Śiva and Umā, on his peacock—the young hero who, when he was but seven days old, killed the great demon-tyrant Tāraka.[18] The figure in the right-hand corner is a flying, garland-bearing attendant.

The magnificent form of Viṣṇu recumbent on Ananta, in a graceful, dreamy attitude, deserves the fullest admiration. Its elegant harmonization of the qualities

[18] Cf. *supra*, pp. 117–118.

of vigor and grace illustrates one of the particular achievements of the classic Gupta style. There is a perfect unification of vegetative force (the same force that is issuing from the god's body in the form of the lotus) with the human form, and simultaneously with the serpent, the wavelike coils and the crest of the shield of cobra hoods. The life-force manifest in the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and in the human organism, flows through all with a single melody. The nāga and the lotus themes have been united in their fullest meaning.[19]

This relief, with its host of gods above and the row of human heroes beneath, is an early statement of a pattern that was to become, in later Indian art, the classic conception of Viṣṇu recumbent on the giant snake and the cosmic waters. We have already discussed the Pallava panel of Plate *286*.[20] Text Plate *C16* shows, in the upper left-hand corner, a miniature from the eighteenth century. Again Lakṣmī, the goddess Lotus, attends the outstretched feet of her lord, relieved of her proper position by the four-faced demiurge of the Brāhman theologians. Simultaneously, however, she is supporting Brahmā, secretly, in the guise of the lotus.

Pl. 286, C16a

2. *The Lotus Support*

IN LATER Hindu and Buddhist art we find the lotus serving as a pedestal for numerous divine figures.[21] Its transfer to Brahmā, the creative aspect of the highest divinity, marked the first step of a long evolution. Brahmā is called in the literary tradition *padma-ja, padma-jata* ("born of the lotus") and *padma-garbha, padma-yoni* ("whose mother's womb was—or is—the lotus"). And as the creative aspect of the divine substance, he is fully entitled to the lotus seat; for as the first-born of the timeless waters, he is a masculine counterpart of Padmā. But he is also, according to the tradition of Brāhman philosophy and mythology, the highest being itself in its pure, spiritual, and transcendent nature; an anthropomorphic symbol of Brahman, the essence of the universe, the cosmic, anonymous Self.[22] Brahman dwells within all beings as the suprapersonal kernel of their nature. Brahmā, therefore, is equal to Viṣṇu in his transcendental aspect. No less than Viṣṇu and Śiva, he personifies and connotes, beyond his role as Creator,

[19] Cf. *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 60–62.
[20] *Supra*, pp. 12–14.
[21] This subject is handled slightly differently in *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 96 ff.
[22] *Brahmā* is a masculine noun; *brahman*, neuter.

pure being itself, supreme reality, transcending change, time, and every limiting qualification.[23]

The lotus symbol, as the pedestal of Brahmā, acquired, in the course of time, the meaning of a support for all deities representing the highest transcendental essence; and in this new function it slowly invaded provinces of religious iconography strikingly remote from, or even antagonistic to, the sphere of the goddess Padmā-Lakṣmī. Since this process can be traced most clearly in Buddhist iconography, we shall embark, at this point, on a brief review of the history of the Buddha image.

In the earliest periods of Buddhist art, in the era B.C. and first centuries A.D., the *earthly* and *realistic* aspect of the superman-savior was stressed whenever he was represented: the Buddha simply stood on the ground (e.g., in Text Plate *B6*, *Pl. B6a*
left). If any more or less elaborate pedestal was attached to the figure, it was in the form not of a lotus but of an ornamental frieze, usually exhibiting some scene relating either to the Buddha's life or to his worship. Likewise, when represented in the cross-legged posture, Gautama was seated either on the ground or on the lion throne (*siṁhāsana*), of which two lions form the forelegs (Plates *62* and *71*). *Pl. 62b, 71*
Such a throne is the common seat and symbol of regal dignity in the secular realm, where the king is the lion among men. Comparably, the Enlightened One is the lion among spiritual teachers, philosophers, and divines, and when he lifts his voice to announce the doctrine every other voice is silenced, unable to refute him. His sermon is therefore the "lion's roar" (*siṁha-nāda*); for when the lion's voice is heard in the wilderness all the other animals fall silent, fearing his approach. The Buddha Śākyamuni was known, moreover, as the "lion of the Śākya family." His early throne, therefore, was the lion throne.

This emphasis on the human aspect of the teacher of gods and men—regarding the Buddha as a man who had reached fulfillment through an agelong career of enlightening self-sacrifice—belongs to the period of early Buddhism and is roughly contemporary and identical with the doctrine of the Hīnayāna, the so-called "Little Vehicle," which is represented in the tradition of the Ceylonese Pāli canon. It is represented in the monumental Buddha figure from Amarāvatī, from the second century A.D., shown in Plate *93*, whose provenience from the *Pl. 93*
ancient yakṣa pattern of the pre-Buddhist era is clearly betrayed by its massive dignity.[24] Such Buddhas—figures in the round—are powerful types, severe and benign, and more spiritual than the Buddhas of Mathurā. Their silent grandeur foreshadows the more slender and delicate grace and the inward-turned yogic absorption of the classic Hīnayāna style of Ceylon rather more than the mirage-

[23] Cf. *supra*, p. 96, Editor's note. [24] Cf. *supra*, pp. 162–163.

like apparitions of the Gupta Buddhas. The savior, as they represent him, is not a phantasmagoric apparition but a solid man.

It is in the Buddha images of Ceylon that the absence of the lotus ornament at the base is most conspicuous. Buddhism spread to Ceylon at an early period. The island is said to have been conquered in the fifth century B.C. by Indian settlers from the mainland, at which time a prince named Vijaya ("Victory"), from the Ganges valley, founded a city in the southern part. The island was brought under one rule about a century later. Buddhism entered during the reign of Devānampiyā Tissa ("He who is under the protection of Tiṣya [an auspicious constellation of stars in the path of the lunar zodiac] and is beloved by the gods"), 247–207 B.C., when Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty, the great emperor of Northern India, was sending Buddhist missionaries to various lands beyond the borders of India and starting the Buddhist gospel on its world career. Aśoka sent his own son Mahendra to Ceylon, and, later, his daughter Saṅghamittā ("Friend of the Order"). A branch of the very Bo Tree under which the Buddha had gained enlightenment at Bodhgayā was then brought to the island and planted at Anurādhapura. Ceylon thus became Buddhist, and it remains to this day the stronghold of the "Little Vehicle," the Hīnayāna. Moreover, it was the scene in the year 80 B.C. of one of the most important events in the literary history of Buddhism and in the religious literary history of mankind, when the canonical teachings, which up to that time had been transmitted orally, were committed to writing, in the Pāli language, by order of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Practically everything that the Western world (until most recently) has known of the early Buddhism of India was derived from this copious Ceylonese encyclopedia of the doctrine.

The earliest remains of Ceylonese art reflect the various traditions of the mainland from which they were derived: the Buddhist art of the first centuries A.D., which flourished under the patronage of the Mongolian Kuṣāna kings in Northern India; the art of Amarāvatī and of various other sites within the Āndhra domains of the Deccan; the art of the Guptas; and the several early medieval styles. The monumental statues of standing Buddhas before the Ruanweli dāgaba, shown in
Pl. 456 Plate *456*, belonging probably to the third or fourth century of our era, reflect, for example, the austere and massive monumentality of the Buddhas of the Āndhra period (of which we have just seen a specimen from Amarāvatī); and yet the weighty bulk of those Āndhra Buddhas, inherited from their origin in the yakṣa, has entirely melted away. The Ceylonese figures, slender and erect, have preserved the pillarlike, statuesque bearing of the yakṣas, but have acquired a spirituality, well befitting representations of the fully enlightened teacher and savior of mankind. The garment, with its folds and curves, derives to some extent,

in a remote way, from the Hellenistic drapery of the Gandhāra figures; and yet the whole concept of drapery is radically different from that of the Occidental, Greco-Bactrian tradition. The lines and curves are conceived and rendered not as copies of actual costumes but as an expression of the spiritual calm, harmony, and serenity that radiate from the reposeful presence of the Enlightened One. The Buddha has been conceived as a living receptacle of supernal wisdom, conferring peace, and yet he remains a tangible human being, a model of the highest human attainment, man at the peak of spiritual perfection—not, as in the Mahāyāna, a supernatural reflex on the earthly plane of a transcendental essence. And in conformity with this humanistic conception, the cosmic symbol of the lotus pedestal is omitted. The figure stands—like Gautama himself—on the ground.

The figure at the left is a Buddha; at the right, probably a Bodhisattva. The earth-bound demonic monumentality of the yakṣa type has attained here complete humanization and spiritualization without forfeiting either its statuesque, gigantic form or its inner vigor. Psychic and mental energy have supplanted physical strength. There is a look of knowing, of penetrating wisdom, yet a total absence of the suprahuman. Man has reached perfection through self-detachment and self-control.

These statues are documents of a moral heroism, revealing man calmly and sovereignly independent of the gracious intervention of any superhuman divine powers. They are models—not symbols—of the highest human attainment. Their beauty is that of spiritual virtue. And so here, again, there is no lotus pedestal; the Buddha and the Bodhisattva stand directly on the ground.

The work shown in Plate 457 is an example of Ceylonese art at its best. The *Pl. 457* date is somewhat controversial: possibly the second century A.D., but more probably later, perhaps the third or fourth; some would assign it to the sixth or eighth. In its magnificent simplicity and truth to life the figure suggests the achievements of Pallava art; but it has nothing of the unearthly spirituality that we have noted in those dissolving, nimble, floating, cloudlike apparitions.[35] Stressing, rather, the realistic aspect of the Buddha, it is in the true mode of the Hīnayāna, the ideal represented being that of the Hindu superman meant for enlightenment. The form expresses the perfect aloofness of the solitary yogī who, having conquered the world of the senses, has pierced the intellectual web that meshes the human mind and ego. He is endowed with a perfect body and has achieved an imperturbable calm without tension or effort; serenity is the intrinsic attitude and it has been expressed in terms of a human harmony and beauty. The monumentality is unsurpassed, being far beyond the comparatively archaic, some-

[35] Cf. *supra*, pp. 88–90.

what rigid and dry impressiveness of the standing Buddhas already discussed. And the lotus pedestal again is missing—in accordance with a human, realistic, ethical conception of the Buddha and his deed.

For in spite of repeated invasions by Tamil conquerors from South India, who gained temporary footholds in the north of the island and sometimes extended their dominion into the interior, the Buddhist art of Ceylon remained essentially faithful to its Hīnayāna tradition. The Coḷa princes for a time incorporated Ceylon in their South Indian realm; but not even such enforced intimacy with the leading representatives of the great medieval civilization of the mainland could affect the character of Ceylon's conservative Buddhist art. The greatest of the native kings, Parākrama Bāhu I (the Great), 1184–97, finally recovered possession of the whole island and even invaded India. And it is to him that the Buddhist sanctuary of Gal Vihāra is ascribed: an apsidal cave-shrine, beside which there is, on the one hand, a colossal representation of the parinirvāṇa, and, on the other, a rock-
Pl. 466–467 cut seated Buddha showing traces of ancient painting (Plates 466 and 467).

The latter is a figure of sober monumentality and geometric symmetry informed with tension and harmony, comparable to the Sārnāth Buddha, yet definitely on the side of ascetic heroism and vigor and radiating a penetrating energy. A conventionalized lotus cushion is to be seen on the lion throne—reflecting an influence from the North; and yet the Buddha himself, in keeping with the Hīnayāna view, is loaded with will power and relentless determination; being solid, though not weighty, and as far as possible from that suggestion of evanescence or immanent evaporation which characterizes the transcendental beings of inner vision. We do not sense so much the boon-bestowing mildness of a heavenly savior, manifesting himself in a bliss-yielding vision, as the psychic reality and experience of a triumphant effort of successful human concentration. The supreme loneliness of the solitary spiritual conqueror, the highest type of man according to the Hindu conception, is rendered tangible in a bodily manifestation of calm, indomitable will, unflinching in its determination and supreme in its attained clarity—these being the fundamental traits of the spiritual victor. The outlines of the figure, extremely bold and simple, offer no distracting or fascinating details, no lures of sensual charm. For instead of suggesting the grace of divine cosmic saviors in the garb of eternal Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, this figure is intended to present a portrait-model of the Buddhist spiritual superman as he would appear on the earthly plane. The ideals expressed are those of Hīnayāna asceticism, which knows nothing of any grace flowing forth from transcendental divine saviors, but demands and expects everything from the re-

lentless soul-force and self-control of the individual. The hands are in the "posture of inward absorption," *dhyāna mudrā.*

Returning to the Indian mainland, we discover a comparatively early instance of the lotus symbol as a pedestal of Buddhist saviors on an Amarāvatī pillar of the third century A.D. (Plate *92*, left). Here Buddhas surmounted by stūpas (symbol- *Pl. 92a* izing their final nirvāṇa, their attainment of the ultimate goal) are seen standing on expanded lotus calyxes. This symbolism, which seemed a little out of place in conservative Ceylon, is completely appropriate to the Mahāyāna; for here the legends do not insist on the human character and earthly births of the Buddhas. The biographies, increasingly fraught with miraculous features, represent illusory displays of the transcendental divine essence in the field of the intellect and senses. The Buddha life has become an unsubstantial reflex on the mirror-plane of phenomenality; an operatic spectacle miraculously enacted on the great stage of the cosmos. Indeed, numerous Buddhas, spreading enlightenment and release from the spell of the world illusion, shine forth, throughout the ages, from the transcendental womb. They appear—like saving lights—from the adamantean sphere of inexpressible sheer reality, which is inaccessible either to the logical intellect or to the senses, as manifestations from beyond the horizon of phenomenality: from beyond earth, beyond the subterranean purgatories, beyond the celestial mansions of the gods. The classic and most popular exposition of this view is that great Sanskrit sūtra from which we have already quoted, the *Lalitavistara*, "The Unfolding of the Playful Illusory Manifestation of the Buddha on the Earthly Plane."

This docetic view, which the classic tradition of Hīnayāna Buddhism, as preserved in the Pāli canon of the Ceylonese monks, rejects as heretical, must have developed at a fairly early date; for we learn of a council held at Vaiśālī, in Northern India, a hundred years after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, which resulted in a complete schism between two groups of monks quarreling over ten points of discipline. The conservative party, upholding traditional views, was in the minority and separated from the main assembly. When it had left, the majority held a council of its own, known as the "Great Assembly" (*mahā-saṅgha*), or the "Great Recitation" (*mahā-saṅgīti*); and we are probably justified in detecting in this designation a foreshadowment of the term *Mahāyāna*. For *Hīnayāna* means, literally, the "forsaken vehicle," the "deficient, defective, or lower vehicle," i.e., the doctrine of those left alone with their limited orthodoxy; whereas *Mahāyāna*, meaning the "Great Vehicle," suggests the vehicle in which the majority ride. In the "Great Recitation," or "Great Congress," the "majority

of the monks," or "great community of the monks" (*mahā-saṅgha*), by oral recitation rearranged, altered, and developed the doctrine. The Mahāyāna took its start with this event.[26]

One lone, monumental specimen of the new Buddhist literature that was springing into existence on the Indian mainland in this period of transition between the early Hīnayāna and the fully fledged Mahāyāna is the *Mahāvastu*, the "Great Subject"; a work in which the Buddha's legendary life is preceded by (and welded into one with) the whole series of his former lives, showing how he acquired the power to become a Buddha. The *Mahāvastu* was a manual for Bodhisattvahood, meant not only for monks, but for all and everyone aspiring to Buddhahood—men, women, gods, even animals; it shows through a view of the Buddha's exemplary careers, during ages of secular incarnations, how enlightenment can be achieved in secular life as well as by entering the order, through a consistent practice of self-renunciation and similar virtues. Hence it does not belong to the *saṅgha*, the community of monks, like the discipline of the Ceylonese Pāli canon, but is addressed to the *mahā-saṅgha*, the "great community" of living beings, all of whom are intended for release through enlightenment. The believers in this great community of the universe style themselves *Lokottaravādins*, upholders of the "doctrine (*vāda*) that the Buddha is in his secret essence transcendent and beyond (*uttara*) the spheres of the world (*loka*)." The *Mahāvastu* was intended to serve as a textbook of the disciplines of these Mahāsāṅghikas Lokottaravādins.

Whereas orthodox Christianity rejected docetism and evolved the realistic view that Christ, when descending to earth, became a real human being (in spite of his divine nature, that is to say, was really born and underwent real suffering), through the Lokottaravādins of the Great Community docetism became established as the paramount dogma of the Mahāyāna. The apparition of the Buddha as a human being was understood to have been purely phenomenal. He had enacted the role of a human being for the benefit of men, having assumed a human mask among them just as he assumes the various masks of the various classes of deity when he appears before celestial assemblies to teach. For his transcendent essence, which in itself is devoid of all characteristics and limiting qualifications, is reflected in every sphere of the phenomenal universe in a guise akin to that of the inmates of the sphere in question. It seems a god among gods, and among men a being laden with the requirements and habitudes of human frailty, the function of such illusional manifestation being to inspire confidence. It establishes a relation-

[26] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York and London, 1951), pp. 492–494.

ship of immediate intimacy while supplying, simultaneously, a model that teaches and inspires, furnishing a sign of the supreme attitude—the attitude that implies and leads to the wisdom of release.

Precisely as the transcendent substance of Viṣṇu, the primeval water, brings forth the phenomenal, dynamic form of Brahmā (who then evolves the phenomenal universe), so likewise, the transcendent adamantean essence of enlightenment, the sheer "suchness" (*tathātā*) which underlies the universe, gives forth the saviors. That is why the Buddhas, the first-born of that reality, are entitled no less than Brahmā to the lotus throne. This lotus symbol, which in its original association with the goddess Padmā-Lakṣmī denoted divine physical life-force, the life-sustaining, transcendent yet immanent substance of the timeless waters, in Mahāyāna Buddhism connotes the supramundane (*lokottare*) character of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, who are, as seen, mere phantoms, mere luminous reflexes on the several phenomenal planes of celestial and terrestrial intellection.

The earliest extant images of Buddhas seated on lotus calyxes are found in the later Gandhāra works of the third century A.D. An example is to be seen in Plate 64a. Thereafter, across the whole of North India the lotus ornament on the Buddha pedestal becomes the rule—indicating that the images were used for Mahāyāna worship. The eighth-century shale figure shown in Plate 380 is a fine specimen of the Pāla style from the Northeast. It is full of vigor and simplicity, harmonious in its smooth outlines and surfaces, approaching metalwork in the clarity of its outlines, yet somewhat deficient—like all Pāla works—in true plastic life. The left hand rests on the lap, with upturned open palm, while the right hangs downward, the middle finger gently touching the earth in the so-called "position of touching the earth" (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). This attitude, which is one of the most common in figures of the seated Buddha, refers to that great moment when, on the seat of enlightenment, he called the earth to testify that he had fulfilled all the requirements prerequisite to the attainment of illumination by practicing the highest virtues of self-abnegation throughout his career as a bodhisattva; and the earth, with a mighty roar, then testified that he had done so.

Pl. 64a

Pl. 380

The celebrated legend, as given in the *Lalitavistara*,[27] declares that when Gautama placed himself beneath the Bo Tree, he took the following solemn vow: "Let my skin, sinew, and bones become dry—and welcome! Let all the flesh and blood in my body dry up! Never will I stir from this seat till I have attained

[27] *Lalitavistara* 19. (Tr. adapted from N. J. Krom, *The Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Bàràbuḍur according to the Lalitavistara Text*, The Hague, 1926, p. 101.)

supreme and absolute wisdom!" And he remained, cross-legged, in an unconquerable position, from which not even the descent of a hundred thunderbolts simultaneously could have dislodged him. Then Māra, "He who makes [creatures] die," the tempter, who holds all beings in the meshes of recurrent death by means of the net of their own clinging to existence, the lord of the pleasures of life, which have to be paid for with suffering, said: "Prince Siddhārtha wishes to pass beyond the boundaries of my country, but this I shall never allow." Therefore he assailed the Bodhisattva with his great army; an army such as had never before been seen, or even heard of, either by gods or by men; fearful of aspect, it was enough to cause one's hair to rise. The warriors could alter their faces in many ways and change into a thousand forms. Their bodies were covered with millions of serpents, writhing about their legs and arms. And they were equipped with every weapon. Every kind of missile was hurled at the Bodhisattva, including boulders big as Mount Sumeru, yet when they reached him, they were all transformed into pavilion-roofs of flowers. The fire that blew from the warriors' eyes, from their serpents, and from their breath became a wheel of flame, like an aureole, around the Bodhisattva. Spears, swords, and arrows became garlands the moment they were hurled, and they assembled above the Buddha as a tent of flowers. Māra caused then nine sorts of terrific thunderstorm to arise in quick succession, to blow the Bodhisattva from his seat: a whirlwind and a great rainstorm to unbalance and drown him; a shower of immense mountain peaks flying in smoke and flame through space; a shower of weapons; a shower of live coals; another of blazing ashes; a shower of mud; one of sand; and a terrible darkness. But nothing availed. Therefore King Death himself, Māra, drew near to the Bodhisattva on his colossal elephant, whose name was "Girded with Mountains"; and he said: "Arise from this seat; it does not belong to thee, but to me!"

"The future Buddha spoke," we read, "in a firm, deep, serious, but gentle and sweet voice to Māra, that Evil One: 'The kingdom of desire was acquired by thee, O Evil One, through one voluntary sacrifice, but I have offered many million myriads of willing sacrifices: arms, legs, eyes, and hair, which I have cut off [in former lives] and given to those who desired them; many times I bestowed houses, wealth, grain, couches, garments, and pleasure gardens on those who asked for them; for I was striving for the salvation of all beings.' Then, that Evil One, Māra, replied to the Bodhisattva: 'That I made a willing and unimpeachable sacrifice in a former life, thou thyself art here to witness; but for thee there is none here to bear witness even with so much as a word. Thou art therefore conquered.' But the Bodhisattva answered: 'I appeal to this mother of creatures.'

And the Bodhisattva touched the earth. As soon as it was touched by the Bodhisattva the earth trembled in six manners. And the goddess of earth, called the 'Firm One' (*sthāvarā*), appeared, surrounded by a million myriads of earth-goddesses, while the ground shook, having broken open near the Bodhisattva, as half of her person arose from it, decked with ornaments. Bowing to the place where the Bodhisattva was sitting, she said: 'O Great Being, it is so, it is as thou hast declared. We all are witnesses thereto.' " And at this testimony of the earth, Māra and his hosts fled in all directions, while gods of every kind approached to celebrate the victory and to pay worship to the Buddha-in-the-making.

The sun set after the Great Being had thus vanquished the army of Māra. And in the first watch of the night he acquired the knowledge of previous existences, in the middle watch of the night the divine eye, which yields superhuman insight into things whether hidden or far away, and in the late watch of the night, when the day began to break, the Bodhisattva, with lofty comprehension, according to an insight that absorbed in unity of thought and time all that could be known, thought, achieved, seen, or contemplated, attained the highest and most perfect wisdom and acquired the threefold knowledge. Thereupon the gods spoke. "Strew flowers, O friends, the Venerable One has attained Wisdom!" The gods strewed divine flowers over the Tathāgata until there was formed a layer of blossoms knee-deep. And Gautama Śākyamuni was the Buddha.

This episode in the Buddha life is the counterpart of the coming of the frightening demon Saṁvara against the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha.[28] It terminates the long course of trials through innumerable lives and opens the way to immediate illumination. Hence in Buddhist art the gesture of conjuring the earth to witness (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*) is a favorite motif.

Plate *381* is another example from the Pāla period of Bengal, dating from the eighth or ninth century A.D. It is executed in a rich though subdued style; but in this case the lotus pedestal has been omitted. On the other hand, the ornamented background, with the two erect lions at either side, is akin in its general pattern and effect to many of the contemporary Hindu images of the same province and period. By this time, that is to say, the two arts had come very close to being one; and in both, the lotus pedestal or seat had become a common—though optional—symbol. In Hindu iconography, moreover, it was freely associated with various divinities; for it had lost its specific reference not only to Lakṣmī, the goddess Lotus, but even to Brahmā, her male successor as the first-born offspring of the waters. *Pl. 381*

In the South Indian figure shown in Plate *426* we see a conventionalized lotus *Pl. 426*

[28] Cf. *supra*, pp. 57–59.

seat supporting Gaṇeśa, the potbellied, elephant-headed son of Śiva and Pārvatī —perhaps for the obvious reason that his proper vehicle, the rat, due to its tiny size, is grotesquely out of proportion for the support of such a bulky form, unless enlarged to such a degree as to lose all resemblance to a rat. In this image, which is from the Indian mainland, the rodent is still present, but below. The character and origin of Gaṇeśa, "the leader (*īśa*) of the hosts (*gaṇa*)" (the hosts, that is to say, of the departed souls who constitute Śiva's celestial army) is discernible in the cobra crawling up the right side of his belly, a distinctive sign of the Śivaite sphere, as well as in the rosary in the upper left hand, which is characteristic of Śivaite ascetic mendicants and yogīs. The god holds in his right hand one of his own tusks (it was broken off in a mythological adventure), while in his lower left
Pl. 504 he bears a bowl of rice into which his trunk is dipping. Plate *504* shows our genial deity again, but without the rat—and now, most remarkably, the destructive aspect of the Śivaite sphere has been stressed by a macabre transformation of his lotus throne. Indeed, in this amazing image two of the most benign and positive presences of the Hindu pantheon—Gaṇeśa, the remover of obstacles, and Padmā, the all-supporting goddess Lotus, she of good fortune—have revealed that seed of death which is the inhabiting paradox of all achievement. Gaṇeśa, in this image, like his father Śiva, wears death, so to say, as an ornament—as does life itself. And so he appears to us here, in his final sense, as the remover of the obstacle of death. This vision of the ultimate power and mystery of Gaṇeśa has come from the colonial sphere of Hindu civilization. It is a work from Java and dates from the thirteenth century A.D.[29]

The Great God himself (Gaṇeśa's father and lord) appears together with his
Pl. 387 Śakti (Gaṇeśa's goddess mother) in a relief from Oṛissa shown in Plate *387*. Anklets, wristlets, armlets, rich necklaces, and royal diadems bedeck the magnificent pair. They are seated on the lotus throne, a minor lotus cushion appears under Śiva's bent left foot, and two more such cushions have been set under the two feet of the divine couple that are hanging toward the ground. Below are reposing their respective animal vehicles, the lion of the goddess, and Nandi, Śiva's bull.

Śiva has four arms. With one he holds his consort, with two others he exhibits the trident (his weapon as a hero) and the rosary (his emblem as an ascetic), which together symbolize the combination in him of the active principle and the contemplative. His remaining right hand, before his chest, holds a stalklike symbol twined with the tendril of a lotus plant and crowned with lotus petals. This evi-

[29] Cf. the discussion of Gaṇeśa, *supra*, pp. 46–47 and *infra*, p. 315.

dently is the liṅgam, emblematic of the divinity's productive essence. Silently he exhibits it to the goddess, while she, in her left hand, elevates its complement, a convex, swelled-out symbol marked by a furrow. The two countenances, rigid and masklike, regard each other with intense emotion. Gazing with a deep and everlasting rapture, they are imbued with the secret knowledge that, though seemingly two, they are fundamentally one. For the sake of the universe and its creatures, the Absolute has apparently unfolded into this duality, and out of them derive all the life-polarities, antagonisms, distinctions of powers, and elements that characterize the phenomenal world.

On the lowermost level of the relief, to the right, is Gaṇeśa, on a diminutive scale, with his trumpet, the conch, resting nearby on a tripod throne. Skanda Kārttikeya, the other son of the divine couple, is depicted opposite, at the left, rattling a drum with the fingers of his left hand and brandishing a sword behind his head. Just above these two are the portraits of the donor and his family, offering flowers with folded hands. The father, on Śiva's side of the composition, is accompanied by his son, and the mother, beside the goddess, by her two daughters. All have been given lotus stands. Thus the human couple are shown to participate in the mystical union of the divine; they, too, are of one flesh.

A pair of celestial attendants stand at either side of the main lotus throne—at the level of the chests of the divine couple—holding their fly-wisps downward turned. Such chowry bearers generally flank the presences of kingly persons sitting in state, but as a rule the wisps are held uplifted. In the present case, the attendants are so distracted by pious rapture that they are forgetting their appointed office. Indeed, the emotion with which the god and his goddess are gazing at each other affects all the figures, both human and divine, privileged to behold the spectacle. Not only the donors and chowry bearers, but the hovering swarm of Śiva's hosts, the heavenly musicians, are filled with exalted bliss. And the face at the top of the frame surmounting the throne is the mask called Kīrttimukha, the "Face of Glory." As a manifestation of the terrible aspect of the power of the god—which is simultaneously the power of the lotus—it is a warning of danger to the impious and a guarantee of protection to the devotee.[30]

In later Hindu sculpture the lotus seat plays an increasingly important role, coming into use generally to denote the divine character of the beings represented. Yet the application of the symbol is somewhat hindered by the fact that there is no real need in this tradition for such a device, since the divinities are already pro-

[30] *Editor's note:* This relief is elucidated in practically identical terms in *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 137–139.

vided with seats of their own in the forms of their well-known animal representa-
Pl. 453 tions or vehicles. Thus in Plate 453, Viṣṇu, with Lakṣmī seated on his knee, is supported by Garuḍa, in a half-human form. This impressive, rather demonic and sinister manifestation belongs to a late period of the art of Western India; and must date from about the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The work shows the mannerism, stiffness, and sophisticated ossification of the later period of Hindu art, and yet possesses a distinct vigor, derived from the more or less timeless, seemingly archaic style of the fetishes current in the Indian popular tradition. The god comes soaring down, as it were, into the presence of the devotee. His vehicle, the winged Garuḍa, having just alighted, is in a half-kneeling attitude, owing to the weight of the maintainer and container of the universe, whom he supports. Impassive, the gigantic god thrones on his shoulders. Lakṣmī, his principal wife-consort, is sitting on his bent knee. She is the chief divine force (*śakti*) of the maintainer of the universe: the goddess of wealth, fertility, and prosperity. To the left, below, is a devotee, and to the right his spouse, in the guise of a chowry bearer of the great deity's heavenly court.

There is something brutal, mute and unapproachable, sinister and demonic, hovering about this piece of perfect but modest workmanship. It is a product of the local tradition, intended to serve on one of the innumerable household shrines of the devotees in some town or village. It is distinctly different from the refined and lofty masterworks of the artisans in the service of the princely courts, yet shares in their achievements, copying their patterns in a comparatively primitive, somewhat clumsy way. The awe-inspiring, terrific aspect of the divinity shines through the outward appearance of an auspicious manifestation. Involuntarily, as it were, the ambivalent character of the supreme divine force that represents simultaneously creation and destruction is expressed through the god's impassivity and scarcely veiled crudity. The enigmatic features of a primitive fetish have been preserved. We do not have either complete humanization, as in Greek art, or such ennobling purification as appears in the higher Hindu masterworks.

In this image, since Garuḍa is present, a lotus support would have been super-
Pl. 425 fluous. Sometimes, however, as in Plate 425, the lotus pedestal is combined in Hindu art with the traditional vehicle of the god. Here Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī appear again on Garuḍa; but the whole composition is placed on a lotus stand. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, on the other hand, the lotus seat became a standard element, used as a matter of course to denote the essentially supramundane character and origin of those Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who, having reached enlightenment, refused to pass into nirvāṇa, but instead remained eternally manifest, rescuing

souls from every sphere of the universe by their preaching of the enlightening doctrine.

3. The Bodhisattva Lotus-in-Hand

THE FIGURE of Plate *321* represents the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara: the prototype of the popular savior Kwan-yin of Chinese Buddhism, who in Japan became Kwannon and throughout the Far East is represented as a female, madonnalike divinity, but in India as a male. Even in India, however, though in male form, his qualities are female, and he may occasionally manifest himself as a woman. *Pl. 321*

This relief is from Bundelkhaṇḍ, in northeastern Central India, and dates from the eleventh century. The Bodhisattva is seated on a lion, which turns its head toward the rider, opening its jaws, as if about to roar. This denotes that the aspect of Avalokiteśvara here rendered is Siṁhanāda-Avalokiteśvara, "Avalokiteśvara uttering the lion roar," which is to say, preaching the overpowering doctrine of enlightenment, which puts to silence the voice of every other teacher. Avalokiteśvara and the other Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas, who are conceived as deputies, helpers and attendants of the cosmic Buddhas, have animal mounts borrowed from the Hindu pantheon, and Avalokiteśvara has been provided with the lion of Durgā—which accords with the preponderance of feminine traits in his character.

The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is known also as Padmapāṇi, "Lotus-in-Hand," a lotus flower on a long stem being usually held in his left hand. And he is generally supported by a lotus pedestal; for, though he appears among men and in the purgatories of the underworld as a wandering saint teaching the doctrine of enlightenment to all creatures, assuming at will the appearance of the beings to whom he is appearing, intrinsically he belongs to the supramundane sphere of vision (*dhyāna*), which is visualized in pure contemplation. He is the most popular and outstanding of the so-called *dhyāni bodhisattvas*, "Bodhisattvas, or potential Buddhas, dwelling in the fields of sheer vision." As befits a Bodhisattva in the role of crown prince, designated for the spiritual emperorship of Buddhahood, he wears a rich diadem. And he holds in his right hand the trident (*triśūla*), which is the weapon of Śiva, Durgā's spouse.[31]

[31] In the Tāntric, Lamaistic Buddhism of Tibet the trident is a familiar exorcising instrument; as a magic wand in the hand of the priest, it has conjuring power over the demons of nature, all of whom are subservient to the Enlightened.

Avalokiteśvara is a personification of perfect compassion and indifference (the two at once), exceeding—if possible—even the attitude of the Buddhas. In his legend we are told that out of compassion for the countless myriads of creatures in the universe, he renounced with a solemn vow the attainment of Buddhahood and final extinction, so that he might continue preaching the Buddhist doctrine until the last being was brought to enlightenment and thus released from the round-of-rebirths. Avalokiteśvara is "the being who is capable (*iśvara*) of enlightening insight (*avalokita*)," [32] but who, out of infinite mercy, postponed his own attainment of nirvāṇa. Whereas most of the Buddhas—Śākyamuni, for example, who lived and taught in the fifth century B.C.—ultimately pass away through achieving enlightenment, which involves their disappearance from the fields of rebirth, Avalokiteśvara chose to remain in the world indefinitely, thus forfeiting for himself the highest good. He embodies, therefore, infinite compassion, together with a supreme indifference to time.

By virtue of this indifference to the element of time and to the attainment of Buddhahood, the Bodhisattva epitomizes in a particularly vivid symbolical way the ultimate meaning of transcendental wisdom, the very essence of the Wisdom of the Far Bank (*prajñā-pāramitā*),[33] which is that fundamentally nothing whatsoever ever comes to pass. The long career leading to enlightenment (that countless series of rebirths fraught with deeds of superhuman sacrifice, all exhibiting the perfect virtues that qualify for Buddhahood) is intrinsically an illusory process, a phenomenal mirage. So likewise are the sensations, mind processes, and ego-consciousness of the individual. For in the adamantean realm of the supramundane reality there are no individuals whatsoever, no qualifications, no distinctions; nor does anything ever happen. There is no difference there between the round-of-rebirths (*saṁsāra*) and release (*nirvāṇa*), between ignorance (*avidyā*) and enlightenment (*bodhi*). For since time and space are mere forms of sensibility, when they are transcended there is no field in which anything might happen. There is no space: there is no time. Hence, though the Bodhisattva renounces, nothing is renounced; though the Buddha attains, nothing is attained. This supralogical realization of the cosmic paradox is the supreme truth expressed in the Bodhisattva's timeless attitude of potential Buddhahood. Moreover, potential Buddhahood is the hidden essence of all creatures, meshed though they are in ignorance, of which the form is space and time.

Pl. 321 The delicate image shown in Plate *321* is a fine specimen of a late, mature, Buddhist art. Though the style is already on the way to becoming ornamental

[32] *Avalokita* is a synonym of *bodhi* ("illumination") in the *Mahāvastu*.

[33] Cf. *supra*, pp. 140–142.

and decorative, the organism is still suffused by a gentle inward life. The limbs are of a plantlike smoothness. The plastic values are of a cool, stylized sweetness. The elements of outline and design are about to gain predominance over plastic force, and this imbalance will eventually empty this art of weight and life, reducing its works to a stylized, sophisticated diagram; nevertheless, the present figure, with its very mellow and eloquent features, no more than indicates the possibility of this fatal process. There is still a wonderful lyric musicality about the dreamy attitude of the Bodhisattva, this embodiment at once of unending compassion and of a sublime, knowing indifference to his eternal task. He sits in a relaxed posture, close to the position known as *rājalīlā*, "kingly ease." The right knee, drawn upward, supports his loosely extended right arm, which is of a tender, maidenlike, womanly grace. In this being, who assumes various aspects at will and is endowed with a charm beyond the differentiation of sex, a youthful male form and a feminine grace have been perfectly fused.

This angelic quality, beyond the sexes, was what offered a starting point for the transformation of Avalokiteśvara in the Far East into a female divinity, and this attitude (one of the finest ever conceived in Indian art) became a classic pattern in China and Japan, as well as in India, for the graceful form of Avalokiteśvara–Kwan-yin–Kwannon. Plate *614* shows a magnificent Chinese Kwan-yin. The *Pl. 614* Bodhisattva is seated in a mood of meditation, while the waves of saṁsāra, the round-of-rebirths, the unending streams of life, flow past her feet. She is on the Far Bank of Transcendental Wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*), and the meaning of the Far Bank is embodied in the very attitude of her lovely form.

The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara's gesture of refusal, renouncing nirvāṇa and thus transcending time—eliminating the notion of anything either following or preceding the supreme event of enlightenment—marks a new inspiration in the evolution of the central idea of the Buddhist doctrine. It supplies a fresh, tangible, and most striking symbol for the paradoxical truth—which is that the very personality of the Enlightened One, together with his agelong career of effort, belongs fundamentally to the phenomenal realm of mere appearance. Even the Buddha's biography pertains to those subjective notions that becloud and constitute the illusory complex of individuality. Fundamentally, nothing of the kind ever came to pass. For the distinction between the concrete Buddha personality and the crowds of concrete beings taught and brought to enlightenment through his doctrine is basically "void," destitute of meaning. There is no flow of time during which beings transform themselves into candidates for enlightenment and then become embodiments of perfect wisdom. Once the dynamism of this mirage has been recognized as a kind of motion picture projected out of ignorance and passion

on a screen of voidness, inborn tendencies can be conquered and annihilated. After a practice of the supreme virtues, Buddhaship, the goal of the Bodhisattva's career, then is attained and immediately the glorious past, fraught with all its virtues of sacrifice and self-detachment, collapses like a dissolved dream that disappears at the moment of awakening and cannot even be remembered. Buddhism does not insist explicitly on the dreamlike character of individual existence and of the world perceived in ignorance; nevertheless, the term *bodhi* implies and literally means "awakening," "awareness": a becoming aware of the *real* reality and a shattering of the merely subjective one, which is evolved out of ignorance and the personal tendencies of the unconscious nature of man's being.

With the lotus of Lakṣmī, the lion of Durgā, and the trident of Śiva as his main symbols, and even sharing the feminine grace of Durgā and Lakṣmī, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was a complex embodiment of the supreme divine forces of Hinduism. Hence it was that he could satisfy the devotional and emotional needs of vast throngs of lay folk who, though converts to the Buddhist community, yet clung to the familiar figures of the age-old heritage of the popular Indian religion. The new symbol of the Bodhisattva welded these through the creative force of the Buddhist idea into a new figure of thought, giving to them, in addition, an unprecedented meaning; for they now expressed the most daring and advanced Mahāyāna conception of the perfect attitude of the accomplished Buddhist superman. It is an ideal for those capable of monkhood, yet who might decide to continue in secular life, since on either path one can embody perfectly the secret meaning of the true Buddhist gospel.

The representations of Avalokiteśvara in Chinese, Japanese, and Tibetan art by far outnumber those that have been preserved in India proper.[34] There is, however, a good specimen in the Gupta style of the sixth century A.D. that gives
Pl. 108a us a notion of what has been lost (Plate *108a*). Here again the Bodhisattva stands on a lotus; an additional growth of lotus stalks and buds embellishes the pedestal; and the posture is that of Padmapāṇi, with a lotus in the right hand, suggesting Lakṣmī and her Buddhist counterpart Prajñāpāramitā.[35] Unfortunately, all that remains of the lotus stalk is the segment passing through the hand, yet it is apparent that the flower grew from the pedestal and opened above the shoulder. Vigor and grace, sensual charm and spiritual purity, contribute equally to the form. It is another of those lovely figures, blending the qualities of the male and female, which manifest in human guise the nature of absolute being, beyond the

[34] The Dalai Lama of Tibet is regarded as the ever-renewed incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, and
Pl. 378 his temple-palace at Lhasa is supposed to be a copy of a South Indian mountain named Potala, which is reputed to be the favorite abode of the Bodhisattva.

[35] See also Plate *378*.

bondage and fetters of individualization. Padmapāṇi is ever alert to his purpose of approaching all living creatures in their various spheres of entanglement, to make known to them the enlightening doctrine, and there is an impressive monumentality about his present apparition, in spite of its delicacy and moderate size. This is the quality, as we have already seen,[36] that distinguishes those works of Indian religious art that are based on the inner visions of worship brought to mind through meditation.

One of the most delightful representations of Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi is a little Nepalese bronze in the collection assembled by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Plate *600*). The right hand is in the posture known as "granting gifts" (*varada-mudrā*), while the left holds the lotus (the part of the stalk passing through the fingers having disappeared). The Bodhisattva here shows himself quietly, like a guest from a higher sphere, in a posture called "three bends" (*tri-bhaṅga*), in which the head, torso, and legs slant in contrary directions: the legs and hips to the right, the trunk to the left, and the neck and head then gently to the right. It is a lyrical, dreamy, very graceful pose. The apparition is perfectly androgynous, combining enigmatically the qualities of masculine and feminine charm. The upper portion of the body is nude; a diaphanous garment draped from the girdle covers the hips and thighs. The rich tiara, necklace, armlets and bracelets, and the brāhmanical thread play a subdued but effective role, accentuating the lithesomeness of the arms and of the youthful body. Such a figure corresponds in meaning to the Ardhanārī (half male, half female) images of Śiva and his Śakti,[37] which unite the goddess and the god as the left and right halves of the one manifestation. In the subdued grace of a single human form, an all-embracing compassion and a sublime transcendental aloofness have become simultaneously incarnate. *Pl. 600*

These Nepalese bronzes stem from the Pāla tradition of Bengal and so, indirectly, from the Gupta style. The best specimens have a visionary, unearthly character appropriate to celestial beings who come before the mind in the exercises of meditation. Their simplicity is the effect of both an artistic discipline and a genuine deep feeling (see Plates *598–601* and *602b*). *Pl. 598–601, 602b*

The most impressive representation of the Bodhisattva Lotus-in-Hand is found among the rare remains of Indian fresco painting preserved in the cave-sanctuaries of Ajaṇṭā—which is the main site safeguarding from the ravages of time the fragments of an art scarcely matched in the world. The caves are in Hyderabad, twenty-nine in all, and they line the inner rim of a horseshoe-shaped valley

[36] *Supra*, pp. 103–104. [37] Cf. *supra*, p. 146, *infra*, p. 298, and Plates *139* and *258*. *Pl. 139, 258*

Pl. 142 formed by a bend of the river Waghora (Plate *142*). The cliff is two hundred and fifty feet high. The walls, ceilings, and pillars of the caves were adorned with paintings, most of which are now destroyed. The few that remain are in thirteen of them, the fragments of particular interest being in Caves I, II, IX, X, XVI, XVII.

Through the concern of the government of the Nizam of Hyderabad, the difficult task of preserving these fragile relics of an incomparable art was accomplished in the most scrupulous manner possible. Ghulam Yazdani, the head of the archaeological department of the Nizam's Dominions, procured the advice and assistance of specialists from the Vatican—men constantly attentive to the preservation of the frescoes of Michelangelo and others in the Sistine Chapel—and appropriate methods were applied. Furthermore, in a beautiful publication of six volumes the treasure was made generally known.[38]

The painters at Ajaṇṭā used the following technique. First there was applied to the rock a layer of clay mixed with rice-husk and gum, and over this a coat of lime was laid. Then the colors were applied, filled in by washes, the details being accentuated by lines and dots. The art seems to have been fairly well developed by the end of the second century A.D. and to have reached its height in the fifth and sixth. In the eighth (judging from certain paintings at Elūrā) it began to forfeit some of its grace and vitality, the background losing depth and the figures themselves becoming relatively flat.

During the period of the prime of this art Chinese Buddhist pilgrims were visiting India to study their religion at its source, and they journeyed throughout the land for centuries, visiting the sacred sites. When they returned home, laden with manuscripts, sacred images, and drawings, they brought to China a knowledge also of the sculpture and painting of the Indian shrines and monasteries. The Buddhist art of the Chinese T'ang dynasty (618–906 A.D.) was thus influenced directly by the fresco painting of Ajaṇṭā and the other sanctuaries of the period (practically all of which are now destroyed) as well as by the provincial patterns of Chinese Turkistan and Gandhāra, through which borderlands the pilgrims had to pass on their pious journey.[39]

Pl. 152 Plate *152* shows a group of celestial dancers and musicians (apsarases and gandharvas), forming part of a scene in paradise. They are most spirited and elegant in the airy lightness of their apparitions, delicate and full of charm, giving evidence of a long-established, completely mastered technique. Obviously, a long

[38] Ghulam Yazdani, *Ajaṇṭā* (Oxford, 1930–46, 6 vols.).

Pl. 612, 613, 458–459 [39] Cf. *infra*, pp. 200–204, and Plates *612–613*. For an example of the influence of this painting tradition southward, in the art of Ceylon, see Plates *458–459*.

tradition had evolved the final, thoroughly convincing pattern that here was projected onto the wall with a superb authority combining all the freshness of improvisation with the finish of a classic style.

Plate *148* shows one of the frescoes of Cave I, dating from about 600 to 650 A.D. *Pl. 148* The central figure is the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. His colossal size is adequately warranted by the Mahāyāna texts dealing with the Bodhisattva's mythical aspect; for in these he appears in the cosmogonic role assigned in Hinduism to the giant Viṣṇu recumbent on the serpent, the idea having been borrowed from the late Hindu tradition of the Purāṇas. According to these descriptions, a whole universe proceeds from every hair follicle of the Bodhisattva's radiant skin.

The figure at Ajaṇṭā measures five feet nine and one-half inches from knee to tiara, two feet five and one-half inches across the shoulders, and one foot from *Pl. 151* chin to forehead. (The lower legs, from above the knees, are missing.) The remarkable fact, however, is that these herculean proportions in no way detract from the idyllic, intimate character of the being himself or the delicacy and sweet flavor of the harmonious compositon in which he appears. One feels—very strongly, this time—that the effects of Indian art are, to a most significant extent, independent of the size of the works. There is an intimacy of atmosphere in this fresco that is akin to the quality of book illustrations or larger miniatures, whereas, on the other hand, in the Tibetan figure shown in Plate *610*, a sense of monu- *Pl. 610* mentality has been condensed to proportions that can be almost covered with two hands. This sovereign independence of actual size is one of the great signatures of the Indian tradition.

The Bodhisattva of the fresco is placed in a rich and lovely setting. At his left is a dark princess (her legs, too, are missing), her face serene with an expression *Pl. 149* of modesty and restraint. She is steeped in herself, as though effacing her own presence. A female attendant stands behind her and the Bodhisattva, while at the latter's right shoulder is a male attendant, of princely form, in a long white coat, bearing a mace, and with a finger raised. The background is full of action. Against a conventional line of hills, suggested by red bands, monkeys frolic and a pair of peacocks cry with joy. The male peacock has raised his neck, his beak being open, while the female listens in an amorous attitude to the note of her mate. At the top of the mural, to the left, are two soaring gandharvas—inmates of the celestial paradise—the upper portions of whose bodies have all but disappeared, while below these are two kinnaras (a particular class of semidivine being, with human bust and bird legs and claws), one of whom is playing a stringed instrument. Still lower is a pair of dwarflike creatures (yakṣas possibly—goblins subservient to Kubera, the lord of the jewels and riches in the interior of the hills) who wave

their hands and legs about, to convey their joy at the sight of the Bodhisattva. Pl. 180 And at the left sits a happy, amorous couple (presumably a god and goddess or a king and queen) watching the Bodhisattva from their hillside. The woman is leaning on her partner in a loving manner, while his left hand rests on her shoulder and his right caresses her right arm. Above are monkeys and a lion. All creation, beings of every kind, animal, human, demonic, and divine, thus surround the Bodhisattva Lotus-in-Hand, rejoicing at the presence of this superhuman savior who assumes willingly all forms and approaches every being in its own garb, to guide it to salvation.

The variety of the figures and attitudes, and of the arrangements of the groups, seems inexhaustible; yet the effect of this abundance is far from being chaotic or oppressively dense. There is no underlying geometrical structure to subdivide and clarify the surface, balancing the figures in some obviously harmonious way that could be analyzed and explained. They assemble nimbly, like light clouds, flocking together in the freest manner, yet without obscuring or interfering with each other. The art is one of natural abundance, intending a gentle representation of the rich and variegated profusion of life; a vigorous yet tender assertion of human vitality, supported and completed by the kingdoms of the plants, animals, and superhuman beings. For fundamental to the whole composition is a concept of the unity of life. The human figure is in the midst of nature—a nature not subservient to human needs and pleasures, to be exploited by human energy, techniques, and planning, but man's equal and copartner, fostering him and teeming with kindred forms, all carried on in the one stream of universal transmigration.[40]

The plastic feeling for relief is strong. Though no effort has been made to achieve the Renaissance type of stage perspective, a kind of spatial depth has been suggested through a smooth rounding of the limbs and bodies. For the superb drawing renders more than the mere outline; it suggests the modeling and a sense of living warmth and resiliency. The brush, defining cheek, arm, or shoulder, conveys a quality of firm flesh, and the resultant plastic value creates an illusion of air and space. The nude limbs are perfectly natural, and seem entirely known to this refined, graceful style of painting. They do not stand forth as a clarion call to beauty, like the nude in the West, where the naked body was rediscovered with the dawn of the Renaissance. As Laurence Binyon puts it in his preface to Yazdani's volumes on Ajaṇṭā, "to the Italian painters of the Renaissance the naked body was 'discovered romance.' "[41] It was rediscovered Greece. It was earthly humanity idealized as Olympian divinity: a thrilling revelation, following

[40] Cf. Laurence Binyon's introduction to the art of Ajaṇṭā, in Yazdani, *op. cit.*, Text, Part I, p. xii.

[41] *Ib.*, p. xvi.

the lifting of the medieval spell of Christian asceticism and spiritualism. To the Indian artist, on the other hand, the unclothed human form was part of his natural everyday surroundings—by the riverbanks and in the fields—familiar from infancy. That is why the bodies at Ajaṇṭā exhibit such delightful ease and animation. The movements of the human form in its spontaneous gestures and attitudes, untrammeled by clothes, are as beautiful as those of animals. And they have been seized here with a sure eye and hand. The nude and the seminude appear in every attitude and movement, but the forms have not been studied and arranged indoors, for the sake of art. The bodies are active and lithe, and yet with no emphasis on athletic muscular development.

The figure of the Bodhisattva has all the qualities that youth, high birth, noble character, and religious temperament can produce: strong masculine limbs, a *Pl. 151*
broad chest, and a well-set neck; a high intellectual forehead; large, meditative eyes; firm lips, and an elegant nose. The eyebrows, slightly raised, and the highlight on the nose and chin give an air of spirituality to the countenance. The supple body is full of latent vigor. It is the youthful body of a noble prince, standing with a graceful bearing and filled with an ineffable sentiment of detachment among the joyful figures of life. On the head is a high crown or tiara with large blue sapphires, emblematic of royal birth. The jewelry is not profuse but select: a pearl necklace with a sapphire in the center; longer strings of pearls across the chest and around the arms. Long black hair falls uncoiled on the shoulders. The serene compassionate face is full of renunciation, yet gentle in its expression, without scorn or disgust for the sweetness of life. It is not distinctly male; one could easily take this for the countenance of a princess or a goddess. And so again the ambivalent character of Avalokiteśvara—beyond the sexes and combining their virtues, representing the sphere beyond conflicting opposites—has been indicated in a most delicate and ingenious way. The complexion is refined—a pearl gray with a warm brown flush, a juvenile glow. There is a garment of striped silk about the Bodhisattva's loins and he stands in the tribhaṅga pose, with a gentle swing. In his right hand is the blue lotus that connotes his name and is emblematic of perfection. All the sweetness, tenderness, and sensitivity attained in the art of the Gupta period shines forth through the centuries in this beautiful form.

One is reminded by its gentle attitude of the legend of the last days of the Buddha Śākyamuni, when, at the age of eighty, he was on his way to Kuśinagara, the town in which he was to pass into utter extinction (*parinirvāṇa*). The Blessed One had just taken his final leave of the pleasant city of Vaiśālī, where the reigning princes of the ancient Licchavi family, who had hoped to entertain him before his departure, had been forestalled by the most elegant courtesan of the capital.

For she also, the pride of the town, had been eager to honor the Blessed One before his departure; and by presenting her invitation first, she had snatched the privilege from the princes. The Buddha then departed from the city, together with his cousin Ānanda. And when he paused a moment to rest on one of the neighboring hills, looking over the pleasant scenery with its many sanctuaries, holy trees, and shrines, he said to Ānanda: "Colorful and rich, resplendent and attractive is India; and lovable, charming is the life of men" (*citram Jabudvīpam, manoramam jīvitam manushyānam*). He felt in harmony with life and the universe, having overcome both, in bidding adieu to both: somewhat in the spirit of Nietzsche's word: "One should leave life as Ulysses left Nausikaa: rather blessing than enamored [*mehr segnend als verliebt*]."

This supreme serenity toward life and toward the task of conquering it is voiced by the ensemble of this fresco, by the attitude of its central figure, and by the Bodhisattva's relation to the rich and colorful background of creatures from all the spheres of the universe surrounding him in delight and devotion—much as the divinities on the railings and doorposts of the early stūpas surround the central dome, the symbol of nirvāṇa. For, according to the Mahāyāna doctrine, the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi has been performing the office of a permanently present Buddha ever since the parinirvāṇa of Gautama Śākyamuni, and will continue in the role until there descends to earth the next Buddha, Maitreya, who is now in the Tuṣita heaven. Padmapāṇi, compassionately pouring forth the light of the True Law, is thus a lieutenant, substituting for the missing captain during this intermediate period when there is no Living Buddha in the world.

4. The Lotus in Burmese Art

CONTACT between Burma and India seems to have been established in pre-Christian times. Indian settlements can be definitely traced from the first century A.D. and these became centers of both Hindu and Buddhist culture. The eighth and ninth centuries were marked by invasions of tribes of Shan or Thai (i.e., Siamese) provenience, and these, becoming a new leading stratum, gave Burmese civilization its classic form. The country was then unified by King Aniruddha (Anawratā), 1040–77, whose capital, Pagān, was located in central Burma at the point where its main river, the Irrawaddy, receives its largest tributary, the Chindwin.

The king favored Hīnayāna Buddhism, which had entered South Burma about 450 A.D. through Ceylonese missionaries. He established connections with foreign countries, obtained relics, and initiated a great era of building. Remains of more than five thousand pagodas can still be traced in and near Pagān.[43]

The Ānanda Temple (1082–90 A.D.), brilliant white with towers of gold (Plate 469), is noteworthy for a series of eighty-one relief figures depicting the legend of the Buddha. Plate 470 shows a figure of gilded wood, one of four in the same temple, of about the same date as the reliefs. It is more than thirty feet high and exhibits the qualities that were retained as the chief characteristics of later Burmese Buddhist art: simplicity and composure, a sober cleanliness of contour that rejects exuberance of ornament and detail, and a cool, pure atmosphere, nicely balanced between a dignified graceful emptiness and a sweet inward spiritual life. *Pl. 469* *Pl. 470*

The eighty-one relief figures illustrating the legend of the Buddha date, likewise, from the close of the eleventh century and so belong also to the youthful period of Burmese art; but they are endowed with more life than the colossal images. Each stands in a separate niche, so that the Buddha story is told in a series of stations, not in continuous relief, the episodes of the legend having been transformed into a succession of scenes that are remarkable for their invention and variety. The seated savior, around whom each composition is centered, is depicted in attitudes which, in spite of their inevitable similarity, are far from monotonous.

In Plate 471, at the upper left, is the Bodhisattva severing his hair with his sword, immediately after his departure from his palace and native kingdom. "He thought," we read in the *Jātaka* version of the legend, " 'These locks of mine are not suited to a monk; but there is no one fit to cut the hair of a Future Buddha. Therefore I will cut them off myself with my sword.' And grasping a scimitar with his right hand, he seized his topknot with his left hand, and cut it off, together with the diadem. His hair thus became two fingerbreadths in length, and curling to the right, lay close to his head. . . . Then the Future Buddha seized hold of his topknot and diadem, and threw them into the air, saying—'If I am to become a Buddha, let them stay in the sky; but if not, let them fall to the ground.' The topknot and the jeweled turban mounted for a distance of a league into the air, and there came to a stop. And Sakka, the king of the gods [Skr. *Śakra* = Indra], perceiving them with his divine eye, received them in an appropriate jeweled casket, and established it in the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods as the 'Shrine of the Diadem.' *Pl. 471*

[43] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), p. 170.

"His hair he cut, so sweet with many pleasant scents,
This Chief of Men, and high impelled it toward the sky,
And there god Vāsava, the god with thousand eyes,
In golden casket caught it, bowing low his head!" [43]

The figure at the right depicts the Future Buddha holding the topknot in his two hands before throwing it up into the air. Above, at the left, is Indra, soaring back to the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods with the golden casket containing the relic in his reverently uplifted hands. He is on his way to install it in the celestial sanctuary. The female figure at the right, in an attitude of worship and delight, must be his consort, Indrāṇī or Śacī, the queen of the gods. And at the base of the pedestal, beneath the lotus rim, is Channa, the young prince's charioteer, who had been sleeping at the threshold of the Bodhisattva's apartment when he set forth on the Great Departure and had arisen to accompany him, leading his horse, Kaṇṭhaka, by the bridle. Channa's future function in the biography will be to announce the prince's renunciation of secular life to his parents. The horse, Kaṇṭhaka, is to be seen standing before him.

After the Bodhisattva had cut his royal locks, "he dismissed Channa, saying,—'Channa, go tell my father and my mother from me that I am well.' And Channa did obeisance to the Future Buddha; and keeping his right side toward him [taking leave by a sunwise circumambulation], he departed. But Kaṇṭhaka [the horse], who had stood listening to the Future Buddha while he was conferring with Channa, was unable to bear his grief at the thought, 'I shall never see my master any more.' And as he passed out of sight, his heart burst, and he died, and was reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three as the god Kaṇṭhaka. At first the grief of Channa had been but single; but now he was oppressed with a second sorrow in the death of Kaṇṭhaka, and came weeping and wailing to the city." [44]

This episode of the noble horse who cannot survive the separation from his hero and master is in a very sensitive way alluded to by the attitude of the little figure depicted on the pedestal. The utter despair and dejection of the splendid beast, bearing his saddle but no rider, the bend of the simple, expressive head, and the protesting gesture of the uplifted right foreleg, yield a fine specimen of a delicate and discreet gesture-language, full of sentiment and meaning.

The two figures below refer to the scene of Śākyamuni's enlightenment. In both, the savior is beneath the Bo Tree, the foliage of which fills the topmost

[43] *Jātaka* 1. 64. (Tr. by Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1922, pp. 66.)

[44] *Jātaka* 1. 65. (Tr. by Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 67.) Channa is the Pāli form of the name Chandaka; cf. *infra*, p. 238.

portion of the background. At the left, the Bodhisattva, seated on the lotus throne, conjures the earth to testify to the donations that he bestowed on various beings during earlier lives when practicing the perfect virtue of liberality and self-abnegation.[45] Māra and his hosts then having been put to flight by the testimony of the earth, the gods who had been watching the contest cried out, rejoicing: " 'Māra is defeated! Prince Siddhārtha has conquered! Let us go celebrate the victory!' And snakes egging on the snakes, the birds the birds, the deities the deities, and the Brahmā-angels the Brahmā-angels, they came with perfumes, garlands, and other offerings in their hands to the Great Being on the throne of wisdom . . . and in many a hymn extolled him." [46] That is the moment represented at the right. The devadāsīs are dancing at the feet of the Enlightened One in attitudes of delight. The gesture of touching the earth makes clear the precise instant illustrated. And again we note the lotus rim. In general, in classic Burmese art, as represented in the reliefs of the Ānanda Temple and the other Buddhist images of Pagān, the lotus symbol is the normal seat or pedestal. By this time (*c.* 1100 A.D.) it had become an optional general element in the images of all Buddhist saviors.

In contrast, let us turn back once more to the early Buddhist art of the period B.C., well over a thousand years before. Plate *32* shows four panels from the western gate of the Bhārhut stūpa. In the one at the upper left we see the celestial mansions of the gods and in one corner of this relief is the new shrine in which the deities have just placed and now worship the hair-tuft of the Future Buddha. There is an inscription on the dome of this reliquary: "*Vijayanto pasāde,*" "The Palace Victorious," and "*Sudhamma deva sabhā bhagavato cūḍā maha,*" "the festive or assembly hall (*sabhā*) of the gods (*deva*), called 'the true law' (*sudhamma*);[47] the festival (*maha*) of the hair-tuft (*cūḍā*) of the Venerable One (*bhagavato*)." What is depicted is the feast at the inauguration of this sanctuary to the Buddha in the heaven of the Hindu gods. The shrine contains the priceless relic of the Future Buddha's hair-tuft, signifying his entrance upon the final crowning stage of his agelong career. And that the gods are actually celebrating the festival is evident from the joyous activity of their *corps de ballet*. The heavenly damsels (*apsarases*) execute dances to the accompaniment of singing, drums, and clapping hands, while the relic casket is placed on a kind of altar in the sanctuary, surmounted by an umbrella symbolizing kingship. Two gods are worshiping; the one who is half screened by the front pillar at the left, with uplifted right hand, is *Pl. 32a*

[45] Cf. *supra*, pp. 175–177.

[46] *Jātaka* 1. 75. (Tr. by Warren, pp. 81–82.).

[47] I.e., the assembly hall of the gods is dedicated to the "doctrine of truth" (*saddharma*) of the Buddha.

about to toss a lotus flower. The many-storied palace of the gods reveals, furthermore, crowds of inhabitants in a state of ecstasy and excitement over their heavenly capital's acquisition of the priceless relic. The lower terrace is filled with gods and their beautiful wives, while the horseshoe windows above are occupied by the heads of other celestial inmates, all watching the inaugural ceremony of the Buddhist shrine. This kind of window, very common both in Buddhist and in Hindu representations of celestial mansions, is known technically as a *gandharva-mukha*, a window containing the "face (*mukha*) of a celestial being (*gandharva*)."

The palace in this amusing little scene is surmounted by a heavy tunneled roof, which, if we could see it in cross section, would reveal the same horseshoe form as the windows intersecting its length and figuring on the middle story. This type of horseshoe-profiled tunnel-roof, with its corresponding window, is the most common roof in ancient Indian architecture, and we shall have occasion to trace its evolution in a later chapter.[48]

Since the Buddha cannot appear in early Buddhist art, the scene of his severing his hair-tuft at the moment of becoming an ascetic has been rendered here indirectly through a reference to its effect in heaven. Compare the shift of emphasis

Pl. 607 in Pagān. Compare also the Tibetan rendering of the same event in Plate 607.

5. The Lotus in Tibet

IN TIBETAN BUDDHISM, which is based entirely on Mahāyāna doctrine, the lotus symbol has become the most common pedestal for every kind of savior and minor tutelary deity, whether derived from the Buddha legend or from the Hindu pantheon, and for certain of these figures the lotus seat is entirely appropriate, since, according to the later Mahāyāna doctrine, they personify the highest spiritual essence.

Pl. 610 Vajrasattva, shown with his śakti in Plate 610, is "he whose essence or substance (*sattva*) is adamantean (*vajra*)." He is also known as Vajradhara, "the wielder (*dhara*) of the thunderbolt (*vajra*),"[49] the weapon or substance of adamantean truth and reality, compared with which all other substances are fragile. All other substances belong to merely phenomenal spheres and can offer it

[48] *Infra*, pp. 278–289.

[49] The Sanskrit term *vajra* means both "thunderbolt" and "diamond."

no resistance. This Buddha, Vajrasattva, is the sixth of those six transcendent saviors who shine forth from the diamond sphere in vision, the so-called Dhyāni Buddhas; the other five being Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. Vajrasattva is the president of the group. Through all of them the transcendent essence of reality—sheer voidness beyond limiting qualifications; enlightenment without definite, particularized ideas—makes itself manifest on the plane of vision. They can be reached on that plane through control of the human faculty of imagination (*dhyāna*) and hence are known as *dhyāni-buddhas*, "meditation Buddhas." [50]

In some of the Buddhist traditions—for example, in that of Nepal—Vajrasattva is termed the Ādi Buddha, "the First or Primeval (*ādi*) Buddha," since he is antecedent to, and emanates, all the other Buddhas, whether celestial or human. The latter are so many rays or reflexes of his enduring essence, appearing in various spheres and at critical moments in the history of the phenomenal world. The Ādi Buddha is the counterpart, therefore, of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, or Śiva in the Hindu pantheon; and the manuals that teach one how to contemplate and worship call him *Sarva-buddha-ādhipa*, the Overlord of All Buddhas. Since he opens the eyes of the devotee, he is regarded as the patron, helper, and protector of the candidate for enlightenment in the course of his progress toward the adamantean goal. And he is consequently known as *Guhya-pati*, the Lord of Mysteries, he who opens the special esoteric path called *vajra-yāna*, "the adamantean path to the adamantean truth." [51]

In Plate 610 we see Vajrasattva in the attitude known in Tibetan as Yab-Yum, in union with his śakti, who represents the energy of his essence. This posture is a common one in Tibetan Buddhist images, and was derived from the earlier archetype of Śiva and the Goddess. The present example is remarkable for its majestic, solemn grandeur, which has a quality of monumentality in spite of the minute dimensions of the little bronze and the comparative richness of its ornamentation. Intended as a model for inward visualization, it is not based on the proportions of living beings perceived without by the bodily eye, but is filled with—and expresses perfectly—the special character of the adamantean sphere. *Pl. 610*

The details lend themselves to an elaborate allegorical interpretation. The male and female principles in eternal embrace represent, as in Śivaite iconography, the

[50] Padmapāṇi is one of six Great Bodhisattvas who, according to the Mahāyāna, are affiliated with the so-called Dhyāni Buddhas and their śaktis. Padmapāṇi is affiliated with the Buddha Amitābha. See Text Plate *B9*. *Pl. B9*

[51] The way of Vajradhara is very different from that of Amitābha, another of the Dhyāni Buddhas, who does not require any great struggle or exertion from his devotees, but asks for only pious devotion, for which he confers enlightenment and boundless grace. The way of Amitābha will be discussed *infra*, pp. 204–206.

coincidence or union of opposites. The divine couple are both the goal and the way: fulfillment and the means or process of attaining it; enlightenment and the doctrine or way to enlightenment—including all the stages of imperfection, approach, improvement, near-perfection, and the ultimate attitude of the Wisdom of the Far Bank, which is, finally, a timeless, static repose beyond the flow of time, beyond events, beyond all the qualified, differentiated, and limited moments and realizations of the realm of life. For in the secret insight of the Enlightened One the two apparently antagonistic principles of time and eternity are one, just as husband and wife, the God and his Spouse, constitute one figure and are one sole being. The dual appearance is but a phenomenal *mere* appearance.

Nirvāṇa and saṁsāra, then, are fundamentally not different from each other, but represent contrary phenomenal aspects of the one, selfsame, transcendent reality, which is beyond both. Therefore, as long as enlightenment (*nirvāṇa*) is posited as something apart and different from the sphere of ordinary life (*saṁsāra*), true enlightenment has not been attained: though perhaps conceived of, in an intellectual way, it has not yet been realized existentially. For if the notion exists that there is something to be reached, or anything to be forsaken, that there is a real process going on, leading from ignorance and suffering to sublime indifference, aloofness, and bliss (a notion of dynamism, process, time, differences, individual beings, or states that really "are"), the candidate is still caught in a subtle form of ignorance, a kind of entanglement in the meshes of his own intellectual striving. This whole dualistic sphere of thought, discourse, and experience must be transcended if the realm of utter reality is to be reached: the Far Bank of transcendental truth. Metaphysics and dialectics, the preliminary means for teaching the inexpressible, point to the truth but do not contain it. They are mere roadmarks, and if thought to be real they become the most exquisite and dangerous snares of ignorance. The accomplished philosopher or metaphysician, therefore, who clings to his own processes of exposition, is a perfect example of the most sublime failure on the way to the palace of wisdom.

There is no such thing as enlightenment or nirvāṇa. That is one of the reasons why the historical Buddha refused, again and again, to describe or define it. And that is why the attitude of not being caught by the antagonistic notions of ignorance (*saṁsāra*) and enlightenment (*nirvāṇa*), or by any other pair-of-opposites in the realm of thought, is characteristic of and fundamental to all esoteric circles of advanced candidates for Bodhi. One finds it in the teachings of the late Chinese and Japanese Zen masters—those sharp, bewildering answers given by the teachers to their pupils—just as in the long, elaborate dialogues of the Sanskrit texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, "The Transcendent Wisdom of the Far

Shore." A monk, for example, asked a question of the Zen master Joshu. "I read in the Sūtra," said the monk, "that all things return to the One, but where does this One return to?" to which the master replied, "When I was in the province of Tsing, I had a robe made that weighed seven *chin.*" And when the master Kwazan was asked what the Buddha was, he said, "I know how to play the drum, rub-a-dub, rub-a-dub!" When Bokuju was asked by a monk, "What is the doctrine that goes beyond the Buddhas and Fathers?" he held up his staff and said to the congregation of his pupils, "I call this a staff, and what would you call it?" No answer was forthcoming, whereupon the master, again holding forth the staff, asked the monk, "Did you not ask me about the doctrine that goes beyond the Buddhas and Fathers?" [52]

What then are Vajrasattva and his śakti? He is the Way and she is Nirvāṇa; or, conversely, he is Eternity and she is Time; each is both, and both are each; and the two are one.[53]

In Plate 606, which is a typical Tibetan *thaṅ-kas* or temple banner, we see a spiritual portrait of the Buddhist missionary Padmasambhava ("Born of the Lotus"), who converted Tibet to the True Law, A.D. 749, and founded the earlier branch of Lamas known as the "red caps." He himself wears the red cap, surmounted by a vajra, a diamond-thunderbolt, which protects him against demons and connotes his diamond-essence; for he—the great teacher—is vajrakāya, "the diamond body," the pure, imperishable essence of the all-containing and unchallengeable void. His attitude, as teacher, is benevolent; his mustache is almost coquettish (in the fashion of the Gandhāra Bodhisattvas); but there is a hidden threat in his enigmatic expression. He is bent slightly forward, as if instructing (like the Mathurā Buddhas), but he might well explode and pour forth the fire of his wrath upon any demon or recalcitrant unbeliever. Pl. 606

Spiritual portraits were a special feature of Tibetan art. They were based, technically, on the traditions of Indian wall painting and manuscript illustration (specifically, as represented on the covers and first pages of imported Buddhist texts), and, in their design, on the sacred diagrams (*yantras*) and jewel-sand-paintings common to Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrism.[54] The essence of the portrayed personality blossoms in a symmetrical pattern. Its earthly manifestation—the guru-magician, the sorcerer-saint himself—is placed in the center, very large, in the attitude of teaching, or in the attitude of union with his śakti (Yab-Yum), surrounded by manifestations of his power (the various forms that he has assumed

[52] From Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism (First Series)* (London, 1927), pp. 281–282.

[53] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 552–559.

[54] Cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 140–148 and Text Plates C1 and 2. Pl. C1, 2

in his marvelous exploits when conquering demons and spreading the True Law). Above, on the spiritual plane accessible to the vision of the devotee, are the Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, whose very incarnation or "descent to the earthly plane" (*avatār*) was the holy man. Below and all about are divinities and demons, whom he has propitiated and conquered, and who act as familiars, servants, and helpmates. By submitting to him, they have become functions of his power and so represent aspects of his superhuman character. They have been converted into guardians of the saint, tutelary deities, and constitute the community of his followers. Moreover, their wrathful attitude, which in the portrait is intended to exhibit their strength, both enhances the grandeur of the saint who has overcome them and terrifies the unbeliever who might wish to harm the devotee.

The various figures are grouped symmetrically, their positions above and beneath the saint having symbolical meanings; so also their colors, their attitudes, and the details of their costumes. Each abiding in his own sphere and attitude, they are isolated from each other, like continents on a map. The painting, in fact, is a map of the spiritual physiognomy of the clerical superman, revealing the chief episodes in the biography through which his essence was revealed. There is no real space, no external stage on which the various dramatis personae into which the saint's essence exfoliates should meet and act upon each other. The painting is meant to be gazed upon in solemn and serene, static repose; to be imbibed by the avid imagination of the devotee, so that it may be reproduced by him mentally, later, when he wishes to evoke the spiritual presence of this great guru for his spiritual progress or protection.

One notes in these Tibetan works an impressive, really frightening genius for the rendition of the terrible aspect of the spiritual powers. Even the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, who elsewhere in the extensive Buddhist domain are represented almost exclusively in benevolent guise, here appear as veritable demons. Contrast,
Pl. 605, 488a for example, Plate 605 with Figure 7 and the top panel in Plate 488. All are visions of Mañjuśrī or Mañjughoṣa, the supramundane Bodhisattva of "lovely, sweet (*mañju*) charm (*śrī*)," or again, of "charming, gentle (*mañju*) speech or voice (*ghoṣa*)." He is commonly designated by an epithet *kumārabhūta*, which means "He who has become (*bhūta*) the anointed crown prince (*kumāra*)"; for he has been blessed by the sacrament of the sprinkling with holy water that consecrates the heir apparent as coruler of the existing king. Mañjuśrī, that is to say, has attained the dignity of the Buddha, the spiritual monarch, though himself still a junior, a Bodhisattva. And just as the adult son, the heir apparent, of a secular king is conceded half the royal power and made to sit beside his father on the throne of splendor as a "junior king" (*yuva-rāja*), sharing both the privileges and the duties,

so has Mañjuśrī, though still a Bodhisattva, been accorded the rank of a Buddha. He represents the potential Buddha dwelling within the Bodhisattva—dwelling, that is to say, within all, as their highest potentiality, since, according to the Mahāyāna, all beings are potential Buddhas. Our true destiny is to become enlightened and to enlighten others through our teaching and example.

The crown prince and heir anointed to the throne of Buddhahood, the living Buddha within us all (who prefers, like Avalokiteśvara Kwan-yin, to remain a

Fig. 7. Arapacana Mañjuśrī. Java. 1343 A.D.



Bodhisattva for the endless welfare of suffering beings because Bodhisattvaship expresses the complete voidness of the idea of time more perfectly than Buddhahood, which is associated, symbolically, with the episodes of enlightenment and the final attainment of nirvāṇa in the course of time), holds in his right hand the trenchant, stainless sword of discriminative, transcendental wisdom. The fetters of ignorance and desire break before his blow. In his terrific aspect, therefore, Mañjuśrī is Yamāntaka (Tibetan: *gŚin-rje gšed*), "the annihilator (*antaka*) of Yama the Lord of Death." This manifestation is the one depicted in the banner, and though it is stunningly different from the benevolent form presented in the image from Java, it is no less true; for enlightenment does conquer death; and from the standpoint of the benighted individual who has identified himself with his own bondage, this self-oblation is fearsome indeed. The moment it has been perfectly consummated, however, the crown prince within, Kumārabhūta, now ranking with the reigning Buddhas, is realized as the Bodhisattva "of gentle charm," Mañjuśrī.

In the image from Java—bearing a date equivalent to 1343 A.D.—Mañjuśrī is seated on the lotus throne, as are likewise his diminutive doubles at either side (his emanations and manifestations, for he can multiply such manifestations at will, to assist and rescue the numberless beings caught in the round-of-rebirth). A lotus grows at his side, and he wears the regal tiara.[55]

The same benevolent aspect is revealed in the banner from Tibet, above the world-shattering apparition of Yamāntaka. The bull form of Yamāntaka, which is usual, points to Nandi and thence to Śiva: the trident commonly in the hand of Pl. 605 Yamāntaka (Plate 605) also points to Śiva. One is reminded that Śiva, too, is the terrible destroyer whose boon is the incomparable one of illumination. For the Buddhism of Tibet, which is our most vivid extant exemplar of the great Tāntric movement in the medieval Mahāyāna, bears close comparison—practically point for point—with the imagery and doctrine of the great god whose spouse, Kālī, is the fierce dancer of the Burning Ground.

Pl 602b Plate 602*b* shows the fairy *Na-ro mK'a-spyod-ma,* "Naro, dwelling in the heavens," the tutelary divinity of the red-cap Lamas. Originally an ambivalent demon, she was turned by the conjuring power of the Buddhist Lama-sorcerers into a helpmate in their Tāntric witchcraft. Her magnificent sex appeal, her self-intoxicated sensuality, was overcome by the ascetic attitude of the Buddhist yogīs: hence she was forced to serve them. She is akin to the śakti-goddesses of Tāntric Hinduism. Like Kālī she lifts to her lips a goblet that is the upper half of a skull, and like all Śivaite superhuman beings she treads down conquered demons. Since she is regarded as an auspicious manifestation of the highest śakti, she is known as *Sarva-buddha ḍākinī,* "The demoness (*ḍākinī*) of all Buddhas (*sarva-buddha*)."

Pl. 602a Plate 602*a* shows the Lion-faced Ḍākinī (Tibetan: *mK'a-gro seṅ-gdoṅ-ma*), again a terrific aspect of the supreme śakti, in a frantic dance. This is an apparition meant to terrify unbelievers and to inspire a feeling of security in the members of the Buddhist community. She is perhaps a doublet of the śakti of Viṣṇu in his Pl. 203 fierce incarnation of the "Half-man half-lion" (*Nara-siṁha:* Plate 203). Tibetan art rejoices in such blendings of monstrosity and charm, where the terrific, the grotesque, and the humorous merge. Amalgams of this kind are known to India too, but appear there in myth and legend more prominently than in art.

There can be no doubt that in Tibet we have the precious remains of a religious art bearing close affinities to medieval India. Moreover, the Lamaistic technique for casting gilt-copper figures stems directly from the Nepalese tradi-

[55] In Javanese images of the Mahāyāna tradition the lotus support is usual. Compare, for example, the figures of Prajñāpāramitā and Gaṇeśa discussed *supra*, pp. 140–144 and 178.

tion, and the main characteristics of the Nepalese style remain prominent in Tibetan works. In fact, many images have been made in Nepal to order, for the use of Tibetan devotees, and these usually bear two inscriptions, one in the Newari script and the other in the Tibetan, to serve the members of the order of the True Law in the two neighboring lands.

6. *The Lotus in China and Japan*

THE far-reaching desert between Siberia in the north and Tibet in the south (the Takla Makan, which is hemmed about by the Pamirs in the west, the Tien Shan in the north, the Kunlun in the south, and is continued by the Gobi Desert eastward to Suiyuan) is traversed along its northern and southern rims by the caravan trails that connect China with Persia and thence with the civilizations of the West. These two great roads, by which Chinese silk traveled to Rome and along which the Huns, Mongols, and Turks ranged from northeastern Asia into Europe and into the heart of India, were the ways along which the Buddhist pilgrims traveled from China to India in search of wisdom. The northern road, running through Turfan, Kucha, and Kashgar, goes to Samarkand in Persia (now in the U.S.S.R.), while the southern, running through Khotan and Yarkand, bends south to Kabul in India (now in Afghanistan) or continues by a branch to Persia through Herat. Along both highways, all the way to China (which they entered through the province of Kansu), there were Buddhist settlements and monasteries, and the entire region, artistically, was a melting pot of Indian, Persian, and Hellenistic-Roman influences; identical motifs served to ornament the Buddhist, Manichaean, and Nestorian-Christian monasteries and sanctuaries of the area. During the sixth and early seventh centuries A.D. the whole tract was controlled by Turkish rulers, but in the course of the seventh, with the increasing strength of the T'ang Emperors, China gained control. Finally, however, under the onslaught of Islam, from the eighth century to the tenth, both the Buddhist and the Manichaean as well as the Nestorian-Christian culture and monuments of the region were destroyed.

Plate *613* shows the sixth of a series of fifteen wall paintings illustrating the *Pl. 613*
praṇidhicarya ("path of fervent resolution") of the Buddha. It is said to be from Bezeklik, in the Turfan oasis of the northwest corner of Chinese Turkistan. The subject matter is Indian; so is the text, written in the Brāhmī script of India, which

the scene is supposed to illustrate; but the painting style, the neatly drawn faces, the clear brush-writing of the outlines, is Chinese.

hastyaśvena suvarnena nāribhi ratnamuktbhih
sannām jinānām pūjārtham udyānam śreṣṭhinā kṛtaṁ

So reads the text. "With an elephant, a horse, with gold, women, jewels, and pearls, I set forth as a merchant on my journey, to pay worship to the six Victors." The Buddha-in-the-making recalls that in the course of his agelong progress toward enlightenment through many births, he was born six times as a wealthy merchant, and each time set forth, laden with precious things, to behold the Buddha of that age and to lay his treasures at his feet. Since he was already a Bodhisattva—"a being whose essence is enlightenment"—he could recognize the living Buddha as one representing the ideal for which he was himself striving. Thus, time and again, at the feet of the Buddha, he was able to surrender his person and all his possessions and to vow to become such a one, perfectly enlightened.

This vow of surrender, full of fervent resolution, is called *praṇidhi* or *praṇidhāna.* That a Bodhisattva in former ages of the world recognized the Buddhas then on earth, and perceived in them the ideal for which he was himself striving (while others stood by, following the traditional ways of worship), is represented as an essential factor in his sublime career. And each time, in compensation for his attitude and vow of fervent self-surrender (*praṇidhi*), he received from the Omniscient Being the assurance that he would himself become a teacher of gods and men.

In the scene, at the bottom right, two kneeling merchants offer bags, full of gold or jewels, to the giant figure of a standing Buddha, and the great being, indifferent to the receipt of the gifts, makes an eloquent gesture. Joining the forefinger and thumb of each hand, he lifts the right, palm outward, in the posture "bestowing protection" (*abhaya-pradāna-mudrā*), while the left is lowered in that "bestowing gifts" (*varada-mudrā*). This sign communicates his solemn declaration (*vyākaraṇa*) that the Bodhisattva's desire is to be fulfilled. All six encounters of the Future Buddha with his predecessors are represented here as one event. A richly caparisoned camel, a horse, and a mule kneel on the ground, with an attendant, to the left, while above is a divine figure with a halo: a celestial being (*devaputra*) willingly coming to serve the Buddha by attending to the gifts bestowed upon him; he is bending slightly, to take them from the animals. Above this form is a protective demon who accompanies the Buddha at every step, Vajrapāṇi, "Holding the Diamond-Thunderbolt in Hand," who is a double of Indra, the king of the gods, eager to attend the Buddha and execute his commands. There is another divinity

beside Vajrapāṇi. To the right are two monks, companions of the Buddha, and below these, two more divinities.

In spite of the fact, therefore, that this work, in its style, is from a Chinese hand, the content is Indian. Nevertheless, the aesthetic tradition is definitely that of the T'ang dynasty. The work is a colonial example of the Chinese fresco art, from a period when Chinese Turkistan, though ruled by the Turkish Uigurs, was largely controlled by Chinese influence and civilization. And we may note that each foot of the colossal Buddha is supported by a lotus.

Plate 612, which is part of a series of frescoes covering the walls of a circumambulatory walk around the stūpa of a sanctuary at Qyzyl, in the Kucha area of north-central Turkistan, dates from the Tocharian period, before the eighth century A.D.[16] The contrast is striking between the simple, graceful outlines of the central drawing, which is purely Indian, and the bold, colorful style of the main painting, which blends an Indo-Persian tradition with the lively local spirit. Pl. 612

King Ajātaśatru, a fervent patron of the Buddha Śākyamuni, is here being told, by a device, of the parinirvāṇa, the Final Nirvāṇa, of the Enlightened One. The Buddha has passed away, but who shall tell the king? The news is going to imperil his life: he may die of shock if the tidings are indiscreetly borne to him. His brilliant minister, Varṣakara, therefore induces him to take a bath in melted butter and, while the king is undergoing this soothing treatment (other tubs stand ready, in case of further need), unfolds before his eyes, without a word, a painting that he has ordered made, from which the king may deduce what has taken place. The career of the Buddha is summarized in this painting in four scenes. At the bottom, left, Queen Māyā, his mother, gives birth to the savior in the Lumbinī Park. She is standing, slightly flexed, while grasping the branch above her, giving birth without labor in the miraculous delivery. Above, left, the savior, beneath the Tree of Enlightenment, is assailed by the hosts of Māra. The fierce god, in a bold and challenging attitude, is standing at the right of the Buddha. Next, at the lower right we behold the solemn setting in motion of the Wheel of the Law, which through its course will enlighten, like the sun, the four quarters. The scene is that of the first sermon of the Buddha in the Deer Park at Benares. And finally, just above, is the peaceful, intentional passing away of the Buddha. He is on his deathbed, in the sāl grove at Kuśinagara, in the presence of gods and men.

When the king, reading this pictorial biography of the Buddha, came to the

[16] Cf. Albert Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha: archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt* (Veröffentlichung der preussischen Turfan-Expedition; Berlin, 1920), Vol. I, pp. II 104 ff., and Vol. II, Plate XLII–XLIII.

last scene, he cried out in despair. We see him in the fresco, throwing up his hands. Above him are a knife and a sacrificial vessel: a sacrifice of some kind has just been performed. At his feet, a symbolical drawing of the world-continent encircled by the ocean shows the summit of the central world-mountain, Sumeru, shaken to pieces—representing the earthquake that followed the passing of the savior. And at the left, meanwhile, is the faithful minister Varṣakara, sitting beside King Ajātaśatru on a terrace, persuading him to have his bath.

These two paintings from central Asia, rendered in a free manner influenced by Persian Sassanid art, must suffice to convey some inkling of what the painters of Gandhāra, and of India proper, must have achieved in the first centuries of our era, to have inspired such a bold and masterful colonial style. They will suggest, also, the extent of early Indian influence along the ways to China.

Pl. B9 Text Plate *B9* is a Japanese version of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. It dates from the seventh century A.D. and stands in the Hōryūji monastery, in the holy city of Nara. As already observed, all Mahāyāna Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are entitled to lotus thrones, for they are manifestations from the diamond-sphere of transcendent reality, the crystalline void in which all phenomenal qualifications are extinct. However, in the iconography of Amitābha, the Buddha of "infinite and immeasurable (*amita*) enlightening splendor (*ābha*)," this symbolism has been carried to an extraordinary development. Amitābha (Japanese Amida) figures prominently in the Buddhist art of the Far East, where he is the most popular divine Buddha of the later Mahāyāna pantheon. In India proper, on the other hand, few, if any, images of Amitābha have been found.

In the paradise of Amitābha the lotus seat, which originally was the vehicle and symbol exclusively of the Hindu Goddess Padmā-Lakṣmī, has become democratized to the utmost; for not only does Amitābha, the divine ruler of this realm, either sit or stand on a lotus, flanked by his chief lieutenants, the Bodhisattvas, who also sit or stand on lotuses, but the essential idea of this paradise is that every single inmate of the blissful realm is born in a lotus bud, which presently opens and supports him on its lotus throne. The meaning of this circumstance is that everyone who becomes an inmate of this sphere of bliss reaches enlightenment while there, and therewith release from the round-of-rebirth.

This miracle is due to the particular power of Amitābha, the Buddha of "immeasurable enlightening splendor." For while he was still a Bodhisattva he made the solemn vow (surpassing through this gesture the compassion of all the other Future Buddhas) that he would refuse individual enlightenment for himself unless by his Buddhahood he should gain the power not only to bring to enlightenment

anyone born into his Buddha realm, but also to cause any being who appealed to his grace (by paying worship to him or merely by uttering the holy formula of his name) to be reborn there immediately after death—reborn in a lotus calyx, which in due time should open as a pedestal of enlightenment. Whosoever, therefore, remembers Amitābha and repeats his name, particularly in the hour of death, will be reborn in his beatific sphere—the Western Paradise, or the Pure Land—and there, on a lotus, listening to his enlightening teaching, inevitably reach enlightenment and release.

In this gentle, easy, and popular late Mahāyāna doctrine of the Pure Land sect, devotion (*bhakti*), a humble piety that expects and receives salvation from the divine power of a celestial being, has supplanted the fervent spiritual endeavor, the relentless struggle for superhuman perfection, that was the very life and meaning of the ancient Hīnayāna. Individual exertion, asceticism, the solitary heroism of yoga, has vanished before the attitude of popular religiosity: surrender to the boundless grace of a heavenly being. And so there has developed in the stern school of the Buddha a precise counterpart of the popular devotional Hindu religion. Addressing himself to the redeeming grace of either Viṣṇu or Śiva, the Hindu devotee seeks release through becoming an inmate of his divine Lord's celestial sphere. The worship of Amitābha was a popular development, inspired by and for those Hindu lay folk who, flooding into the Buddhist fold, had even in the period of the early stūpas of Sāñcī and Bhārhut already suffused it with the age-old notions of the ancient Indian, pre-Āryan attitude of humble devotion.

Every being reborn in Amitābha's realm is entitled to the lotus throne, the supreme symbol of transcendent beatitude, omniscience, and stainless illimited being. Thus the symbol, once exclusive to the Cosmic Goddess, and then to the World-Creator, has been generalized and distributed on the widest possible scale. Yet this boundless democratization is by no means a degradation. On the contrary, it serves to make completely evident the divine, aristocratic character of everyone, since all are entitled to this ultimate symbol. It means that we all are virtually enlightened; we are potential Buddhas, though unaware of it. The diamond substance of the transcendent thunderbolt dwells in us, though we realize only its phenomenal shell: our personalities and the world round about. We are enlightened, essentially, though steeped in ignorance; we are Buddhas in the germ or seed; Buddhas still in bud. Like the power of a spiritual sun, however, the boundless enlightening splendor of Amitābha is capable of bringing this bud to bloom. Under his rays it will expand into blossom, into the corolla of that Enlightened Being (Brahmā: the Buddha) who in the innermost recess of our character lies dormant. All are capable of the highest wisdom, all are entitled to the

lotus throne; and the way to this absolute fulfillment is devotion. This, then, is the gospel—the boundless light—of Amitābha.

The other name of Amitābha is Amitāyus, "unending life," "life-strength beyond measure," a name no less significant than the first. For when, as a candidate for enlightenment, he made the solemn vow not to accept Buddhahood unless he might rescue every being who so much as uttered his holy name, he also vowed to continue as an enlightened teacher—without passing away into utter extinction—as long as there remained one creature in all the countless universes who had not yet been brought to salvation. By virtue of this vow he acquired, when he gained enlightenment, the singular attribute of inexhaustible (*amita*) life-duration (*āyus*). In contrast to Śākyamuni and countless other Buddhas who, after a career of teaching, passed away, Amitābha, in his Western Paradise, is to continue rescuing creatures interminably; for the number of beings in the universe is beyond measure, as are likewise the endurance and effectuality of Amitābha. In this respect he resembles, on the Buddha plane, Avalokiteśvara, the Great Bodhisattva. His blissful paradise of the Pure Land is a vast lotus pond, whose countless flowers, opening, reveal the creatures there reborn to reach fulfillment. This realm was a particular device of his, constituting part of his vow. It was, in fact, the leading idea—a flash of genius, born of the boundlessness of the compassion of his lotus heart.

7. The Lotus Goddess of the Cosmic Sea—and the Palace-Temple Aṅkor Wāt

'. 74–75b,c PLATES 74 and 75 show a figure of Lakṣmī from Mathurā dating from the second century A.D. A rich growth of lotus flowers sprouting from a huge water vessel forms the pedestal of the pillarlike piece and covers the entire back of the goddess, like a forest, suggesting the shields of serpent bodies and hoods that cover the backs of nāga figures. In its general attitude and style the work is related closely to the standing images of yakṣas, nāgas, and other divinities of the popular religion that we have seen on the railing posts of the early Buddhist sanctuaries, from the first century B.C. to the second A.D. The attitude is full of a significant sweetness and charm, personifying nature in her fostering, lovable aspect. With her hands the goddess indicates the two chief functions of the maternal principle:

the left supports a nourishing breast while the right indicates her sex—a gesture resembling that of the Balinese goddess of maternity and fertility (Plate *508*), *Pl. 508* and reminding one, also, of a kindred posture of the realm of Western art, namely that of the *Venus de' Medici* (Text Plate *B14b*). The goddess in the Classical *Pl. B14b* rendition exhibits her body in splendid nakedness, but at the same time, with a spontaneous or coquettish bashfulness, screens her bosom and loins with her two arms and hands. I cannot but feel that this completely secularized posture—obviously devoid of any such symbolism as prevails in the Hindu and Balinese images—derives somehow from the background of the more archaic attitude, and may in fact be a semiconscious reminiscence of an older, widely spread classic conception of the goddess of life, fertility, and love; the same posture having been preserved in Oriental art, on the other hand, with full consciousness and understanding.

Plate *280b* shows a work of the Pallava period representing Lakṣmī in a manner *Pl. 280b* remarkably independent of the inherited, firmly rooted pattern. Instead of being surrounded by a grove of lotus flowers, she is flanked by four female attendants. These are her doubles, and she herself sits on a giant lotus throne. Two elephants pour water from above and stand facing each other; but they are not presented in full—which would have required a disproportionate reduction of their size, as in the older representations at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, where the animals were reduced to the status of mere hieroglyphs. On the contrary, the solemn flapping ears are rendered in dimensions proportionate to the human figures in the relief and the great bodies are cut off by the frame. The traditional elements of the formula have been reduced, thus, to allusions, hints, and undertones. The goddess of earthly abundance has been transformed into a slim beauty, of the same lissome, spirited breed as the queens of the kingly donor in the same cave. From a hieroglyph, that is to say, the archaic mother of life has evolved into a lovely, young, "modern" woman, exhibited on an intimate stage suffused by a gentle atmosphere of sublimated realism. The idea of the symbolic goddess Lotus has been humanized through a gentle increase of sensual spirituality.

In the Indian mythical epic of the world genesis, that agelong struggle between the gods and titans which fills all periods of the cosmic biography with vicissitudes, anxieties, and repetitions, Padmā-Lakṣmī plays no significant role. This befits the goddess symbolized by a flower and representing the forces of nature's silent, perennial growth. For whereas the goddess Devī, Umā-Pārvatī-Durgā, sides with Śiva and is deeply and victoriously involved in the dramatic romance of cosmic life, Lakṣmī is on the side of Viṣṇu, the maintainer and supporter of the world; and whereas Durgā is frequently represented in some terrific aspect,

manifesting the destructive forces of death that counterbalance growth and procreation, one looks in vain for a sinister, terrific manifestation of Lakṣmī. She represents, definitely, the auspicious side of the motherly force. And the only myth in which she figures at all is one concerned with the production of life-giving, life-increasing objects, the tale of the Churning of the Milky Ocean.

This event took place in one of those early ages of the universe, when the gods and titans arrived at a temporary truce for the purpose of churning the Cosmic Sea, combining their energies to extract from it the beverage of immortality. And among a number of auspicious objects that are said to have arisen from the waters during that operation was the goddess Lakṣmī. The myth is one of the chief stories celebrating the universal strength and glory of Viṣṇu; for he figures prominently throughout, not only in his divine manlike form but also in two of his other manifestations, as the Cosmic Tortoise and as the Cosmic Snake. I know of no important representation of this event in India proper, but it holds a remarkable place in the art history of Cambodia.

Pl. 550 Plate *550* shows the gods and demons around a vertical pillar, representing the central mountain of the world, which served as the churning stick. It is supported by a giant tortoise, the second manifestation of Viṣṇu in the series of his avatārs (the first having been the Fish). The gods and titans, forming a chain at either side, have grasped the giant Cosmic Snake, and are pulling it as a churning string, setting the mountain in motion, twirling it around its axis. Rows of gods, from above, watch the operation, while Viṣṇu—already manifest both as tortoise and as snake—steadies the churning mountain with his hands and knee, to govern its motion. Simultaneously, in still another human apparition, he sits enthroned amid the toiling multitude, watching them at their work.

The curious procedure of the Churning will be readily understood through a comparison with the common technique of churning butter in the Hindu household. The implements are a stick inserted vertically in a vessel of milk, and a rope wrapped around the stick. When the ends of the rope are alternately pulled, the stick twirls and the butter is churned. In the Churning of the Milky Ocean the gods pulled one end of the serpent and the titans the other.

Pl. 548–551 The representation of this event in Plates *548–551* are parts of a gigantic relief at Aṅkor Wāt, where it figures among a number of other masterly relief-illustrations of Viṣṇu's mythical deeds. The idea of the Churning of the Ocean is the dominant theme of the whole design of this sumptuous palace-temple, not only adorning the galleries, but also serving as the inspiration of the alleys leading to *Pl. 533b* the central building (Plate *533*). The railings that line the main approaches, parapets, and other avenues of the fortress grounds represent the giant snake in

the process of the Churning (Plate *534*), while the central tower is the mountain *Pl. 534* itself.

Aṅkor Wāt (Plate *531*) was erected between 1112 and 1160 A.D., in part at *Pl. 531* least by the Khmer king Sūryavarman II (1112–*c.* 1152), and finished probably by his nephew and successor, Dharanindravarman II (*c.* 1152–1181). Originally it was predominantly Viṣṇuistic, but in the reign of King Jayavarman VII (1181–1201) it was adorned with Mahāyāna Buddhist elements; later the dominant influence was Hīnayāna. During the Buddhist period the great temple-fortress began to be called the "palace monastery" (*aṅkor wāt*), and this is the name that it bears to this day.

Aṅkor Wāt was not the only structure of its kind in Cambodia; for not far away stands Aṅkor Thoṁ, with its central temple, the Bayon (Plate *574*). *Pl. 574* Aṅkor Thoṁ was constructed largely by Jayavarman VII, and is a century later in date than Aṅkor Wāt. It is a palace-city, with walls and moats measuring some thirty-three hundred yards along each side. The moat is about one hundred yards across and is traversed by five bridges, which lead to avenues lined by railings of gods and titans holding lengths of the cosmic serpent (Plate *570*). These run to *Pl. 570* five triple gateways surmounted by towers that are more than seventy feet high and show the masks of colossal faces (Plate *568*). The wall enclosing the city is *Pl. 568* broken only by the five gates, four of which are placed symmetrically at the four sides, and from these, straight paved streets lead to the Bayon, the central tower of which is precisely in the center of the compound. A fifth street, through the fifth gate, running parallel to one of the other four, leads to the main square before the palace. The towers, each with four great faces fronting the four quarters, may represent liṅgams—so-called *mukha-liṅgams* ("face liṅgams"). They would then be giant examples of a symbol common in Khmer sculpture, namely, the liṅgam revealing the four faces of Śiva.[57] In Plate *575* the god is beheld in a *Pl. 575* meditating mood, overlooking the four quarters of the world.

In later Śivaite mythology the four-faced Śiva plays a vivid part in a celebrated contest with Brahmā, the other four-faced member of the Hindu trinity. Brahmā, to prove his superiority, grew a fifth head, whereupon Śiva cut it off in an access of wrath. Through this act of violence, however, Śiva incurred the sin of Brāhman slaughter, which is one of the most deadly in the Brāhman moral code. And the sin clung to his body in the form of the head that he had cut off: he was unable to get rid of it, and had to bear it with him on a long pilgrimage in search

[57] *Editor's note:* It is also possible that the faces are those of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara: Cf. Gilberte de Coral Rémusat, *L'Art khmer; les grandes étapes de son évolution* (Etudes d'art et d'ethnologie asiatiques, I; Paris, 2nd edn., 1951), p. 21.

of atonement. Eventually he was purified by the holy waters of the Ganges, which wash away all sin. The release took place where Benares now stands, and for this reason Benares is Śiva's favorite dwelling place on earth. He is there permanently, in the fullness of his benevolence, and this attests to the power of the waters of the Ganges (particularly at Benares) to wash away sin.

The colossal four-faced liṅgam-towers of the Bayon are akin to certain smaller liṅgams occurring in Cambodian art, which show, on all four sides, the standing figures of Śiva and his female aspect, the Goddess, these being the two deities

Pl. 566, 584 whose conjunction is symbolized in the liṅgam (Plates *566*, *584*).[58]

Besides the Hindu deities, the figures in the Bayon include Mahāyāna Buddhas

Pl. 581a (Plate *581a*), and among these the Buddha of the art of healing, Bhaiṣajyaguru, a representation of Buddhist saviorship under the aspect of the spiritual Medicine Man, the Supreme Healer, whose cult was highly favored in the time of King Jayavarman VII. At Aṅkor the Buddhist and Brāhman cults were closely affiliated and the Buddha images were enshrined and worshiped side by side with those of the Hindu gods—the gods, after all, who, according to Buddhist legend, had assisted at every stage of the paradigmatic biography of Śākyamuni. Images are found also of a pantheon of minor divinities, the patrons of the chief towns of

Pl. 582 Cambodia, and of deified human princes (Plate *582*). The sanctuary of the Bayon thus enclosed icons of all the divine powers protecting the universe and the country.

Aṅkor Wāt, a century earlier, is based on the same general plan as Aṅkor Thoṁ and was no doubt its model. Designed to be a walled and moated fortress-palace, the residence of the king, it was at the same time a temple representing the celestial paradise of Viṣṇu, and so was adorned with all of that heaven's presences and delights—nāgas and celestial dancers, titans and gods—together with reliefs depicting the chief mythological exploits of Viṣṇu. For the reigning king of Cambodia was regarded as an incarnation or avatār of Viṣṇu. Sūryavarman II, the builder of the monument, termed himself (referring to the royal splendor of his peerless residence) Parama-Viṣṇu-loka, "He Whose Sphere Is the Celestial Abode (*loka*) of the Highest Viṣṇu (*parama-viṣṇu*)." The moat surrounding the building is two hundred yards wide and about twenty-five feet deep: it converted the palace, in its day, into an impregnable fortress. The distance around the outside of the moat is about twelve and a half miles. It is crossed on the west by a paved bridge, guarded by nāga parapets, leading to the main gate of the great wall. Within, a paved causeway, raised above the ground level and protected by

[58] *Editor's note:* A view of the same liṅgam, showing the side revealing the Goddess, will be found in *Myths and Symbols*, fig. 64.

another nāga balustrade, leads to the main entrance of the temple proper, which opens to the four quarters and, like most Indian temples and stūpas, is quadrangular in plan. For the quadrangle is symbolic of the element earth, and of the surface of the earth. Sumeru, the central mountain of the universe, rises as a great quadrangular column, bearing on one of its square stages Amarāvatī, the citadel and paradise of Indra and the immortals. It then soars on upward into the celestial spheres of Viṣṇu-loka. This latter, the supreme summit, is what is represented by the temple-palace of Aṅkor Wāt.

For comparison, see Plate 402, showing the great temple city of Tiruvan- *Pl. 402*
nāmalai: wall within wall, court within court, enclose the central sanctuaries. These vast developments were evolved, in the course of time and with increasing sumptuousness, from a very simple archetypal model, namely, the straw-covered wooden temple of the South Indian village. In Plate 268 is to be seen a copy of this *Pl. 268*
unpretentious archetype preserved in durable stone, among the rock-cut monolithic temples of Māmallapuram. This little temple has one practical door and an additional symbolic door in each of its three other sides, within each of which there is a figure in relief, supposed to be a view of the sacred image in the interior of the shrine.[59]

Plate 6—a view of the Great Stūpa of Sāñcī—shows the same basic form in *Pl. 6*
a Buddhist structure: likewise Plate 609, depicting the mTshorten (stūpa) of *Pl. 609*
Darjeeling. In the Buddhist stūpa the central bulb with its spire became interpreted, in the course of time, in terms of the symbolism of the central world mountain, which bears on its peak the higher spheres of celestial bliss, and the dome was then generally raised on a series of platforms, while from each of the four directions staircases gave access to the highest terrace, for circumambulation. The mTshorten at Darjeeling is Tibetan. Here the stucco parasol-pagoda that surmounts the dome in the early stūpas of Bhārhut and Sāñcī (indicating spiritual world-emperorship) has been turned into a soaring spire.

Later Buddhist sanctuaries developed these simple structural elements in various ways. In the Mingalazedi stūpa of Pagān in Burma, which was finished 1274 A.D. (Plate 472), truncated pyramidal terraced bases with angle towers and *Pl. 472*
a central stairway on each side support a central circular dome that emerges from the quadrangular base with a gentle slope and an almost imperceptible change of movement. Here, as in other Buddhist monuments, there is a relic contained within the massive form of the stūpa. The pilgrim is invited to ascend the tower gradually, moving clockwise around its terraces in a symbolic pilgrimage of ascent, rising from the ground level of earthly everyday life to higher and higher spheres.

[59] The function of these false doors will be discussed *infra*, pp. 276–277.

Pl. 476 Plate 476, the Borobuḍur of Java, reveals the same design: a quadrangular sanctuary, opening at the four sides to the four quarters, with four staircases leading to the sanctum sanctorum on the topmost terrace. In this case the circular stūpa motif—homologous with the towering stūpas at the four angles of the Mingalazedi stūpa of Pagān—has been multiplied, so that it fills the three upper circular terraces, which are supported by numerous quadrangular terraces rising from the ground.

This typical ground plan of the quadrangular temple with its four doors opening in the four directions corresponds precisely to the main structural pattern of Pl. 608 those Tibetan paintings—the so-called *maṇḍalas* (Plate 608)—which present, for contemplation and worship, either a Buddha or some other symbol of the highest reality, surrounded by an arrangement of emanations.[60]

There is a great ambulatory at Aṅkor Wāt, vaulted and semivaulted, which encloses both the inner terraces and the central sanctuary. Its inner wall is covered with magnificent reliefs, some eight feet high, that run continuously more than eight hundred yards. For the Western observer, the style, at first sight, is not altogether pleasant, but somewhat bewildering and strange; for it does not aim at plastic effects. It is marked, rather, by a virtuosity of design. The whole surface of the wall has been thinly covered by an infinite variety of bodies in bold postures, moving with a fierce agility, but which, for all their animated distortions, are flat; they decorate the long wall with a ribbonlike, layered composition. It is clear that here Khmer relief, at the climax of a long and glorious development—which is to be documented, immediately following, in a work of fuller plastic value at Aṅkor Thoṁ (in a series of reliefs representing scenes from the Hindu epics, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*)—is at a point where it is possible to indulge in a lavish display of virtuosity. Design, outlines, and profiles have definitely become the leading elements, and yet it is remarkable how much real vigor, intensity, and inventiveness are made manifest in these mythical battle scenes—how utterly painlessly and effortlessly this art has covered the walls with a smooth, triumphant perfection.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the masterly style of the numerous and truly vast compositions is the control, through a gentle and voluntary restraint, of countless masses of figures in the teeming scenes. They are regimented and to a high extent kept anonymous, yet are full of life and of a subdued expressivity. They never become tiresome through insipid repetition, but are always fresh and surprising. And they combine a very subtle modeling with a

[60] For a discussion of the structure and function of the maṇḍala, cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 140–148.

miraculous concentration of energy. The work, apparently, was conceived and achieved by craftsmen who could do with their chisels whatever they wished and who, in the invention of this particular form, had an end in view and a problem to solve.

8. Excursus: On the Content and Form of Indian Sculpture

To understand the creative achievement underlying this sophisticated art one must know how to look at it. The beholder must have some idea of the relation, in general, of figures to their background in Hindu relief-sculpture; also, of the relation of Indian figures to space. For according to the Hindu theory, there is no fundamental contrast either of craftsmanship or of intent between the arts of relief-sculpture and painting. Painting is called *citra*, "something colorful, variegated," and *ābhāsa*, "something shining forth, a manifestation, a semblance," and is regarded as a particular variety or restricted mode of sculpture—a kind of modeling or representation of figures and scenes in the flat; whereas sculpture adds the element of relief. And this relief may be heightened to any desired degree, from an almost imperceptible differentiation of surfaces and stratifications to an *alto-relievo* approaching sculpture in the round. One has to remember, furthermore, that most Indian reliefs (like the Greek) originally carried some coloring. The surface of the stone was washed with a thin layer of plaster, to which shades and colors of every kind could be applied. (See, for example, the remnants of plaster in Plate 217). Such colored reliefs occupied an intermediate position between fresco and freestanding sculpture, and there were all kinds of transitional forms. Pl. 217

Moreover, one gains the impression from the Indian textbooks on craftsmanship, the so-called Śilpaśāstras, that there was no specialization among Indian craftsmen, no definite restriction to sculpture on the one hand or to painting on the other. There may well have been families of artists who, in the exercise of their inherited profession, concentrated either on painting or on sculpture, but in general, since sculpture with colored surfaces would imply a knowledge of the techniques of painting, we have to think of the Indian artist as resembling certain

masters of the Renaissance who worked with equal ease either in paint or in stone, or like some of the great French artists of the nineteenth century who, against the general modern trend that demands specialization, turned boldly to sculpture after having established secure reputations in the painting field—Degas, for example, Renoir, and Daumier. In the same spirit, at the beginning of the present century, the German artist Franz von Stuck, one of the leading masters of the Munich school and a favorite of the Bavarian court (though it must be confessed, unfortunately, that he was somewhat deficient in taste), was an all-round artist in this ancient way. He left statues and sculptured portraits that were no less finished and accomplished than his most distinguished paintings, and he was a considerable architect besides—having designed for his home a kind of Roman villa, in the style of the period of the emperors, which is by no means a minor achievement. Similarly in the Hindu tradition: sculpture, painting, and architecture formed one great art, not only in the unified theory handed down in the textbooks, but also in the actual demands made on the skills of the artist during his lifelong professional career. Never did the conception evolve in India of sculpture and painting as two separate spheres, distinct in aims and technique, and demanding of the artist-craftsman a wholehearted concentration either on the one or on the other.

With respect to the Indian understanding of the relationship of the background to the figures, we must bear in mind that the impression generally intended was that of the sheer matter of the raw stony substance transforming itself at its surface into the outlines and forms of living beings. It becomes animate, endowed with the dynamism of life, and with features and expression, precisely as the empty, subtle matter of the atmosphere can be seen condensing into clouds.

This attitude of the Indian artist toward his task of converting rock into the representation of an event is most obvious in the masterworks of the Pallava Pl. 272–278 period; for instance, the Descent of the Ganges (Plates 272–278). Here we can almost watch the figures emerge from their solid background. The sheer stone has been softened, brought to fermentation, and out of it the animals, men, and gods have arisen, like bubbles on the surface of boiling water—as temporary, ephemeral transformations of an abiding matter, devoid of attributes, which constitutes their background and fundamental substance. And this impression is consistent with the chief philosophic concept of Hindu cosmology: that all existing beings are temporary evolutions of a primary cosmic matter (*prakṛti*) under the creative impulse of the supreme divine being (*puruṣa*). Puruṣa's influence operates on the cold, undifferentiated, raw matter of prakṛti like heat, infusing it with an inexhaustible life-force that moves and ripples it into the figures of the teeming

universe. Divine life, that is to say, is in matter, as heat is in bubbling water, and the effect is the world of living beings.[61]

In the foam-and-mist style of the Pallava period, and in certain other works of Indian relief, an illusion of space is created by the vigorous and animated modeling of the figures. The nimble limbs emerging from the formless background and separating themselves from its mass give the effect of a number of layers or stratifications, without the aid of devices of perspective. Deep undercuttings and hollows enhance the outlines and practically amount to a transitional form between relief-sculpture and sculpture in the round.

Compare another work of the classic period showing an absolutely bare and smooth background (Plate *212*): a niche at the Kailāsanātha temple at Elūrā, dating from the eighth century A.D. The scene is that of the rape of Sītā, the wife of Rāma and the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, by the demon Rāvaṇa, who resided on the island Laṅkā (which in the popular tradition has become identified with Ceylon). The mighty abductor, having lifted his helpless victim into his magical aerial car, is driving in swift flight across the sky, having surprised her in her wilderness-hermitage in the Vindhya Mountains, when she had been left for a moment without the protection of her husband. Rāma, the legend declares, had been tricked into pursuing a golden deer—which, however, had been only another demon (one of Rāvaṇa's suite) that had been dispatched in this form to catch his eye and lure him away. When setting out on this delusory hunt, Rāma had entrusted his wife to one of his most faithful and powerful animal friends, a huge bird named Jaṭāyu (the king of the vultures), who, however, had been inadequate to the assignment. We see Jaṭāyu futilely assailing the demon-king, who is bearing Sītā away. *Pl. 212*

The figure of the wife, crouching in the flying chariot, has been mutilated, but the form of Rāvaṇa is intact, and it is one of the finest realizations of Hindu classic sculpture in the boldness and elegance of its dramatic posture. The powerful demon-king emerges from the frame of the niche as a figure fully carved in the round. The sweep of his flight, counterbalanced by his violent turn backward and the uplifted arm threatening to strike, yields a graceful and daring motif, while the bare surface of the background creates a particularly vivid impression of space. In this case the surface had to remain void since it represented the firmament, the battle having taken place high aloft. We are told that Jaṭāyu heard Sītā's cry when she had been lifted secretly from the hermitage, but, though he overtook the flying chariot, was unable to conquer the demon-king. Rāvaṇa slew him and carried Rāma's bride to Laṅkā.

Another fine piece of the kind is that discussed *suprà*, pp. 11–12 (Plate *226*), *Pl. 226*

[61] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 325–329.

which is also from the Kailāsanātha temple at Elūrā. Here too the void background is justified by the represented theme, which is that of Śiva assailing the cosmic fortress, Tripura, of a great demon who had seized the reins of world government from the gods.

According to the classic Indian theory, ether is the first and most rarefied of the five elements and the others proceed from it in a fourfold process of condensation: air first, then fire, water, and earth. Ether (*ākāśa*) is an all-pervading vibrant and radiant substance, filling the universe. Out of a relatively small quantity the second element, air, was formed through condensation. And by a similar process, out of a certain quantity of air the element fire sprang. A portion of fire was turned into water, and a portion of water condensed into solid earth. The whole of the universe is thus matter, so that there is no emptiness anywhere.

This idea of five basic elements evolved through condensation, producing finally the matter from which all beings appear, is the reason for the indistinct differentiation in Hindu paintings and reliefs between the figures and their background. The contrast, taken for granted in the West, between substantial phenomena (living creatures, rocks, trees, earth, clouds, and celestial bodies) and empty space (the infinitude of the firmament) is not known in India, where there is no empty space, no immaterial extension or infinitude, containing, like a frame, the material phenomena of the cosmos. Space, in itself, is matter: it is the element ether (*ākāśa*), which was simply the first-born, first-evolved, of the five. Ether came into being when primeval matter (*prakṛti*), which is extremely subtle and devoid of every qualification and attribute, stirred under the influence of the radiance of *puruṣa*.

In and of itself, prakṛti is the all-inclusive potentiality of all things, all forms, everything that can ever be evolved; and it is subtle beyond perception. When its indwelling dynamism is aroused through some secret impulse (the impulse that is symbolically pictured as an effect of the radiance of *puruṣa*), it puts forth, in sequence, the five "subtle" (*sūkṣma*) elements: ether, air, fire, water, and earth. These are beyond the range of our sense perception. They are not gross (*sthūla*) like the visible-tangible elements of the manifest cosmos, but intangible and radiant; they are, in fact, the materials of our inner visions, voices, and experiences, and they constitute, moreover, that subtle body of psychic functions which the West calls the soul. When these five subtle elements blend with each other in certain fixed proportions,[62] the series of the "gross" (*sthūla*) elements arises, and out of these the visible-tangible universe is formed.

This fundamental Indian idea of space as substance is rendered mythologically

[62] Cf. *Philosophies of India*, p. 328, footnote.

in the image of the universe as an egg. The Cosmic Egg contains no empty space, but is filled throughout with various distinct materials. In the Buddhist texts we find the idea of countless universes of this kind, side by side, touching each other with their oval surfaces, each egg being filled with living beings. And even the spaces between the eggs—inevitably left at the ends, as in a crate of eggs closely packed—are not void; for, according to the Buddhist image, they too are teeming with living beings, though devoid of light since within them are no celestial bodies. The light of each sun-bird remains confined to the interior of its own Cosmic Egg, as do likewise the gentler rays of the moons and asterisms. The innumerable spherical triangles of space between the egg-shaped universes, then, are pitch-dark—or rather, they would be so were it not that the light of the Mahāyāna Buddhist saviors (for example, the immeasurable radiance of Amitābha) not only shines through all the universes but also penetrates their shells, as though these were of glass or crystal, and so enters the areas of natural darkness, bringing release even to the beings that are of the substance of those outer realms.

The fact that empty space is inconceivable to the Hindu mind, and that a gradation or sequence of stages of matter is recognized in the universe, descending from the subtle to the more compact and gross, accounts for the absence in Indian art of any technique, like Renaissance perspective, for the representation of the pure, void infinity of a receptacle-space in which separate objects stand arranged.

Plates 290–293 are from a long ribbonlike relief showing the boy Kṛṣṇa, in the center, holding up the mountain called Govardhana, "Welfare (*vardhana*) of the Cows (*go*)." The hero-god is sustaining the mountain, like an umbrella, above his friends, the cowherds and their families and their cattle, to protect them from a violent thunderstorm. The relief simply swarms with figures—standing in rows, milking cows, bearing milk vessels. There is no free space between them, such as would appear in a Western composition—nor had the artist any idea that such free space should exist; for just as the sequence of the elements evolves out of prakṛti (the more solid and tangible from the more shapeless and anonymous) so do all these beings emerge from the living rock out of which the cave in which the relief appears was carved. *Pl. 290–293*

The legend illustrated is a favorite in India, being one of the miraculous deeds of the beloved savior Kṛṣṇa. After his father had rescued him from the tyrant Kaṁsa by spiriting him, the instant he was born, to the cowherds in the Vṛndā Forest (Vṛndā-vana, now Brindaban)[63]—which is on the bank of the Jumna,

[63] Cf. *supra*, pp. 82–83.

opposite Mathurā (the capital city of the Yadu clan, the clan of Kṛṣṇa's father and mother)—the boy savior remained for many years among the cowherds in the secrecy of the forest. And during this period of his life he exhibited, through various exploits, that divine nature which in due time was to be manifested fully, when he should fulfill the task for which he had descended into the world, namely that of leaving the little clan of cowherds, returning to Mathurā, and killing the demon-tyrant Kaṁsa, who was crushing, through his predatory misrule, not only mankind but the very sinews of the goddess Earth.

While living as a boy among the cowherds, Kṛṣṇa, one year when the rainy season was over, watched his friends preparing their annual festival of thanksgiving to the god Indra, the deity who causes the clouds to approach and yield rain. Then he spoke and dissuaded them from their preparations. "We are not plowmen," Kṛṣṇa said; "neither are we tradesmen; our deities are the cows. We do not live in villages among fields, but in the wilderness of the hills and forests. Peasants live by crops, tradesmen by goods, but we live by cows. And the means by which a man lives should be his divinity—to be worshiped and thanked for assistance. Whoever lives on the fruit of one craft but pays worship to another earns no blessing either in this world or in the next. Therefore, we cowherds should worship the boundaries of our pastures and the wild enclosing forest; the honoring of the woods and of the hills round about should be the path of our welfare and existence. *Let us make our offerings to the hills and the cows! What is Indra to us?* For the plowman brings his offerings to the deity of the plow; the Brāhman, priest of the Vedas, values above all else the holy hymns and the sacrifices of the Vedas; but we, in our livelihood, depend on the hills and pastures. Wherefore it behooves us to bring offerings to the cows and the hills. Let us go to the hill Govardhana ('Welfare of the Cows') and worship it with our offerings." Seeing the sense of this startling, revolutionary teaching, the cowherds abandoned their preparations for the worship of the foremost of the Āryan gods, to whom more hymns are addressed in the ten books of the *Ṛg-veda* than to any other divinity—Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, having been the protector and heavenly counterpart of the conquering kings and chiefs who entered India during the period of the Āryan invasion, in the second millennium B.C.

The boy Kṛṣṇa, in this abrupt rejection of the Vedic religion, anticipated the doctrine of release and fulfillment that he was to proclaim, years later, in the *Bhagavad Gītā;* and there again the basic elements of his teaching were to be radically at variance with the Vedic-Brāhman tradition. Kṛṣṇa announced in the *Bhagavad Gītā* a doctrine of detached action (*karma yoga*), based not on Vedic

but on Sāṅkhya ideas;[64] also a doctrine of devotional self-surrender and emotional self-abdication before the divine being within the heart (*bhakti yoga*); and finally, a doctrine of himself (Kṛṣṇa) as an incarnation of the supreme god (Viṣṇu), exceeding in rank and power all the deities of the Vedic-Brāhman pantheon.[65] With these ideas he opened a new age—one marked by a new attitude toward divinity and toward the tasks both of life in the world and of spiritual fulfillment. Nevertheless, the main tenets of his gospel (which was intended to supersede the Brāhman tradition of the upper classes) were not altogether new; they belonged to the pre-Āryan heritage and were only returned to the fore by him in a fresh way. Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Bhakti reflect the age-old patterns of the aboriginal civilization of the Indian land, which has left its vestiges in the ruins of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro, and with their revival there would be a revival also of the archaic eloquence of art.

Both in the *Gītā* and in his radical advice to the cowherds to worship the mountain Govardhana, Kṛṣṇa intentionally challenged the Vedic tradition, not by offering anything utterly new, but by returning the Indian people to their ancient worship. The essence of his way was obeisance not to a remote king of heaven but to the most tangible and near-at-hand elements of experience. Kṛṣṇa reminded the cowherds that they were not really concerned as much with Indra as with their own cows and the forested hills on which the cows ranged and throve; these, therefore, they should worship, just as the plowman should worship, before all else, the divinity of his chief utensil, the plow. The point of view is that of a comparatively archaic, narrow attitude; yet one which, through recognizing and stressing the secret divinity of all things, was to become a prodigious force in the highly spiritual later religiosity of the Orient.[66] Through the mouth of the god-savior the localized, immediate pieties of the non-Vedic, pre-Āryan popular religion were restored to the widening sphere of Hindu orthodoxy.

The humorous yet solemn legend of Kṛṣṇa's challenge of Indra goes on to describe how the cowherds, following their young savior's advice, performed a sacrifice to the hill. They walked around it with their cows, in religious procession, the animals garlanded with flowers. And Kṛṣṇa, meanwhile, sitting on the

[64] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 280 ff.

[65] Cf. *ib.*, pp. 378–409.

[66] When the Chinese Zen master Hsüan-sha (Japanese: Gensha) on a certain occasion was entertaining an army officer named Wei at tea, the latter asked: "What does it mean when they say that in spite of our having it every day we do not know it?" Hsüan-sha, without replying, took up a piece of cake and offered it to Wei. After eating, the officer asked the master again, who replied, "It means only that we do not know it even when we are using it every day" (Suzuki, *op. cit.*, p. 291). Compare the *Gītā*: "To him who sees Me everywhere and sees everything in Me, I am never lost; nor is he ever lost to Me" (*Bhagavad Gītā* 6. 30).

summit, impersonated the deity of the hill. "I am the incarnate deity of Mount Govardhana," he declared; and he partook of the dishes that they offered. No more striking blasphemy could have been imagined, from the Vedic-Brāhman point of view, than that of a human being enacting the part of a god, exhibiting the presence of a divine being through his tangible human frame and personal attitude, and thus making of himself, as it were, a living idol. It was something completely foreign and abhorrent to the Vedic tradition—yet has been paralleled in a later Tāntric cult in which little girls and young maidens, representing Devī-Kālī-Pārvatī, play the role of images. Sitting on a throne or altar (*pīṭha*) in the center of a holy circle (*maṇḍala*) or mystic diagram (*yantra*), they are adorned with jewelry and receive offerings, incense, flowers, and incantations. The festival of the hill Govardhana, where Kṛṣṇa served as a living image, represents a comparatively early instance of the same idea. Apparently, it was an ancient non-Āryan popular rite that had survived among the seminomadic non-Āryan cowherd tribes who roamed in the Indian forests and hills—that is to say, in the wilderness beyond the pale of the Āryan village civilization, which, with its grain and rice fields, was devoted to the rain-giving Indra.

When Indra perceived that his festival was being spurned, he became indignant, gathered his clouds, and, though the season of rains was over, poured down a deluge for seven days, to kill the cows and to drown and wipe out the cowherds who had challenged him. Kṛṣṇa protected them, however, simply by lifting the hill Govardhana and holding it with one hand overhead, as a kind of vast umbrella, while the cowherds and their cows took shelter beneath, nestled close to Kṛṣṇa, and so were saved. This is the scene depicted in the relief. We see the cowherd clan in idyllic safety under the protection of the youthful savior who, having assumed their garb, had shared in the joys and vicissitudes of their life.

The epochal incident is brought to a close with the reconciliation of the two contending divinities. Indra, considerably humbled, approaches Kṛṣṇa and bestows on him the dignity of a "younger or second Indra" (*upendra*), sprinkling him with water from the bell that his elephant Airāvata wears about his neck; thus elevating him to the rank of a junior king at his side, younger than, yet equal to, himself—as the king-father in India makes his crown prince a "junior king" (*yuvarāja*) sharing the honors and duties of the throne, and as Mañjuśrī was made the crown prince of the spiritual emperorship of the Buddhas.[67] This rite, amounting to the anointment in the Indian rite of consecration bestowing kingship (*abhiṣeka*), confirms and reflects the ascendancy of Kṛṣṇa in Hindu myth and cult. He outgrows here the divine king of the Vedic Olympus, as in fact his cult, in the

[67] Cf. *supra*, pp. 198–199.

religious history of Hinduism, surpassed and overpowered that of the Vedas. Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa is to this day the highest divinity of the popular Bhāgavata religion, whereas the Vedic deities are hardly more than revered memories. Thus mythical events supply (among other things) a chronicle of actual religious history, echoing the growth and decline of divine figures, rites, and beliefs. They mark the contests and rivalries of the sects, and register the popularity of local sanctuaries associated with various exploits and manifestations of the holy past.

The Pallava masterpiece illustrating this event renders the idyllic aspect of the athletic deed. The majestic grandeur of the youthful savior uplifting the hill is not insisted upon; his infinite superiority is somewhat veiled, and the harmony of the bucolic idyl has been treated as the main topic. The scene has been rendered in a style of refined sublimated realism, in the same spirit as the Pallava apparition of Lakṣmī with her four attendants and the heads of the two elephants, which, as we have seen, stands in signal contrast to earlier representations of the goddess Lotus.[68] The earlier works, it will be recalled, clung to a symbolic pattern, a kind of abstract diagram showing diminutive elephants and enormous lotus flowers, regardless of the real proportions of the objects depicted in the composition. In the Pallava works classical Indian art definitely discarded the archaic, diagrammatic, symbolic style that had been predominant in the ornamentation of Bhārhut and Sāñcī in the centuries B.C. and was evident still in the art of Mathurā in the first centuries A.D.

Plate 76*a*, a stone relief from Mathurā, is a representation in the earlier style *Pl. 76a* of Kṛṣṇa lifting Mount Govardhana to protect the cows and cowherds. Two of the latter, with their rods or clubs, are kneeling at his sides. Geometrically designed, the balanced diagram shows what solemnity and grandeur the earlier art of symbolical representation could achieve. The supreme being incarnate is depicted in full power, his great size emphasizing his divinity as guardian and herdsman of the universe playing the role of guardian and herdsman of earthly cows among simple cowherds. The miracle of the incarnation, that is to say, is insisted upon—the wonder of the mystery of God become Man. From an achievement of this order to that of the Pallava relief—and the works in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa style at Elūrā and in the Cāḷukya at Bādāmī—there has apparently taken place a considerable evolution. Progressing from a symbolic, pictorial, and half-abstract manner of representation, Indian art would seem to have become more realistic. The figures are rendered in scale as well as in groupings and attitudes suggesting scenes from the sphere of life; they are not arranged in geometric, symbolic patterns. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast in aim and achievement than this of

[68] Cf. *supra*, p. 207.

the archaic Indian style, so full of monumental grandeur and simplicity, and the style of the Pallava relief, which aims at illusion and the sense of an actual event.

Pl. 211 Plate *211*, from Elūrā, shows Śiva, the god above gods, with his consort, the goddess Devī-Kālī-Pārvatī, on Mount Kailāsa, surrounded by attendants and with divine beings floating in the air. Beneath is a cave, which is part of the netherworld under the roots of the giant mountain, where Rāvaṇa, king of the demon-monsters, is imprisoned, with his ten heads and twenty arms. For, according to the epic story in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma pursued and conquered Rāvaṇa after he had abducted Sītā, Rāma's wife,[69] and in punishment for his crime he was imprisoned in the netherworld, held down by the weight of Mount Kailāsa—like the titans in Greek mythology when they had been conquered by the gods. And just as the crushed Greek titans shake the earth from time to time with volcanic eruptions, so do the Hindu. Rāvaṇa is exerting all the force of his twenty arms to overturn the mountain that is Śiva's throne.

In this relief, the world-shaking effort of the ten-headed demon, rocking the mountain abode of the supreme divine couple of the world, is dealt with intentionally in a rather undramatic way. The quivering of the ground has been felt and Pārvatī, in a graceful semirecumbent posture, grasps Śiva's arm in an access of fright, while the great god, unmoved, keeps all fast by calmly pressing down his foot. The glory of the couple is expressed through showing them fundamentally unshaken by any worldly—even though gigantic—effort. For in spite of Pārvatī's gesture of anxiety and the attitude of full flight of the female attendant behind her, there prevails in the scene an atmosphere of safety. What is depicted is not so much the ever-renewed episodical attempt of demonic powers to upset the order of the universe as the unconquerable, supramundane imperturbability of the highest divine principle itself, which by its mere being holds aggression at bay.

The two-storied stage of this scene, placed in a deeply carved niche, achieves an illusion of reality: the figures move and rest in real space. And so here again one is presented, not with a decorative assemblage of symbols composed in an ornamental pattern, but with a scene of life, enacted by stone figures, carved in realistic proportions and filling actual space. In its general style and aim this relief resembles certain groups in deep niches and artificial caves in the crypts of the Gothic cathedrals of the fifteenth century and lining the paths of the *Via crucis*, which exhibit the main events of the passion of our Lord: the Last Supper, the prayer in the garden of the Mount of Olives, the Crucifixion, Entombment, Resurrection, and so on; but we cannot follow the custom of the historians of Occidental art by attributing the change of style to a process of evolution, the gain-

[69] Cf. *supra*, p. 216.

ing of a new view, and the development of a more facile craft altogether foreign to the period B.C. Such theories of evolution, by and large, do not apply to the history of Hindu styles of art and literature, any more than to the history of Hindu ideas; for as a result of a strict traditionalism and regional conservatism, archaic and later forms of style tend to coexist in India. And in the present case we possess a few rare examples from the period between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D. that prove that this type of refined realism was already in existence at that time, creating perfect illusions—visionary images—of divine apparitions devoid of any symbolic or ornamental character.

Plates 40–42, for example, show a work of the same period as the art of the great stūpa of Bhārhut: obviously, therefore, the difference, which is certainly striking, is not the consequence of chronology, time, and evolution, but of locality and region, that is to say, of culture. The symbolic diagrams of Bhārhut and Sāñcī belong to the North, where the Āryan invasion and settlement, with its Brāhman civilization, survived, relatively uninfluenced, until as late as the last centuries B.C. This relief, on the other hand, is in the Buddhist cave-monastery of Bhājā, near Bombay. Dating from the first century B.C., this is one of the oldest Buddhist ruins in the Western Ghats. At either side of its main entrance are reliefs representing Hindu divinities: at the left, facing the door, the sun-god Sūrya in his chariot, and at the right Indra on his elephant Airāvata. Sūrya, with four arms, is accompanied by his two wives, one of whom bears a parasol and fly-wisp or chowry, which are the two most common Indian symbols of kingship, while figures on horseback form an escort. The god is riding over the gigantic bodies of the female demons of the night, who are sinking to the bottom of the relief, while his chariot proceeds with an irresistible motion, symbolizing the rise of the morning sun. The relief, giving the illusion of a true vision, is as remote as possible from the contemporary style of ornamental symbolism, based on diagrammatic patterns, that we know from the stūpas of Bhārhut and Sāñcī. It is akin, on the other hand, to the reliefs in the classic style of Elūrā, which were executed some eight or nine centuries later. *Pl. 40–42*

In Plates 46–58, which come from the other side of India—Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri, in Oṛissā—we see the façades and reliefs of a great series of Jaina caves. The legends illustrated in these charming friezes have not been identified. They show scenes of fighting, scenes of music and dance, and the hunting of a winged deer. Presumably, they are taken from Jaina fables and have an edifying value, like scenes from the Buddhist Jātakas. But the style, no less than that of Bhājā, is in striking contrast to Bhārhut and Sāñcī, as well as to the other works that we know of the Jaina tradition. It is both graceful and vigorous, showing a *Pl. 46–58*

mature skill and a wonderful ease and lightness in its handling of the movements and attitudes of many figures. The chisel has produced an effect somewhat like that of painting, rather than a sense of truly plastic forms: and it thus foreshadows the later classic art. The date of these works, like that of Bhājā, is surprisingly early,[70] and yet they certainly are not the document of a style in its primitive beginnings: they are, rather, the earliest evidence extant of what must have been a style and technique of long standing.

In short, the picturesque, illusionistic, visionary style is centered geographically along the north of the Deccan and spreads from coast to coast, from the Western Ghats to Oṛissā-Kaliṅga; and the earliest surviving monuments, from the first centuries B.C. and A.D., are already documents of a delicate elegance and accomplished virtuosity, full of vigor and life, completely different from the contemporary art of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and Mathurā. They represent, apparently, a main current of the traditional higher art of the aboriginal civilization of the subcontinent of India—basically unaffected by the invasion from the northwest which introduced into the traditions of the Gangetic plain more abstract and archaic—one might even say, more primitive—patterns.

Pl. 226 The relief shown in Plate *226* of Śiva destroying the demon-fortress Tripura ignores boldly the end of the wall and, by overlapping the corner, spreads to the wall adjoining. Such a trait is difficult to match elsewhere—at all events, in monuments of the Northern style. It is not, however, an innovation of the eighth-century artist who wrought this particular work; not a flash of individual genius, unique in the Indian tradition. For though we have from the earlier period but few remains of the visionary sculpture of the Deccan, we find this curious and bold trait anticipated in the Bhājā reliefs. The representation of Sūrya, the rising sun-
Pl. 41 god in his chariot crushing the giant female monsters of the night (Plate *41*), also ignores the angle of the wall. The composition continues to the left, showing more demons of the night sinking, like clouds, into the abyss of nonexistence, and

[70] *Editor's note:* Dr. Zimmer, following the dating generally recognized by the scholars of his generation, placed Bhājā in the second century B.C. and the caves of Khaṇḍagiri in the first. He also placed Kārlī in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. Dr. Walter Spink has shown, however, in his dissertation on "Rock-cut Monuments of the Āndhra Period: Their Style and Chronology" (Harvard University, 1954), that later datings are indicated for all of these, and I have therefore adjusted the chronology of Dr. Zimmer's discussion. The corrected datings are as follows: for the caves of the Western series: Bhājā, 1 century B.C.; Nadsūr, probably last half of first century B.C.; Nāsik, end of first century B.C. to third A.D.; Kārlī, first quarter of the second century A.D.; the Mānmoda hall, first quarter of the second century A.D.; and Kaṇherī, probably the middle or the latter half of the second century A.D.; for the Eastern series at Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri: Ananta, 25 B.C. to 25 A.D.; Gaṇeśa, Rānī Gumphā, and Choṭā Hāthī, in that order, first century A.D.

Dr. Zimmer's argument for the two distinct stylistic provinces of Indian art is not affected by the transposition of a century. I have therefore not hesitated to adopt the dating of Dr. Spink.

more female attendants of the sun-god, riding horses (Plate 40). The mount in the corner, by the way, is clearly provided with some kind of stirrup: which is the earliest known representation of a stirrup in the world. Pl. 40

The spread of this relief, with its rather flat stratifications overlapping the angle of the wall, shows particularly well how closely this illusionistic style is related to painting. The intrinsic kinship of the two arts in later practice and theory, therefore, is evidently of ancient standing. And equally old, apparently, is the most striking characteristic of the later classic style; namely, the rendition of figures in such a way that, though carved *into* the rock, they seem to grow *from* it. Swelling, as it were, into the space before the wall, floating into the world of the beholder, they merge with this world and thus transform their background, the solid rock, and the free space before it, into a unit. The field in which they move appears to comprise both the gross matter of the stone and the subtle matter of space, while they themselves—between the two—partake of the qualities of both. In comparison with the achievements of this art, that of the North has the puppet-like rigidity of a carved diagram, or of a design naïvely scratched into stone or wood.

The relief to the right of the main entrance of the Bhājā monastery is executed in the same accomplished, illusionistic, visionary style (Plate 42). Indra, the king of gods, wielding rain and thunderbolts, proceeds on his giant elephant Airāvata, the heavenly brother of the earthly elephants, who is like a heavy cloud in his majestic stature. Compared with the beings of earth, whom we see below, the god and his vehicle are prodigious. A Vedic text declares of Indra: "Were the earth ten times as large, he would equal it." [71] In the center of the toylike landscape below him is a holy tree, surrounded by a fence, while at the left is a court scene; a king sits on a wicker throne beneath an umbrella and is surrounded by dancers and musicians. Airāvata, with his uplifted trunk, bears a mighty tree that he has uprooted in his course—denoting thus the irresistible power of the storm. And again we see a relief more akin to painting than to sculpture: a perfect visualization, which emerges from the rock and covers the surface with layers of a subtle cloudlike substance. The composition swells directly from the wall and is without a frame: indeed, it runs a little over the angle of the jamb. Pl. 42

Finally, there can be no question but that, so far as fundamental traits and tendencies are concerned, these early monuments of the Deccan, from Bombay to Oṛissā, are the true ancestors of the classic Hindu style, which appeared in approximately the same region, in the Cāḷukya art of Bādāmī and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Elūrā, and which then inspired Pallava art, and through the Pallava moved to

[71] Ṛg-veda 1. 52. 11.

Sumatra, Java, and Cambodia. Hence it can be said that, whereas the North is important for the iconographic patterns that it evolved—particularly the Buddhist, but in some measure also the Hindu—the Deccan was the perennial fostering ground of an ancient, brilliantly accomplished craft-tradition devoted to translating visualizations of the gods and of the cosmos into reliefs in a picturesque style akin to fresco painting.

This illusionary treatment of solid rock, so that figures emerge from it, conveys and is the craftsmanly counterpart of the basic conception of Hinduism as to the relationship of space to matter, this conception itself having been derived from a non-Āryan source. There is no void space in the universe, but only invisible and visible matter, the latter in all its forms being an emanation from the former. The same idea is expressed in the archaic Indian concept of the universe as a prodigious man or woman (the universal god or goddess) who contains in its head and chest, abdominal cavity, legs, and feet the heavens, earth, and underworlds. The concept is fundamental to Jaina cosmology, and goes back, undoubtedly, to Dravidian traditions. The highest celestial realm is in the cranium of this cosmic being, the middle celestial regions are in its head and neck and the lower heavens in its chest; the surface of the earth is at the waist; and the storied underworlds are graded through the lower portions of the body to the feet.[72] There is no empty space inside such an organism any more than within our own, which is filled with bones, tissues, and various organs. The Cosmic Being is entirely of living substance in various states of compactness, subtlety, and fluidity. The rocks themselves are of this breathing substance, and the figures that the artist's chisel brings forth upon the surface of a rock are, therefore, alive with an actual life.

9. The Palace-Temple Aṅkor Wāt — and the Lotus Goddess of the Cosmic Sea

Pl. 542 Now let us return to the reliefs of Aṅkor Wāt. Plate 542 shows a battle scene from the *Mahābhārata*. The armies of the Pāṇḍava princes and their cousins the Kauravas have clashed and the great war—comparable to that of the *Iliad*—in which the chivalry of India's feudal period perished, has commenced. The magnitude and brilliance of the epic scene are matched in this relief. The uproar and confusion, fierce assault and valiant defense, of the battlefield are rendered

[72] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 241–248.

with incredible skill and inexhaustible invention, the whole surface of the wall being decorated with forms in a brilliant variety of dramatic postures.

Once the eye has become accustomed to this unemphatic style there is an almost infinitely rich variation to dwell upon and take in. The flatness of the surface and predominance of design were completely intentional. In fact, they are a special achievement of this late period—part of the virtuosity and sophistication of a culminating epoch, bringing to a climax the great and animate stylistic evolution of one of the supreme arts of all time: that of the works in relief and sculpture of the Mon-Khmers.

On the lintels of the Banteay Srei—a charming cluster of five little buildings, some fifteen miles from Aṅkor Wāt—are a number of reliefs from the Rāma story. Plate 530 shows the monkey king Sugrīva ("Fair Neck"), whose wife has just *Pl. 530* been abducted by his stronger brother Bālin, giving battle to his rival. According to the legend, Rāma is about to assist Sugrīva. He will kill Bālin with an arrow while the two monkeys are in combat, and so restore to Sugrīva both his wife and his kingship of the mountain Kiṣkindha. Out of gratitude, the little king will then send his army of monkeys, headed by Hanuman, to assist Rāma in the winning back of his own wife Sītā from the island fastness of the demon Rāvaṇa. The figures in the relief are almost sculpture in the round—like some of the works of the Pallava style, from which this art ultimately was derived.

At this period of the complete maturity of the art of the Mon-Khmers a number of very different, even antagonistic, ways of executing reliefs are handled with equal ease. The flat style of Aṅkor Wāt, therefore, must have been thought to be the appropriate one for these particular galleries. The inner walls of the vaulted promenade are scarcely accessible to the sun. The sun, however, is presupposed by relief in the round, with its deep undercuttings and hollows, since sunlight is what causes the play of light and shade. In the galleries of Aṅkor Wāt hollows and undercuttings would have darkened the compositions without yielding the compensatory effect of contrasting portions bathed in broad light. The surface of the walls would simply have been interrupted and destroyed.

As it now stands, in a graceful style teeming with figures, the magnificent achievement is hardly matched in the world. The forms of the battling armies have been regimented to the utmost; they resemble, indeed, anonymous soldiers. Even the leaders, though larger than the rest and distinguished by their attitudes, are of the same stamp as the troops. The effect is precisely the reverse of that of the classic masterworks of the West—for example, Leonardo's *Last Supper*, Raphael's designs for tapestries illustrating the New Testament, or Michelangelo's strongly individualized prophets, patriarchs, and sibyls—all of which have their

antecedents in the dramatizing, individualizing style of the Hellenistic period, (as represented, for example, at Pergamon). The Cambodian achievement is one of absolute anonymity and therewith of a wonderous life-abundance. The reliefs are far from monotonous; they are brilliant with amazing life. The forms of the dazzling apsarases, the majesty of the great warriors, the wild tumults of the battle scenes, have been rendered with a balanced ease and grace of design. It is remarkable how much real inventiveness has been displayed, and how utterly painlessly the realization of this work seems to have been achieved. Without effort, or any apparent concentration on the conquest of difficulties, the master-craftsmen washed the wall with a smooth and radiant perfection.

The *Mahābhārata* battle is on the western side. On the south, which is regarded as the region of death and destruction, is a panel seventy yards in length, in three sections, showing scenes from court life (a promenade of queens and princesses, a royal reception in the audience hall, and an army marching on parade) as well as views of the delights of paradise and the pains of purgatory (Plates
Pl. 552–554 *552–554*). Numerous small inscriptions are given; for instance: "Here we have the two upper roads, which are heavenly, and here the lower road, which leads to hell." Or again: "Here are those who take strong drink, those who try to cast spells furtively on the wives of others, and those who dare to court the wives of scholars." The sinners are shown pegged with nails, torn asunder by birds of prey, and thrown into a lake of slimy pus.

On the north side, with more scenes from the *Mahābhārata*, the vigorous and heroic mood again predominates. Ranks of gods and demons illustrate military valor in every circumstance; the wall teems with figures and the whole surface is alive. The eye, once caught, wanders endlessly, discovering new figures and features everywhere. The relief is an overwhelming, breathtaking display of imagi-
Pl. 545, 547 nation and skill (Plates *545* and *547*).

Finally, on the east, we return to the scene of the Churning of the Milky Ocean, which was introduced by the nāga balustrades of the spacious approaches to the palace. The demons and gods—for once, in harmony—churned the Ocean for a thousand years. Mount Mandara was their churning rod; the serpent Vāsuki, the rope to turn it. Viṣṇu, as a tortoise, supported on his back the base of the mountain, while the gods tugged at one end of the serpent and the demons at the other. The first thing to arise from the Milky Water was a black poisonous smoke, called Kalakuta ("Black Summit"), and the work had to stop until someone could be found who was strong enough to drink it. Śiva was approached, where he sat aloof in meditation, and he graciously took the tincture of death in a cup, swallowed it, and by his yoga-power held it in his throat. His throat turned blue;

hence he is now addressed as "Blue Neck," Nīlakaṇṭha. The churning, after that, could be resumed.

When the Milky Ocean began to turn to butter, there came out of it precious forms of concentrated power. Apsarases appeared; then Padmā-Lakṣmī, whom Viṣṇu immediately took for his consort; then a milk-white horse named Uccaiḥ-śravas, "Neighing Aloud," and the milk-white elephant Airāvata, whom Indra took for his mount;[73] next Kaustubha, the pearl of gems, which Viṣṇu wears on his breast—and other priceless objects, to the number of thirteen; until at last there came the physician of the gods, Ghanvantari ("Moving in a Curve"), bearing in his hand a white bowl, the moon, which contained Amṛta ("Deathless"), the drink of immortal life.

Instantly a great battle began between the gods and demons for possession of this invaluable drink. One of the latter, Rāhu, managed to steal a sip, but Viṣṇu beheaded him before the liquor passed his throat; his body decayed but his head remained immortal, and this head continues to pursue the moon to this day, trying to seize it. Whenever it succeeds, the cup passes through the mouth and out the neck, which is why we see eclipses of the moon.[74]

But Viṣṇu, concerned lest the gods should lose, transformed himself into a dancing damsel and, while the demons stood spellbound by the girl's beauty, seized the moon cup and passed it over to the gods. Transforming himself then into a mighty warrior, Viṣṇu joined the gods against the titans and drove them to the crags and dark canyons of the world below.

But the role of the other great god, Śiva, in this affair was even more amazing; for the whole adventure had been the consequence of a boon that he had bestowed on the demons when their high priest, by great austerities, had won his divine favor. Śiva bestowed on the priest a charm to revive the dead, which gave to the titans an advantage that the gods, in the next battle, were quick to perceive. The deities retired in confusion to consult together, and then addressed themselves, in a body, to Brahmā and Viṣṇu, who advised them to conclude a temporary truce with their enemies and induce them to help churn. The demons, fortunately, were flattered by the invitation, which they regarded as an admission of their superiority, and so the epochal adventure commenced. And we have seen how Śiva himself co-operated when the poisonous smoke, Black Summit, appeared.

Now what was achieved by this whimsical parceling out of charms and elixirs first to the demons and then to the gods? Certainly not an idyl of lasting harmony; for the perennial battle was immediately resumed—with no prospect of an

[73] For another legend of the origin of this elephant, cf. *supra*, p. 160.

[74] *Editor's note:* There is an image of Rāhu on the great Sun Temple of Koṇārak. See Plate 374. *Pl. 3*

end! The part played by Śiva was that of first upsetting the balance and then allowing it to be restored. But in the course of the upset and restoration, the contenders moved from the level of mortal to that of immortal beings, so that in the end they were able to fight each other more powerfully—and forever.

Such a heightening of struggle is a heightening of life itself, and a gift of the life-principle. For, as Heraclitus, in the spirit of the Aryan myth of the battle of the gods and titans, which the Greeks too inherited, has declared: "We must know that war is common to all, and strife is justice, and that all things come into being by strife." "Good and evil are one."[75]

This struggle, which is intrinsic to life, is the validation of the Buddha's first "Noble Truth," "All life is sorrowful." But on the other hand, in the transcendent realization, it is identical with nirvāṇa, since saṁsāra and nirvāṇa, time and eternity, Vajrasattva and his śakti, are one. Hence the lovely goddess Lotus, who is the essence of this mystery, being herself that living process which is known on the one hand as strife and on the other as eternal being, is indeed a worthy personage to appear, on a par with the Buddha, on the ornamental gates of the earliest extant stūpas. Without her there would be no revelation, since she is the field in which the revelation appears; and without the Buddha there would be nothing to reveal, since he is what appears. The two are the ultimate terms of that polarity which is the gate to wisdom, and equally the return gate through which the wise regard the world. And in essence the two are one. Thus, already on the gates of the early stūpas of Sāñcī and Bhārhut we have, in prelude, that uniting realization of the Mahāyāna that in Tibet is known as Yab-Yum.

[75] Heraclitus, fragments 80 and 58. (Tr. by F. M. Cornford, *Greek Religious Thought from Homer to the Age of Alexander*, London, 1923, p. 84.)

VII

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

1. The Early Buddhist Stūpas

THE MAURYA EMPEROR Aśoka (*c.* 274–237 B.C.) interpreted his imperial calling as a humanitarian mission. Through his royal patronage Buddhism was systematically encouraged, and in the train of the political unification of a great part of India under his empire, the sect that had originally been a kind of monastic reform was firmly organized as a great secular religion. The council of Pāṭaliputra (245 B.C.) marked the opening of far-flung missions to Ceylon, the Indian northwest, and foreign lands, as far as to Alexandria in Egypt. In Gandhāra and Kashmir the first apostle was a monk named Madhyāntika.

But the early Buddhist monks who were the missionaries and teachers ignored and even rejected art, together with every other embellishment of worldly life. The idea of expressing the Buddhist doctrine or the ideals of asceticism through symbolic images never occurred to those homeless begging pilgrims. Even as late as the fifth century A.D., in a Hīnayāna Buddhist compendium, the *Visuddhimagga* ("The Way to Final Purification") of Buddhaghoṣa the Great, painters, musicians, perfumers, cooks, and elixir-prescribing physicians are classed together as purveyors of sensuous luxuries whom people honor "on account of love and devotion to the sensations aroused by forms and other objects of sense." Early Buddhist art, therefore, in so far as it existed, was necessarily an art of laymen.

The particular and quite special phase of Buddhist imperial art represented in the royal columns of Aśoka was of non-Indian origin. It was a provincial reflex of a proud, heraldic style developed in Persia, at the court of the Achaemenian King of Kings. Seven such columns, surmounted by sculptured symbols, have been preserved: five with lion-capitals, one with a bull-capital, and one with an elephant-capital. Those with lions are at Sārnāth (Plate 4), where the Buddha first turned Pl. 4

the Wheel of the Law (its date: 242–236 B.C.), at Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh (234 B.C.), Basāṛh (*ante* 244, since it is clearly older than the next), Rāmpurvā (244 B.C.) and Sāñcī (a rather poor copy of the one at Sārnāth). The column with a bull-
Pl. B7b capital is at Rāmpurvā (Text Plate *B7b*) and the one with an elephant at Saṅkīsa. The last is mutilated, somewhat primitive in style yet later than the other inscribed pillars; older, however, than the elephant carved from a rock at Dhauli
Pl. B7c (Text Plate *B7c*), which is inscribed with a rock-edict of Aśoka and can be dated
Pl. B7a 257 B.C. In the lion-crowned column of Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh (Text Plate *B7a*) the body of the animal, seated on the bell-shaped capital, is tense and tight, in a dignified, though rather uncomfortable and acrobatic, posture. It is a heraldic emblem: a somewhat provincial or local copy of a more magnificent model far away. Below, on the shaft, is Aśoka's edict. The height of the monument is thirty-nine feet.

In contrast to this art of the court, such figures as the lovely dryads and the yakṣa kings and queens that abound in the sculptured decorations of the early stūpas at Sāñcī and Bhārhut are derived from the timeless folk beliefs of India. They are pre-Buddhistic. Hence their subservient appearance as the pious guardians of Buddhist shrines reflects a victory of the Doctrine over the earlier cults of the land.[1] But it represents, equally, a victory of the world; for the art that gave us the dryad of Sāñcī was far from the Buddhist ascetic attitude expressed in the words of Buddhaghoṣa: "Just as the body, when dead, is repulsive, so is it, likewise, when alive."[2] The monks of the Order had to tolerate the worldly, pagan attitude of the early lay community just as they had later to tolerate the sensuous elements assimilated from Viṣṇuism, Śivaism, and the Tantra; and they did so by regarding all of these secular contributions to their essentially ascetic tradition as forms of preliminary ignorance, which could serve as springboards to send the mind into purer realms of more abstract spiritual realization.

The simple form of the stūpa itself, however, with its undecorated railings, and the beautifully severe designs of the early caitya halls[3] reflect the intellectual atmosphere and austere enthusiasm of the early monastic effort and ideal. The simple dome was an adaptation of a pre-Buddhistic grave mound: a memorial containing bones and ashes.[4] Some of the Buddhist stūpas enclosed relics either of the Buddha or of the later Buddhist saints, abbots, and monks. The majority contain human remains and are actually tombs; others contain such objects as alms bowls and pilgrim-staffs; still others, merely manuscript copies of the holy writings. In the course of time, however, the emphasis shifted from the object

[1] Precisely as does the legend of the nāga king Mucalinda, *supra*, pp. 63–65.
[2] *Visuddhimagga* 6.
[3] Discussed *infra*, pp. 246–252.
[4] Cf. *supra*, pp. 5–6.

within to the stūpa itself and its form became the highest symbol of the Buddhist faith. It represented the essence of enlightenment, transcendental reality, nirvāṇa. Instead, therefore, of remaining simply a reliquary memorial filled with sacred bones, ash, or crumbled wood, the silently eloquent structure became a signal of man's goal and of the Buddha's attainment.

Buddhists recognize three kinds of objects worthy of veneration: (1) *Saririka*, physical remains; (2) *Paribhogika*, objects of use; and (3) *Uddesika*, significant symbols. In the first category are bones, nails, hair, footprints, etc. The veneration of the footprints of the Buddha is amply illustrated in the early reliefs—for example, at Bhārhut—and, as we have seen, the veneration of the hair-tuft of the Buddha in heaven is likewise illustrated in the art of that period (Plate *32*). The Bodhisattva, it will be remembered, departed from his palace, crossed *Pl. 32*
the border-river of his father's kingdom, and on its bank severed, with a single stroke of his sword, the tuft of his hair, saying, "If it is destined to me to become a Buddha, may my hair and head-cloth remain hanging in the air; if not, let them fall to the ground." [5] A god caught both, transported them to the heaven of the Trayastriṁśat gods, and there a caitya-cūḍāmaṇi was constructed. The reliquary looks precisely like the turbans of the kingly figures. There is an inscription that reads: "*Sudhamma deva-sabhā bhagavato cūḍā maha*" ("the head-ornament of the Buddha in the holy assembly of the devas"). And nearby is the dwelling of the gods called Vijayanto Pasāde, "The Palace of Victory." Objects of use are begging bowls, belts, bathing robes, drinking vessels, seats, etc., and it was in this context that the pre-Āryan tree cult found its place in the Buddhist system. Both Sāñcī and Bhārhut show numerous illustrations of the worship of Bo Trees (Plates *32* and *17*). Significant symbols are the stūpa, cakra, triratna, etc.[6] *Pl. 32, 17*

The interior of the Buddhist stūpa is a compact heap of earth, pebbles, or stones enclosed by a mantle of brick, the brick being faced with a covering of polished stone slabs coated with a layer of stucco. One or several terraces, quadrangular or circular, can form the base (*medhi*), and around this base there is left a space for clockwise circumambulation, fenced by a railing (*vedikā*) of either wood or stone. Such a railing consists of a support (*ālambana*), which forms its basis, pillars (*stambhas*) with sockets for horizonal interlinking beams (*sūcīs:* "needles"), and finally a coping or crown (*uṣṇīṣa:* "diadem, turban"). Staircases (*sopānas*) may lead up to terraces going around the central bulk, which is called the "egg" (*aṇḍa*) or the "womb" (*garbha*); for it contains the "seed" (*bīja*), namely the relic. It is crowned by a quadrangular housing or terrace (*harmikā*),

[5] Cf. *supra*, pp. 191–192.

[6] Cf. *supra*, pp. 27, 60–62, 70, and Plates *10*, *18*, and *556*. *Pl. 10, 18, 5*

above which there rise one or several parasols of imperial power (*chatra*) made of wood or stucco. An iron beam is frequently inserted in the center of the harmikā for the support of the main parasol, and on top of this parasol is a rain-vase (*varṣa-sthala*) for receiving dew or rain.[7]

The building of a stūpa is a meritorious act, for the monument propagates the Doctrine. Shining with the beneficent influence of the True Law, like a beacon it blazes the enlightening magic of the Buddhist faith to the four quarters. This idea of the stūpa as a beacon is sometimes rendered literal by niches for innumerable lamps. Moreover, the stūpa is an instrument (*yantra*) for the guidance of the soul of the pilgrim who comes to it and who, circumambulating clockwise in a reverent attitude, ascends to the terrace at the top. The gates and railings are richly carved with reliefs illustrating, as we have seen, the legends of the Buddha: both his former lives—the numerous incarnations of his long "march toward enlightenment" (*bodhicarya*), which the devotee is to imitate in his own career of spiritual progress—and the final, triumphal incarnation of supreme attainment. When the pilgrim attains to the crowning terrace he has anticipated in a figurative way his own enlightenment and the extinction of all the passions that fetter him to the round-of-rebirth. This pedagogical function of the stūpa is no less clearly indicated in the early monuments of Sāñcī and Bhārhut than in the late and remote, colossal development of the idea in colonial Java, at Borobuḍur.

The construction of a stūpa is achieved in a single effort; but the sanctuary grows, through the ages, by additions. The dome is re-covered and protected by new layers, both its surface and its gates and railings serving as storage and exhibition sites for the votive reliefs of pious donors who have made the pilgrimage and desire to contribute to the splendor of the shrine. As a consequence, various schools of craftsmen are always represented in the decorations, and the size of the structures themselves generally increases during the centuries. For instance, at the Nigālī Sāgar tank in the Bastī district, near Kapilavastu, the site of the Buddha's birthplace, there is an inscription of Aśoka,[8] stating that King Priyadarśin, in the fourteenth year of his reign, increased the stūpa of the Buddha Konākamana to twice its size and in the twentieth year of his reign visited it himself and worshiped. Furthermore, the immediate surroundings of the greater stūpas have become burial grounds, the graves being smaller stūpas (usually so-called votive stūpas) containing the ashes of monks and of great devotees. Originally stūpa burial was reserved for Cakravartins (world emperors) and

[7] The corresponding element on a Hindu temple is called the water-jar (*kalaśa*). Cf. *infra*, pp. 270–271.

[8] Eugen Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (new edition, Corpus inscriptionum indicarum, I; Oxford, 1925), pp. xxiii and 165.

Buddhas (spiritual world rulers), but in the course of time the rite became democratized—in a development comparable to that which led in Indonesia to the portrayal of abbots, princes, and princesses as Buddhas or as Hindu gods.

The most impressive examples remaining to us of the great early stūpas are at Sāñcī, on the old road from ancient Pāṭaliputra, capital of the Mauryas, by way of Ujjain, to the west coast at Bharukacha (Barotch or Broach). Sāñcī is about midway; and here stand three stūpas that were discovered in 1818. Soon demolished by the archaeologists of the period, who cut them like pies in a scientific quest for the relic caskets and then left them open to treasure hunters and the weather, in 1881–83 they were conserved, and in 1912–19 restored. The principal portion of the largest (Stūpa No. 1, the "Great Stūpa") goes back to the Maurya period and is of brick. A century later this was covered with stone and brought to its present size; at which time, also, the base-railing was constructed. The four monumental gates (*toraṇas*) are of a later date: one of the architraves on the southern gate is ascribed to a certain Ānanda, overseer of the artisans of King Śrī Śātakarṇi (*c.* 15–30 A.D.), which places it in the first half of the first century A.D. This southern gate (Plate *24*) was the earliest; then came the northern (Plate 7), eastern (Plate *14*), and western (Plate *21*). However, since the name Balamitra, denoting the patron, appears both on the latest and on the oldest, no great period of time can have elapsed between them.[9] For the most part, their style is the same, though for the lions and certain other subjects older and later patterns can be distinguished. The stūpa as a whole was a collective votive gift. Its various portions are inscribed with the dedications of their several donors. For example, on one column we read: "*korarasa nāgapiyasa achāvaḍe seṭhisa dānaṁ thabho*": "the column is a gift of the elder of the guild, Achāvaḍa Nāgapiya ['he is protected by the snakes'] of Kurara." One column of the southern gate was both the gift and the work of the ivory carvers of Vidiśā.[10] The monument is rich in every respect, even to the variety of styles. Besides archaic conventionalized animals there appear miniaturelike, sharp, and finely delineated figures, as well as broad, plastically rounded, naturally animated forms. The gates are completely covered with sculpture, even the intermediate spaces being filled.

Pl. 24

Pl. 7, 14, 21

Among the recurrent motifs in the rich ornamentation we find peacocks, elephants in the wilderness (close to the volutes of the beams), stūpas being worshiped, the Wheel of the Doctrine, and the "jar of fortune" (*bhadra-ghata*), from which grows the lotus of Śrī Lakṣmī; also vṛkṣadevatās, with their hair bound up,

[9] *Editor's note:* For this dating I am indebted to Dr. Walter Spink. Cf. *supra*, p. 224, note 70.

[10] Sir John H. Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñchī* (Calcutta and London, 1940), with texts ed. and tr. by N. G. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 341 and 342.

clinging to mango trees and wearing long, transparent garments, earrings, arm rings, and richly jeweled girdles. Iranian motifs are the winged lions on the beams
Pl. 7 of the northern gate (Plate 7) and squatting lions such as those of the lion-capitals
Pl. 24 of the southern gate (Plate 24), which, in clear contrast to the lifelike elephants, are stiff and heraldic.

Architecture and sculpture counterbalance each other in these gates, as they do generally in India, where they are practically one and the same craft. For both stem from carpentry. The tree trunk that was to serve as a post or beam was first hewn roughly from its log and then fashioned in detail by the same workman. The profuse decoration, moreover, was at least as much an expression of overflowing joy in earthly life as of an anxiety to ward off demonic forces through an evocation of auspicious divine manifestations. In general, everything mutilated, maimed, or distorted was to be avoided as unpropitious, but on the other hand, certain monstrous features constituted a special implement for the representation and evocation of the terrifying, disastrous forces of the negative, dark aspect of life: demons, diseases, ill-luck, misfortune of all kinds, and death.

The Indian idea is that only things covered with ornaments are beautiful. Poetry must overflow with rhetorical ornaments (*alaṅkāra*), metaphors, alliterations, and other musical effects. The verb *alam-kar*, "to adorn, to decorate," means literally "to make enough": for the simple appearance without ornament is "not enough"; it is poor, disgraceful, shocking, except in the case of an ascetic. The
Pl. 422 unornamented Kālī of Plate 422, for example, contrasts arrestingly with her usual images. Flowers and cheap metalware provide ornamentation for the poor; princes and the rich appear laden with jewelry. It is true that the purpose of such decoration was originally magical; the jewels and ornaments served as amulets for protection. To venture forth without such defenses would be extremely hazardous. However, in a wonderful way, the utterly joyous and the defensive aspects of ornamentation reinforce each other. Both are equally evident in the richness of the art of the stūpa, as they are in all Indian religious objects and acts. To present an offering without profuse decoration would be an insult to the divinity and would bring to the donor disaster.

Here, therefore, on the gates and railings, we find a thronging world of forms. Their joyous yet respectful animation is the counterpole to the unembellished quiet of the surface of the dome, illustrating the opposition of saṁsāra to nirvāṇa. And this contrast, moreover, is one that is maintained in Buddhist stūpas even as far as to the remote and late site of Borobuḍur. The counterpart in the Hindu temple is the contrast between the rich outward ornamentation and the simple inward aspect of the temple-cell.

The general effect of Indian decoration is that of an abundance of forms without planes, figures without definite background, and a frankly presentational depiction of personages, symbols, and scenes, without dramatic action. In contrast to the arts of Asia Minor and Egypt, which during the whole course of their development projected forms on ideal surfaces, the figures being looked upon as elements filling with their clarified outlines a two-dimensional background-area, at Sāñcī there are no profiles covering a surface. On the contrary, a three-dimensional whirling motion fills a depth. We search in vain for the penetrating strength of a direct outline; such forms have been avoided with a steady and determined consistency. For the contour is in no sense the main element of a phenomenon. What draws and holds our attention, rather, is a changing play, the fluctuating shade that flutters around the forms. And this creates a three-dimensional space full of atmosphere.[11]

Furthermore, the means of expression represented at Sāñcī are remarkably versatile. The artists reproduced with equal ease soft and tender foliage, the fine plumage of a bird, or the gleaming flesh of a human body; the most fleeting charms were readily elicited from the brittle stone. The art was one that strove to record faithfully the ever-changing movements of the visible world, not to present the abstract hieroglyphs of beings (gods, men, or animals) by conceptualizing their permanent, static characters. All the scenes were rendered without the figure of the Buddha; also without any figures of monks; only Buddhist laymen appear and nonbelievers undergoing conversion.

Buddhist monuments everywhere represent a marriage of the teaching of the Buddha with the folk religion of the local land. Since the realization of nirvāṇa annuls every boundary of form, the world-embracing doctrine coming from beyond the realms of religious phenomenology could readily make peace with any variety of folk religion, in contrast to orthodox Brāhmanism, which had first to penetrate toilsomely the two worlds of opposing religious symbology—its own and that of the autochthonous cult—and so could attain only gradually to a realization of their compatibility.

The Great Stūpa (Stūpa No. 1) at Sāñcī has the following measurements: the foundation terrace, serving for circumambulation, is fourteen feet high and five and a half across. The dome is thirty-five and a half feet high and one hundred and five feet in diameter. The total altitude of the stūpa with its superstructure is about eighty-two feet. The stone fence, almost circular but somewhat extended by the step structures, has an east-west diameter of one hundred and forty-three feet,

[11] The Marcus column, completed 193 A.D., shows a manner of perception similar to that met with at Sāñcī, which antedated the Roman work by about two centuries.

a north-south of three and a half more, and a height of about ten. Each entrance bends around a corner, which is masked by an interior angle in the fence. The distance between the gate columns is seven feet, and the height of the uprights about thirty-three.

Considering the gates in the order of their construction, we find on that of the
Pl. 24 south, which dates from the first half of the first century A.D. (Plate 24), on the outside of the upper architrave a standing figure of Lakṣmī with two elephants in a luxurious setting of bird-inhabited vegetation; on the middle architrave a panorama of Aśoka's visit to the stūpa at Rāmagrāma; and on the lowest, six dwarfs spouting lotus stalks among leaves, buds, and flowers.[12] The scenes on the western pillar represent, from top to bottom, the first turning of the wheel of the law in the Deer Park of Benares (symbolized by a splendid wheel of thirty-two spokes topped by a garlanded umbrella), and two corteges, one royal and in a chariot, the other divine and on an elephant; perhaps, respectively, of Aśoka, the king of men, visiting the Bo Tree, and of Indra, the king of gods, riding with his queen to the same holy site.

Pl. 23 The inside view of the same gate (Plate 23) shows, on the upper architrave, the six Buddhas anterior to Śākyamuni and Śākyamuni himself, symbolized by three stūpas and four trees. At either end of the beam (not visible) is a horse representing Kaṇṭhaka, the Bodhisattva's steed, attended by Chandaka, his charioteer. Divinities of the air, and a regal parasol and fly-wisp, hover above the mount, which means that the Bodhisattva is seated in the saddle. The scene suggested is that of the Great Departure (*mahā-niṣkramaṇa*), the first great crisis in the Buddha's career, just as the Bo Trees connote its climax in his illumination and the stūpas its consummation in the parinirvāṇa.

The middle architrave is an illustration of the Ṣaḍdanta-jātaka, that of the incarnation of the Buddha-in-the-making as an elephant-king with six tusks (*ṣaḍ-danta*).[13] The legend begins at the left: the elephant-king is bathing in his lotus pond. He is recognizable by his tusks, as well as by the parasol and fly-wisp held above him as insignia of his dignity. The next scene is at the extreme right: a hunter has hidden himself among rocks in the forest and is readying his bow. For according to the legend, the elephant-king—who was already of a semidivine, miraculous appearance, since he had six tusks—had two wives, one of whom was excessively jealous. She desired to be reborn as the queen of Benares so that she might avenge herself on her elephant husband, and when she died her wish was

[12] In the restoration of this gate the top and bottom architraves were installed back to front, hence the goddess and the dwarfs originally were
Pl. 21 inside while on the outside were the Buddha symbols and the battle scene described in the next paragraph.

[13] Compare the western gate, outside view, lower architrave; Plate 21.

fulfilled. As queen, she sent a hunter named Sonuttara to Ṣaḍdanta's pond to kill him; the arrow found its mark, and the expiring beast willingly made a gift of his six tusks to the assassin so that these should serve as evidence of the accomplished deed and protect the hunter from the wrath of the violent queen. When she, however, beheld the trophies her heart broke and she died.

The bottom architrave is devoted to a great battle scene and refers to a celebrated combat for the relics of the Buddha. From right and left seven claimant princes (the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, Ajātaśatru of Magadhā, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, and a Brāhman of Veṭhadīpa whose name is not recorded) can be seen coming against the city of Kuśinagara, where the Buddha has just passed away. All of these noble warriors had been devoted to the great teacher during his lifetime and were coming to demand their share of the relics of the savior. The city is closed and defended, however; for its princely family, the Mallas, also ardent champions of the Buddha, refused to part with any of the remains from the funeral pyre. But in the end, according to the legend, they consented, and so, at the rear, both to left and to right, the attackers can be seen turning to depart in peace. Their force includes the four elements of the classic Indian army: columns of footmen, chariots, cavalry, and elephants. The complicated welter of the attacking throng and the townsfolk on the ramparts have been skillfully worked into a highly artistic composition. Apparently a traditional pattern for the representation of the siege of a town was taken over and applied to the dramatic moment just before the truce, which was immediately followed by the departure. The scene condenses and contains, thus, the essence of the whole event.[14]

The northern gate has retained its sculptural ornamentation better than the rest (Plates *7–13*). The outside of the upper and middle architraves again represent, through stūpas and holy trees, the seven Buddhas. We see, also, seated lions, some with wings and rather conventionalized, elephant caryatids (groups of elephants with their drivers—quite perfect), and splendid dryads. The large middle panel of the bottom architrave shows the scenes from the Vessantara-jātaka discussed above,[15] while at the right end of the same beam is an illustration of the Alambusā-jātaka.[16] According to the latter, the Bodhisattva in one of his former existences was living as an ascetic in the wilderness when a doe fell in love with him. She swallowed some of his seed together with grass and water, and so a son was born to the ill-matched pair. Since he had a single horn in the middle of his forehead, he was named Isi-singa (Sanskrit *Ṛṣya-Ṣṛṅga*, "antelope horn").[17] *Pl. 7–13*

[14] Compare the western gate, inside view, middle architrave; Plate *30*. *Pl. 30*

[15] *Supra*, pp. 74–75. [16] *Jātaka* 523. [17] Compare *Rāmāyaṇa* 1. 91.

The years passed and he increased so greatly in virtue that the gods became afraid of his world-shaking power, and consequently Sakka (Indra), the King of the Gods, sent down the heavenly dancer Alambusā for his seduction. She succeeded easily and, following a period of bliss that lasted three years, disclosed her heavenly origin and returned to Sakka's celestial realm.

Pl. 8 The upper panel of the left jamb of this northern gate (Plate *8*) shows an adoration of the Buddha's miracle at Śrāvastī, when he caused a mango tree to grow, beneath which he then preached. On the second panel is the Jetavana cloister garden, where this happened,[18] and on the third the town of Śrāvastī itself. Panel four shows a king with his suite, leaving a town, while in panel five is the paradise of Indra. On the outside upper panel of the right jamb the Buddha is descending from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, where his mother has been reborn. He has visited that realm in order to teach her and the deities, and now, after three months, is descending. The gods have created a staircase of jewels and precious metals, of gold, silver, coral, rubies, emeralds, etc., and at the right of this a ladder of gold, at the left one of silver, for the brahmās and devas who are to attend him, led respectively by Brahmā and Indra.[19] And the ladders were as three rainbows to the eyes of men on earth (*aśokavadana*). The fifth-century Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien states that he saw in India three stone stairways set up in memory of this marvel, at whose summit was a vihāra containing an image of the Buddha between Brahmā and Indra. In Kurkihar (in Bihār) Cunningham likewise saw a Buddha between Brahmā and Indra, the two gods holding a parasol and a fly-wisp, as in the legend. In the middle of the Sāñcī panel the heavenly central ladder can be seen flanked by deities, and with the human members of the Order at its foot. The Buddha is symbolized by two trees, one above, one below, representing the miracle of his descent. The panel beneath this one shows the departure of some king from a town (perhaps the departure of Śuddhodana, the Buddha's father, from Kapilavastu), and panel three, the miracle of Kapilavastu, when the Buddha, before the eyes of his father, rose into the air.

Pl. 10, 11 In Plates *10* and *11* we see three charming panels from the interior face of this same jamb. The first, the topmost, refers to the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha by depicting the feast of the Mallas of Kuśinagara in honor of their share of the savior's relics. The remains have been deposited in a great stūpa richly adorned, and in the air above come kinnaras from the four directions, bearing garlands. On earth the people of the city circumambulate their sanctuary in a dance of holy joy, some holding their hands in postures of worship, one waving a standard,

[18] Cf. *infra*, pp. 334–335.

Pl. 32b [19] In the representation of this event on the Bhārhut stūpa all three ladders are shown. See Plate *32b* and *infra*, p. 336.

others playing instruments or bearing flowers. The orchestra in the foreground consists of drums, two curved horns with serpent-like mouths, and a double pipe.

Plate *11* shows, at the top, a pleasant little miracle that took place at Vaiśālī *Pl. 11a*
when a monkey spontaneously took the Buddha's begging bowl and, after filling it with the sweet sirup that is extracted from the palm tree, brought it back to him as an offering. The animal is represented twice, once presenting his gift to the invisible Buddha and again, raising his arms, rejoicing that it has been graciously accepted. The nobles of the city, as well as a little group of children, marvel at the scene.

The panel below seems to represent the Buddha's return to his native capital of Kapilavastu. His father, King Śuddhodana, covered by the royal umbrella, comes to greet him (the Buddha again being omitted from the picture), while kinnaras and a supernatural being riding a winged lion appear from above. Just below this panel (see Plate *8*) is a great figure bearing flowers and wearing *Pl. 8*
prodigious bracelets on his arms. He is probably a yakṣa, since the yakṣas and Kubera, their king, are the mythological guardians of the northern quarter.

Regarding now this same northern gate from the rear (Plate *12*), we find *Pl. 12*
on the upper architrave what is perhaps a charming reminiscence of the Ṣaḍdanta-jātaka:[20] elephants worshiping the Bo Tree; on the middle architrave the temptation of Māra, which has already been discussed;[21] and on the lower architrave, from right to left, the continuation of the Vessantara-jātaka, which also has been discussed above.[22] The whole is crowned by conventionalized winged lions of Mesopotamian descent, derived from the heraldry of mythology and not from zoology and everyday life—in contrast to the realistic elephants and their drivers. We see also the Wheel, the Triśula (denoting the Buddhist "three jewels": Buddha, dharma, saṅgha), and the bracket-dryads.

Proceeding now to the eastern gate (Plate *14*), we find two assemblages of *Pl. 14*
elephants as caryatids, not in strict relation, however, to one quarter. They suggest the dig-gajas, supporting the firmament. On the top architrave of this gate the seven Buddhas are represented by two holy trees of enlightenment, with pearl necklaces hanging from their branches,[23] and five great stūpas. On the middle architrave is the Great Departure,[24] and on the lowest, the Emperor Aśoka pays a visit to the Bo Tree at Bodhgayā. The second panel on the front face of the southern jamb (Plate *17*) is a magnificent representation of the Bo Tree itself, and just *Pl. 17*
above this, two ranges of worshiping gods are seen on either side of a blank strip,

[20] Cf. *supra*, pp. 238–239.

[21] Cf. *supra*, pp. 175–177 and 162, n. 12.

[22] Cf. *supra*, pp. 74–75.

[23] Compare the tree worship of Xerxes, when he adorned with gold a beautiful, gigantic plane tree at the city of Callatebus, near Sardis, on his march against Greece (Herodotus 7. 31).

[24] For the legend, cf. *supra*, pp. 7–8.

which denotes the "walking path" (*caṅkrama*) of the Buddha following the event of his illumination. An interesting panel immediately below that of the tree is an illustration of the walk of the Buddha on the flooded river Nairañjanā, for the purpose of converting two proud brāhmans of the Kāśyapa family. And on the lowest panel of this jamb King Bimbisara leaves the town of Rājagṛha for a visit to the Perfectly Enlightened One.

The inside face of the northern pillar exhibits, at the top, the gods Brahmā and Indra with their retinues, requesting the (invisible) Buddha to teach, and below that the Return of the Savior to his native city of Kapilavastu. An abridged view of the Conception of the Buddha appears in the upper left-hand corner of the latter panel, reminding us that the Return was actually a *second* entry, or second *birth*. The Enlightened One, that is to say, re-enters in perfection the city into which he descended, at the time of his conception, as a Bodhisattva. The six panels on the front of this pillar open a vision of the stories of the heavens: at the very top of the uppermost panel we are given a glimpse of the lowest of the *higher* heavens or Brahmālokas, and below that, in six regular stages, are the *lower* heavens or Devalokas, the realms of the gods. At the foot of these two jambs of the eastern gate stand a pair of guardians (*dvārapālas*), who, because of the point of the compass, must be gandharvas.

Pl. 19–21 Finally we turn to the western gate (Plates *19–21*). The outside view displays once more, on the upper architrave, the seven Buddhas symbolized by stūpas and trees; on the middle architrave, the first turning of the Wheel of the Law; and on the lowest, the Ṣaḍdanta-jātaka.[25] The first panel of the southern jamb is devoted to the Mahākapi-jātaka,[26] which tells how the Buddha-in-the-making, once a giant monkey, was the leader of a horde of his kind who dwelt in a great tree beside the Ganges. King Brahmadatta of Benares, annoyed by these apes and thinking to eradicate them, caused the tree to be transplanted. The Bodhisattva, however, seized with his hands a tree on the opposite bank and, by clinging with his feet to that in which his monkeys thronged, formed a bridge over which the entire company passed and so escaped destruction. But the Buddha, like Pārsvanātha,[27] had a hostile and jealous cousin who was born to harry him from life to life. His name was Devadatta. This time he had been born as a member of the herd, and when his turn came to cross, he jumped with such force on the monkey-prince that he broke his spine. King Brahmadatta, touched by the exhibited spirit of sacrifice, nursed the dying Bodhisattva, who,

Pl. 24 [25] Cf. southern gate, outside, middle architrave; Plate *24*.
Pl. 31b [26] *Jātaka* 407, not to be confused with 516. See also Plate *31b*.
[27] Cf. *supra*, p. 57.

as a reward, communicated to him a series of priceless admonitions. And so we see that even as an animal, the Buddha, practicing heroism and self-renunciation, helped his fellow beings to cross from the hither shore of sorrow and destruction to the farther shore of repose.[28] The scene on the second panel may represent the Buddha's teaching of his mother and the gods in the Tuṣita heaven. On the third is a scene of adoration, and on the fourth are three lions above the inscription (already noted) [29] of Balamitra.

The inside face of the northern jamb begins, at the top, with another Jātaka; that of the young anchorite Śyāma, a model of filial piety, whose parents had been blinded by the poison of a snake.[30] A selfish king, going out to hunt along the bank of the river beside which the youth and his saintly parents had their humble forest hut, saw the beautiful lad come to fetch water and, simply wishing to know whether he was a god, shot him with a poisoned arrow. On learning, however, of his victim's dutiful affection for his parents, the king repented and attended upon the parents himself. The boy then was miraculously cured and the parents recovered their sight. The panel shows, simultaneously, the various stages of the adventure: in the upper right-hand corner the hermitage and blind parents, and the fire and ladle of their sacrificial hearth; below, the youth coming down to the water with his pitcher and then bathing in the lotus pond, where the king's arrow strikes him; the king who draws, who has drawn, and who repents of having drawn his bow; and finally, in the upper left-hand corner, the four main characters of the piece reunited around the god Indra, who has come down from the sky to arrange for the happy denouement.

The second panel on the inside of the northern jamb is a representation of the episode of the nāga-king Mucalinda protecting the Buddha.[31] The figure in the foreground is the mighty serpent king himself. His two queens are seated at his right, and behind them are three attendants, holding a dish, a jar, and a fly-wisp. At the nāga's left are a dancer and five musicians from his court, while above are two kinnaras and two female figures riding on a griffin and a winged lion. Panel three has been destroyed, as has panel two on the outer face of this pillar. The top panel of the outer face, apparently, is a paradise of amorous bliss.

The rear view of the architraves of this great gate (Plate 20) shows on the *Pl. 20*
upper panel the Malla kings bringing the relics of the Buddha to Kuśinagara, and on the middle panel we have again the war of the relics.[32] The influence of the

[28] This Jātaka is represented also in the Bhārhut series. See Plate *31b*. *Pl. 31b*

[29] *Supra*, p. 235.

[30] *Jātaka* 540. The following description of the panel is from Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

[31] Cf. *supra*, pp. 63–65.

[32] Compare the southern gate, inside view, lowest architrave; Plate 23. *Pl. 23*

Hellenistic art of the Near East is here distinctly manifest: there is evident a totally different attitude toward time and space from that represented in the above-noticed descent of the Buddha from heaven, or in the Jātaka scenes of the almost contemporary stūpa of Bhārhut.[33] The siege of a town was a familiar motif in the Hellenistic monuments of Asia Minor, where it followed the patterns of earlier Mesopotamian works glorifying the exploits of the ancient kings. In the present composition, the city, at the left, has been rendered schematically, with its precious inhabitants and proud defenders. The attacking host has been excellently realized: elements of perspective have been employed as a matter of course, in a masterful, routine fashion, and the figures of men and beasts have been shown in consistent scale. A critical moment has been selected; for the besieging armies are about to hurl themselves upon the city and the townsfolk stand ready for the defense. On the lower panel is depicted the temptation of the Buddha. The temple of Bodhgayā appears in the center, marking the place where the event and the subsequent enlightenment came to pass.[34] At the right are the hosts of Māra. The worshiping gods approach at the left. The caryatids on this gate are pot-bellied demons, and conventionalized winged lions arranged with two opposite and a third looking between—a motif that in Ceylon was developed into a three-headed beast.

Pl. 26–30 Stūpa No. 2 at Sāñcī (Plates 26–30) is older and smaller than the outer form of Stūpa No. 1. It dates entirely from the last quarter of the second century B.C.; hence the five hundred and six medallions, half-medallions and panels of its balustrade antecede by over a century the more heavily sculptured ornamentation of its larger neighbor. Their graceful compositions, regarded by Sir John Marshall as "the earliest important examples of indigenous relief-work in stone," are singled out by him as representing "the starting point from which the whole progress of this indigenous art—as distinct from the foreign, official art of the Mauryas—can be traced down the centuries." [35] Conceived and rendered as a decorative layer—like the figures on the icing of a cake—they remind one of the *Pl. 40–43* art of Bhājā (Plates 40–43).[36]

Pl. 25 Stūpa No. 3 (Plate 25), which stands about fifty yards from Stūpa No. 1, was found to contain—when opened by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1851—two stone relic caskets, each with a name inscribed on its lid. One of these, marked *Sāriputasa*, held several beads and a small fragment of bone; the other, marked *Mahāmogalānasa*, two bits of bone. The two Buddhist saints represented by these

[33] *Infra*, pp. 325–336.

Pl. 99, B10b [34] The temple at Bodhgayā (Plate 99 and Text Plate B10b) was first erected by Aśoka (cf. *infra*, p. 352).

[35] Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

[36] Cf. *supra*, pp. 223–225.

names died a few years before the Buddha himself and were known as the Elders of the Right and Left Hand. Their relics must have been transferred from some earlier sanctuary, to be placed in this stūpa close to the shrine of their master, when the Śuṅga kings repaired and enlarged Stūpa No. 1 — the brick core of which seems to have been built in the period of Aśoka. In Stūpa No. 2 were placed, at the same time, the relics of ten of the chief Elders of Aśoka's period. And then, about a century later, Stūpas 1 and 3 were further beautified by the Āndhra kings responsible for the sculptured balustrades and great gates.

The single gate of Stūpa No. 3 was the last of the five to be constructed and dates, in all probability, from the first half of the first century A.D. One sees on the top architrave a decorative design of fertility demons and floral forms, on the second a throng of people worshiping a stūpa and two Bo Trees, and, below, a view of Indra's paradise.[27] The pillars display a stūpa (symbolizing the parinirvāna) and a great wheel (the first turning of the Wheel of the Law), and beneath these the inhabitants of the storied heavens. The other faces of these pillars contain additional Bo Trees, floral designs, and divine forms, largely following the patterns of Stūpa No. 1.

These three examples will suffice to typify the ancient stūpas of the world-conquering Buddha. Those erected earlier, and also later, to world-conquering emperors have left no remains. The grave-dome of the secular king, the Cakravartin — he the rim of whose "wheel" (*cakra*) is the universe[28] — was the very hub of the earth, and its gates, facing the four directions, were guarded by the four kingly gods (*devarājas*) of the four directions. For is not the hub of the earth Mount Sumeru, whose four sides are guarded by these four kings? And is not the rim of the Cakravartin's "wheel" the bounding mountain range of the universe? The ruler of the four continents (*dvīpas*), which go out from the hub like petals of the world lotus, can, properly, reside only in their middle; that is to say on Mount Sumeru itself. And his monument, if it is to express his spiritual and earthly greatness, should therefore symbolize this unique situation. Like the Chinese Emperor, who was known as the ruler of "the Empire of the Middle," the Indian Cakravartin could sit only in the middle. The stūpa of the Buddha is modeled on that of the Cakravartin. It is to be understood as a late, spiritualized inflection of this central world-ruler idea. So too is the Tibetan maṇḍala. Still another expression of the personalized central feeling is to be seen in the animals of the four world directions on some of the capitals of the emperor Aśoka's columns, alternating with

[27] In the restoration of this gate the top architrave was installed front to rear. The rear of all three architraves carried floral designs, and the front of the top two showed the worship of stūpas and Bo Trees.

[28] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York and London, 1951), pp. 127–139.

four wheels. The wheels represent the miraculous cakra of the Cakravartin as it rolls before him to all four points of the compass, opening the way of his conquest. And with the transfer of this symbology to the Buddhist order, this wheel became the emblem of the True Law, which is destined to rule, like the sun, the entire world.

2. *The Buddhist Vihāras, Caityas, and Later Stūpas*

THE history of Buddhist and Hindu architecture is defaced by many sad and dark chapters; for the monuments were leveled time and again by victorious invaders. India, like Europe, has suffered from almost incessant warfare and is covered with the ruins of princely towns and wondrous temples. In the north very little survives of the ancient edifices that were there prior to the Muslim conquest: only a few mutilated religious sites remain, and no palaces or secular structures. The latter must have been built of perishable materials, so that when broken they decayed and disappeared.

The most impressive religious remains from the period B.C., besides the great stūpas, are the Buddhist cave-monasteries (*vihāras*) and their chapels (*caityas*), in the Western Ghats, in the northern part of the coastal range that runs from Bombay southward to Cape Comorin, where it confronts Ceylon.[39] All of these monasteries are near Bombay and some date from the period B.C. They consist of
Pl. 39 assembly halls, terraces, chapels, and cells for the monks. Plate *39* shows the caitya-hall at Bhājā; the site of the reliefs already discussed showing Indra, the bringer of rain, and Sūrya, the sun-god, rising in his chariot and crushing the demons of the night. The main sanctuary contains at the end of its long nave a
Pl. 44b stūpa as the principal object of worship. In Plate *44* is the entrance of the caitya-hall at Mānmoda; comparable ones occur at Beḍsā, Nāsik, Kandāñe (near the very old vihāra at Bhājā), Kārlī and Kaṇherī (second century A.D.), and Nadsūr.[40] The chief feature of these façades is invariably an entrance in the form of a horse-

[39] A *vihāra* is a dwelling for monks and consists mostly of a series of cells to which access is gained by a veranda. The general plan is a quadrangular court around which the cells are disposed. In the case of the rock vihāras, which frequently have several stories, the cells are arranged in one suite. The term *caitya*, on the other hand, generally designates a shrine (among the Buddhists, preferably a stūpa, sacred tree, or column with the symbol of the wheel) that is worshiped by an act of circumambulation. The Buddhist rock-hewn caityas enclose a stūpa as the central object of worship.

[40] For the dating of these rock-cut sanctuaries, cf. *supra*, p. 224, Editor's note.



B1. *Implements of the Vedic sacrifice*



B2*a*. Mysore. *Nāgakals*





B2*b*/*c*. *Pārśvanātha*. West India. XVI *or* XVII *century* A.D. / Mathurā. II *century* A.D.



a. Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh. *Gold plaque*. III–I *century* B.C.



c. Mathurā. *Terra-cotta statuette*. III–I *century* B.C.

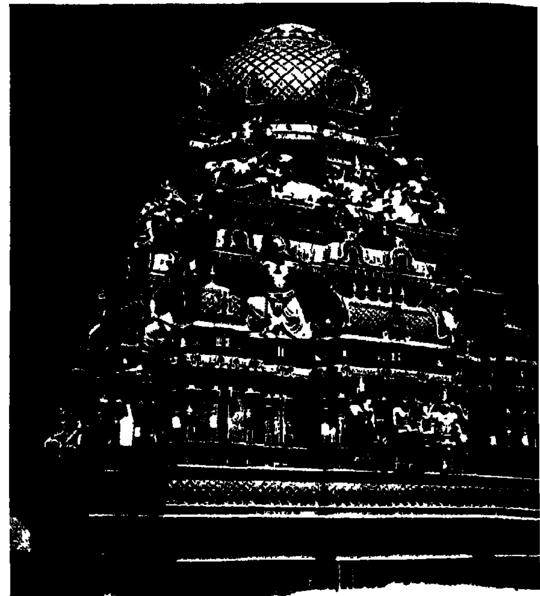


b. Basāṛh. *Terra-cotta plaque*. *c*. I *century* B.C.

B3. *Early Indian images of the Goddess*



B4a. *Durgā, Slayer of the Titan Buffalo. Ceramic piece.* XIX *century* A.D.



B4b *Shrine of a modern temple.* XX *century* A.D.



B4c. *The seven shrines of the Seven Mothers*



B5a. Besnagar. *Yakṣī. I century* B.C. *or* A.D.



B5b. Parkham. *Yakṣa. Probably early* I *century* A.D.



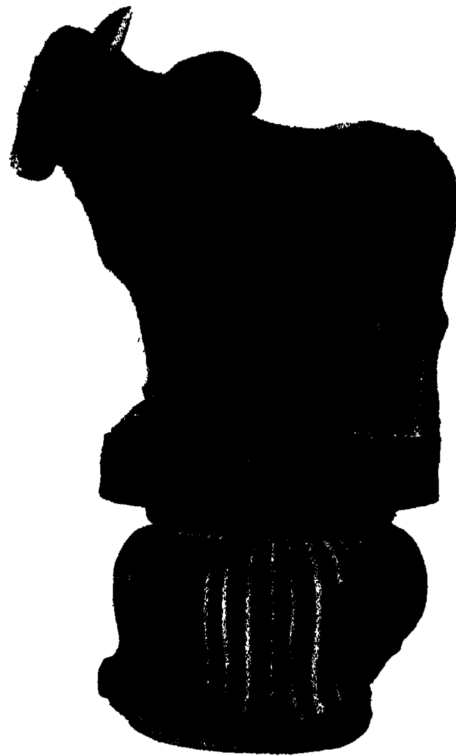
86*a*. Sārnāth. *The Buddha*. *c*. 147 A.D.



86*b*. Patna. *Yakṣa*. *c*. 50 A.D.



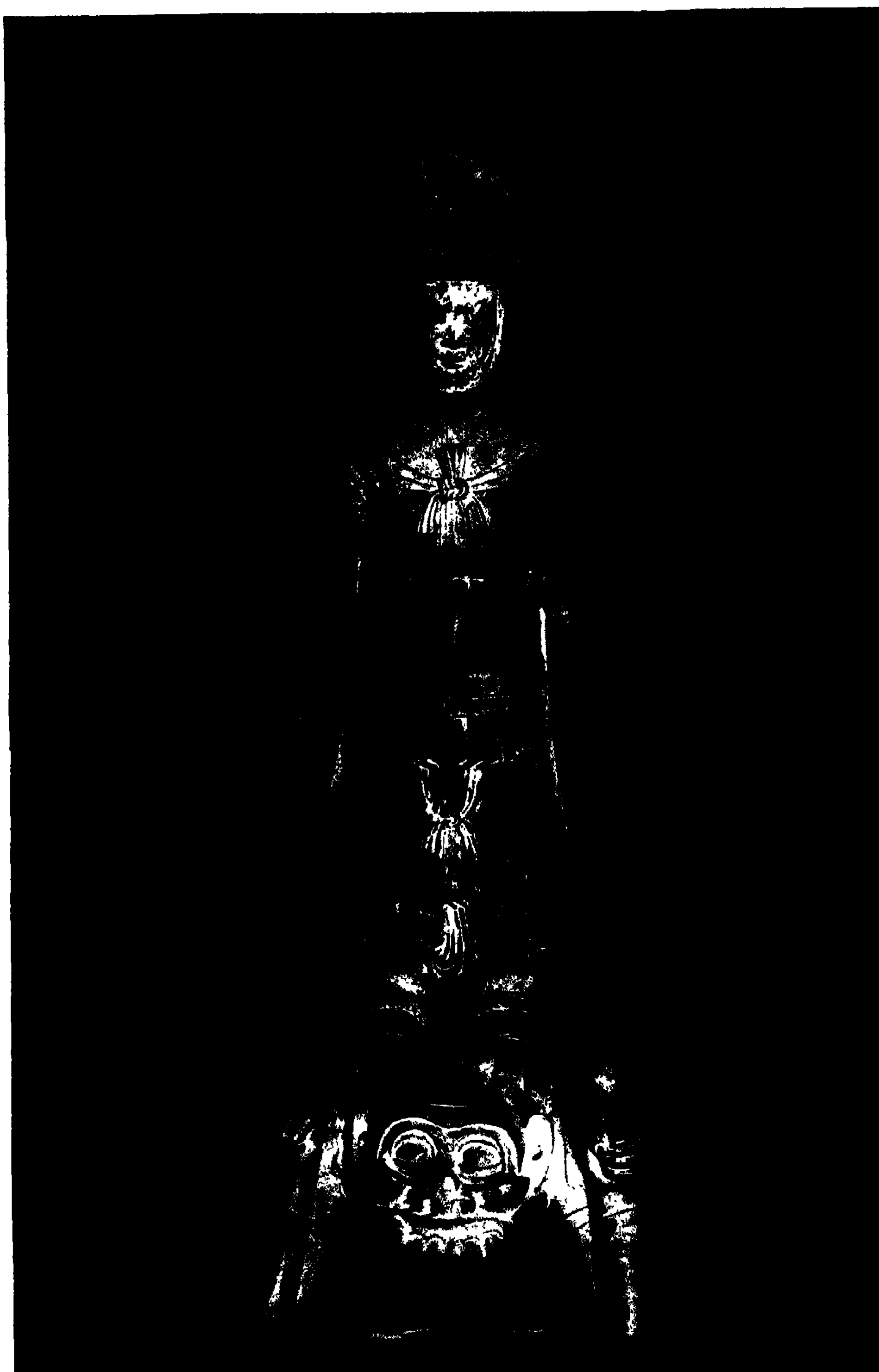
B7*a*. Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh. *Aśoka column*. *243* B.C.



B7*b*. Rāmpurvā *Bull capital of an Aśoka column*. *241* B.C.



B7*c*. Dhauli. *Monolithic elephant*. *c*. *257* B.C.



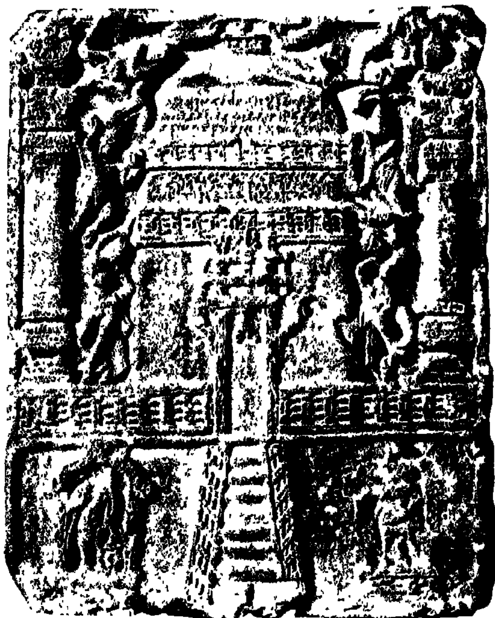
88. Nara, Japan. *Kōmoku-ten, Guardian of the West.* VII *century* A.D.



89. Nara, Japan. *Amida Buddha between Kwannon and Seishi.* VII century A.D.



B10*b*. Bodhgayā. *Votive plaque the great temple*. II *century* A.D.



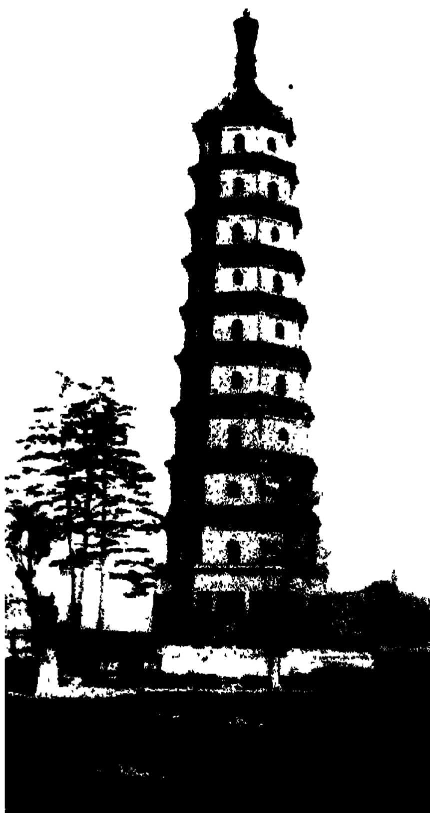
B10*a*. Mathurā *Votive plaque Jaina stūpa*. I *century* A.D.



B10*c*. Mathurā *Railing medallion: Bo Tree shrine*. I *century* B.C. *or* A.D.



B11*b*. Nara, Japan. *Pagoda of the Hōryūji Monastery.*
VII *century* A.D.



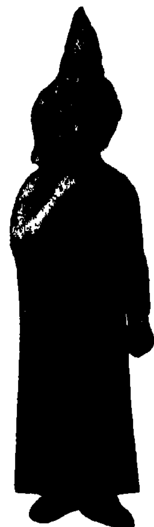
B11*a*. Jehol, China. *Pagoda of the Imperial Palace Garden.*
XVIII *century* A.D.



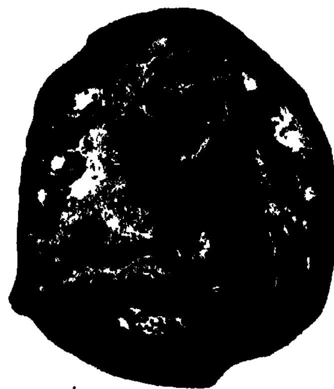

B12*a*. Java. *Gaṇeśa, front and rear views.* XIII *century* A.D.



B12*b*. Madura, India. *The palace court of Tirumala Nāyyak.* XVII *century* A.D.



a



b



c

B13. *The Greco-Roman art of Gandhāra.* I *century* B.C.–III *century* A.D.
a. "Taxila puer"
b. Dionysos with a wine cup
c. Yavanī or Pallas Athene
d. Corinthian capital with seated Buddha



d



B14a. *Standing Sophocles*



B14b. *Venus de' Medici*



B15. *A Daughter of Niobe*



B16. Parel. *Śiva Trinity and Host. c. 600* A.D.

shoe, commonly surmounted by a huge window of the same form, which lets into the rock-hewn recess some of the glaring sunlight from without—the only source of illumination for the long nave.

Plate 79 is the Kārlī entrance. The raw rock has here been covered with rib- *Pl. 79*
bons of carving, based on a motif imitating the horseshoe entrance and suggesting terraces, stone railings, and massive pillars. These relief-ribbons rising in tiers create the illusion of a many-storied building, a large monastery with numerous windows and with balconies running along its façades, as though affording access to many cells. Another device on such façades, conspicuous in all Indian temple architecture, Hindu as well as Buddhist, is the sculptured repetition in relief, many times, of miniature reproductions of the monument itself. The architecture of the structure thus supplies the main motif for its own lavish décor, the function or idea of the building being echoed, as it were, by a chorus of voices from every part of its richly decorated surface.

Text Plate *A3* shows a Toda hut, which was the ultimate, primitive source of *Pl. A3a*
the multifariously echoed motif of the caitya entrance. The Todas, who dwell in the fastnesses of the Blue Mountains (Nilgiri), near the hill-station of Ootacamund, are representatives of the aboriginal tribes that were in India even prior to the immigration of the Dravidians. Their features are strikingly different from the Dravidian type, which is prominent in the population of the South. They are tall, bony, and well built, and have longish faces and noses instead of round, fleshy features. Their religion is of an animistic character, their marriage customs are based on an ancient pre-Āryan polyandry, and they dwell in tunnel-like huts of wicker half buried in the ground. The ribs forming the walls and roof of a Toda hut meet from either side and so produce a series of arches. The other picture in the plate shows the Lomas Ṛṣi cave in the Barābar Hills near Gayā, and it is al- *Pl. A3b*
most as though a primitive village hut of the Todas had been pushed, like an empty shell, into the rock. The façade is an exact translation into stone of the wooden structure, and the interior likewise is a faithful copy. This cave is of the Ājīvika sect [41] and is one of the most ancient rock monuments in India. It is a work of the Maurya period, from the time of Aśoka, *c.* 257 B.C.

These vihāras are works not of structural architecture but of sculpture in solid rock and represent a sort of negative carving. Space (not a figure) has been molded by the removal of matter, and the result is a perfect symbol for the atmosphere and goal of ascetic purity. The interiors are of a simple churchlike character. Two rows of columns subdivide the main sanctuary into one main and two small aisles, the latter being at either side. The cool, half-dark vault receives

[41] Cf. *Philosophies of India*, pp. 262–268.

its dim light through the entrance, or often, in addition, through a large, vaulted, upper window. Pure space without matter, without weight or expressive gesture, invites the devotee to enter into its sphere and face the symbol of extinction, the stūpa, which denotes nirvāṇa, and is to be circumambulated. There is an austere, delicate grandeur about these shrines, an extreme and utterly convincing simplicity.

Pl. 45 Plate *45* shows two of the verandas of the monastery caves of Nāsik, with their pillars hewn from the living rock, yet conceived as copies of wooden columns inserted into large earthen vessels to protect the bases from the moisture of the soil and from termites, white ants, and the like. Similar pots, turned upside down, were used to protect the wooden columns also from above—just as farmers in America and the modern peasants of Europe put tin cans or boxes on the tops of their fence poles to protect them from the rotting caused by snow and rain. This ancient device of the early builders in wood was retained in India as a stylistic motif in stone, even though such capitals and bases had no longer any functional value. In fact, in the columns before us the pot-capital in stone has been surmounted by another capital, box- or casketlike, which, in turn, has been crowned by groups of crouching animals with riders on their backs.

It is amazing how traditional Indian architecture tends to be. It is as conservative as the Indian social and spiritual tradition. When it changes, grows, or evolves, it does so not by eliminating primitive elements, but by combining these with more recent inventions, superimposing the new, or blending it with the old.

During the classic period, in the sixth century A.D., at the Ajaṇṭā caves (Plate *Pl. 178* *178*), the façades lost the austere and ascetic character of the monuments of the period B.C. and became rich, mellow, and gracious, through the influence of the Gupta style. We find the same network of architectural designs, the same files of pillars supporting vaulted roofs, and the same bands of terraces ranged one above the other, but now they are more subtle and rich than in the archaic period.

In the caitya halls of Ajaṇṭā two new elements immediately strike the eye. In the first place, whereas in the sanctuaries of the centuries B.C. the Buddha was never represented, images of the savior now appear, both seated and in standing postures. The iconographic restrictions of the archaic period of Buddhist art were recognized and strictly followed in the decorations of the early caitya halls, just as in those of the early stūpas; now, however, the attitude of the Mahāyāna predominates, full-fledged, with images of both the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. The second innovation is a particular decorative device akin to one found in the Hindu temples of this period. Running along the vaulted roofs to form a dominant horizontal décor is a horseshoe-window motif in which human faces appear. Such

gandharva-mukhas, "showing the faces (*mukha*) of celestial inmates (*gandharva*)," have already been noted in connection with an early panel from Bhārhut.[42] At Ajaṇṭā the motif is a predominating ornament.

Gandharva-mukhas are very prominent in the Hindu art of this period; for example, in the sculptured temple-spires of the rock-hewn sanctuaries of Māmallapuram, which date from the early seventh century A.D. (Plates *266* etc.), and in the structural temple of Durgā at Aihoḷe (Plate *116*), dating from the sixth. The former is a Pallava monument and the latter a specimen of the early Cāḷukya art of the northern Deccan. In a Hindu temple the gandharva-mukha implies and conveys the idea of the sanctuary as the celestial abode of its divinity; and apparently in the Buddhist caves of Ajaṇṭā the same idea was intended (Plate *182*). The caitya halls, with their façades exhibiting not only Buddha figures, but also inmates of the Buddha's paradise, accord precisely with the concept of the sanctuary as a parcel on earth of the higher spheres into which the devotee hopes to ascend, on death, as a result of his pious conduct, devotion, and meritorious acts.

Pl. 266
Pl. 116
Pl. 182

These Buddhist paradises, descriptions of which play a prominent role in the popular Mahāyāna literature of Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha, Maitreya, and the other superhuman, supraterrestrial saviors, were late additions to the Buddhist tradition derived from a relentless Hinduization that affected every aspect of popular Buddhism in the early centuries of the present era. In the more ancient Hīnayāna texts no such spheres are recognized, and though we found the motif of the gandharva-mukha at Bhārhut in a relief representing the paradise of Brahmā,[43] it never appears anywhere in the early Buddhist monuments in a strictly *Buddhist* context. It is absent from the façades of the early cave-temples; at Nāsik and Bhājā, for example, where the window patterns that greet the approaching pilgrim are austerely void. And the same severe spirituality is voiced by the solemn, rigid interiors, which center the mind rather on extinction than on supernatural delight. The stone pillars of the central nave at Bhājā (Plate *39*), which were left standing when the hall was hollowed from its mother rock, are remarkable for their lack of décor, as are likewise the walls above them. And finally, the chaste surface of the stūpa itself, the symbol of nirvāṇa—the goal of freedom, beyond forms and names—carries the mind past the visible, tangible fetters of every conceivable form of existence. Such early monastic monuments of the Buddhist faith originated not in the devotional zeal of pious laymen (as did the railings and gates of the early stūpas, with their hosts of guardian divinities derived from the popular religion), but in the ascetic dedication of the monks

Pl. 39

[42] *Supra*, pp. 193–194.

[43] The relief just cited: Plate *32a*. *Pl. 32a*

themselves. And they are therefore the most perfect surviving evidence and expression of the austere attitude of early Buddhism, as it was cultivated in the strict monastic communities for which these sanctuaries were designed.

The assembly hall of the monastery at Nadsūr—a simple square room carved into the rock, with entrances to adjoining cells, a low terrace lining the walls, and *Pl. 44a* seats in niches—is of an inspiring simplicity (Plate 44). Here the cool and clear atmosphere of Hīnayāna asceticism reigns, full of inner effort, self-reliance, and high spirituality, neither asking for grace and assistance from any celestial sphere nor anticipating the bliss of some paradise. The same lofty and ascetic energy was visible in the Hīnayāna Buddha figures of early Ceylon.[44] In such early monasteries, with their atmosphere pervaded by the coolness of nirvāṇa, the only human element is in the portraits of the donors in their traditional attitudes of *Pl. 80–83* *Pl. 85* rapture before the stūpa. Plates 80–83 show the figures at either side of the entrances at Kārlī, and Plate 85, from the Kaṇherī caitya, two donor couples in the attitude of pūjā, tossing lotuses.[45] Such portrait-reliefs of donors never appear inside the sanctuary proper, within the caitya-nave. In most cases, they are in the courtyard before the caitya-cathedral.

Pl. 79 At Kārlī (Plate 79), which dates from the second century A.D.,[46] the décor has become somewhat lavish. As one immediately perceives, it has been flooded with Hindu elements. Huge elephants support the lateral façade—forerunners of the elephant-caryatids supporting the main temple of Kailāsanātha at Elūrā (Plate *Pl. 209* 209), where they represent the dig-gajas, the elephants supporting the firmament at the four quarters and four points between.[47] At Kārlī these elephants make their first appearance on the Buddhist scene; nevertheless, their gentle, gigantic and silent, matter-of-course attitude shows clearly that they are by no means newcomers to the tradition of the Indian craftsmen who wrought them. Deriving from an art long antedating these Buddhist sanctuaries, they are only conquering here a new province. Furthermore, it is clear that already at Kārlī, with its Buddhas on lotus calyxes, the Mahāyāna has arrived. The figure of Plate *Pl. 79* 79, with his tiara, bestowing peace with the "fear-not hand posture" (*abhayandada-mudrā*), standing on a lotus and with a lotus flower on a long stalk entwining his left arm, is Padmapāṇi-Avalokiteśvara.[48] He seems to be flanked by two female attendants, likewise standing on lotuses, while devotees on their knees, beneath, pay him worship. On the upper gallery, symbolizing the higher sphere of spiritual bliss that can be approached only through inward vision, the Dhyāni Buddhas are

[44] Cf. *supra*, pp. 170–173.

[45] Cf. *supra*, p. 72.

[46] *Editor's note:* I have lowered Dr. Zimmer's approximate dating by two centuries. See my note, *supra*, p. 224.

[47] *Supra*, p. 160.

[48] *Supra*, pp. 181–185.

enthroned, from whose realm Avalokiteśvara proceeds untiringly on his universal missionary task. The benevolent Bodhisattva descends to the earthly realm and to the purgatories, whereas the Buddhas of vision remain above, steeped in contemplation. The figures of the donors, meanwhile, at the sides of the entrances, have a quality of actual life. The lady of Plate *82* is in an attitude of passionate rapture and her princely consort is lifting a lotus flower, about to toss it at the sanctuary in an act of worship.

This Kārlī façade is a kind of bridge to the rich Mahāyāna monuments of Ajaṇṭā, which date from the fifth to seventh centuries A.D. Compare Plates *165* and *183*: the naves of Ajaṇṭā caves X and XXVI. In the first—which is from the period B.C.—the feeling of the Hīnayāna perseveres, even though the Bodhisattvas have begun to appear in the somewhat later frescoes. The tunnel roof is beautifully simple and the stūpa impressive, symbolizing perfectly the supreme state beyond name and form. In contrast, the pillars and walls of Cave XXVI are lavish with bas-reliefs, and the primitive austerity, the purely spiritual appeal, has completely vanished. A gentle abundance, a delicate, warm, and blossoming atmosphere, pervades this inviting sanctuary, which seems to have been formed for an eternal festival of bliss. It is one of the latest of the carved cathedrals of Ajaṇṭā, and within it the silent, forbidding grave-mound of yore, with the rigidly outlined drum and cupola, has become transparent, disclosing its kernel, full of grace: the beautiful figure of the Buddha himself, who shines forth from the sphere of supramundane, transcendental, true being. From that everlasting realm of the nirvāṇa-wisdom of the Far Shore, which in fact he never leaves, the Lokottara Buddha, while remaining in nirvāṇa, descends in a phenomenal, radiant reflection to the world of earthly sufferings and ignorance. The Buddha-form in this stūpa, seated not in the cross-legged yogī attitude but as though in a chair, is a rather unusual type.

Pl. 165, 183

When this graceful monument is compared with Kārlī, one realizes how great a transformation Buddhism underwent in its evolution from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna. During the process it became imbued ever more strongly with elements of symbolism and belief that were clearly Hindu. For at Kārlī, though the pillars were carved elaborately and surmounted by rich and vivid groups of animals and their riders, the essentially monumental, solemn character of early Buddhist art was preserved. One might say that austerity had turned into vigor, balancing richness, strength, and simplicity in noble and pure tones. Moreover, in the interior the monumental silence of the stūpa was strictly preserved, enclosing and screening, as it were, the mystery of extinction. The terrace on the summit of the bulb-shaped cupola was surmounted only by a simple wooden parasol, symbolizing the spiritual emperorship of the Buddha (Plate *78*).

Pl. 78

More impressive still in their simplicity and austerity were the stūpas in the
Pl. 39 still earlier cave monastery of Bhājā (Plate *39*). When the space was carved out around them the unornamented domes remained in the solid rock, and in the rock ceiling above one of them the symbol of the parasol was engraved.

These early stūpas, sheltered in the womb of the earth, supplied the archetypes for a tradition that assumed divergent architectural forms as Buddhism expanded over Indonesia, Central Asia, and the Far East. Their rigid, silent grandeur gradually became imbued, during the Mahāyāna period, with an extremely variegated symbolism, of which one of the modifications was the multiplication of the foundation terraces. The most gigantic specimens of this amplified type are the
Pl. 472 Mingalazedi stūpa at Pagān, in Burma, 1274 A.D. (Plate *472*), and Borobuḍur in
Pl. 476 Java, eighth century A.D. (Plate *476*). In the latter—which is unique both for its dimensions and for the rich symbolism of its superposed levels—the upper square terraces are flanked by stūpas and by niches resembling the cross sections of
Pl. 491 stūpas (Plate *491*), while the upper circular terraces are filled with rounds of
Pl. 492 stūpas (Plate *492*), the stone bulbs of which encase figures of the Dhyāni
Pl. 493 Buddhas of the visionary sphere (Plate *493*). The entire structure is a model of the spiritual cosmos and is crowned by a central, solid stūpa that in its towering supreme aloofness, high above the numerous terraces, which teem with sculptural panels and rich décor, once again recalls the eloquent sobriety and simplicity that distinguished the archetypes at Bhājā, one thousand years before.

Chinese and Japanese craftsmanship, in the Far East, dealt with the Indian pattern in a new way, transforming it into the beautiful form of the pagoda.
Pl. B11 In Text Plate *B11* is a view of the pagoda formerly in the imperial palace garden at Jehol, the summer capital of the Manchus, the last Chinese dynasty. Here the drum, with the bell above, was turned into nine octagonal stories, surmounted by a short spire. The other picture in the plate shows how, in the spirit of the characteristic wooden architecture of the Far East, with its great beams supporting roofs of glazed tile, this terrace series was converted into a sequence of projecting roofs. Thus the basic Indian form, which had been reduced to a smooth, uniform stone pillar in temples of the type represented by the stone-built Jehol pagoda, acquired in the wooden pagoda the silhouette of an immense pine or cedar.

Pl. 180 Plate *180*, the interior of Ajaṇṭā cave XIX, shows the cathedral-like nave of a Buddhist caitya at the culminating period of the rich and delicate classic Indian style. The base, drum, bell, and spire have lost their primitive independent and contrasting traits, and have been welded into a complex unit, the crowning detail being a series of mushroomlike parasols, rising above each other and repeating

the gentle slope of the bulb. The outlines are complex and broken, as though the geometrical pattern had turned into something alive, infused with sap and capable of growth. The monument gently heaves, bulging with inner vegetal and animal life. And it reveals to the eyes of the devotee its inner secret: the gentle form of a standing savior, radiating the serenity of absolute enlightenment. The capitals of the surrounding pillars bear, instead of the archaic groups of riders and their mounts (elephants, horses, bulls, etc.), the figures of Buddhas, as does likewise the uppermost rim of the wall. This whole temple, indeed, is alive with the essence and visible assurance of the Buddha's grace.

3. *The Buddhist Pillars of Victory*

THE indoor stūpas, which were the central objects of worship in the caitya-halls of the rock-hewn sanctuaries, sheltered in the interior of the earth, are among the few remains of Buddhist architecture to have outlived the storms of the ages. What the much more numerous outdoor stūpas can have looked like at their prime may best be judged from the representations on certain votive slabs that originally formed part of the ornamental stone coverings of the stūpas themselves. Among the most ancient of such reliefs surviving is the stone slab from Mathurā shown at the upper left of Text Plate *B10*. Apparently, the merit accruing to anyone who *Pl. B10a* dedicated such a relief-image of a stūpa was comparable to that acquired through dedicating an actual three-dimensional shrine—though probably in some lesser measure. The votive gifts constituted the outer mantle of the real stūpa, covering its drum, its railing, etc.

The inscription on this slab declares that it is a "votive gift plate (*āyāga-pata*) dedicated by Loṇāśobhikā, a courtesan." It is a work of the first century A.D. One can see that the stūpa proper was raised on a high platform, fenced by a railing interrupted by a gate at the middle of each of the four sides; like the gates familiar to us from Sāñcī, and as in the later stūpas of Ceylon and Burma, as well as at Borobuḍur in Java. Though of stone, they copied wooden gates exactly, with their slightly curved and elaborately carved beams. And again as at Sāñcī, these horizontal beams are flanked by tree-goddesses or dryads (*vṛkṣa-devatās*). Moreover, the four corners of the stūpa were marked by huge pillars, or flagpoles, bearing the symbol of the wheel of the law. Similar "poles"

(*stambhas*), on which streamers or flags are raised on festal occasions, surround Pl. 465b, 609 the stūpas of Tibet and Ceylon to this day (Plates *465b* and *609*). They are indispensable components not only of all Buddhist sanctuaries but also of Hindu temples. In connection with the latter, they generally stand within the temple courtyard beside a sculptured image of the animal-vehicle (*vāhana*) of the god to whom the temple is dedicated.

When the devotee has arrived at the stūpa he is supposed to mount the rather steep staircase and go in through the gate (*toraṇa*), to begin his devotional circumambulation of the holy monument along the square terrace. The terrace and the space between the "flagpoles" (*dhvaja-stambha*) or "pillars of victory" (*jaya-stambha*) can be seen filled, in this case, by a jubilant crowd. Celestial damsels (*apsarases*) celebrate with their dances the glory of the holy relic enshrined in the stūpa, while their male partners, the gandharvas, who have also descended from the heavenly mansions, decorate the sanctuary with garlands of celestial flowers. Tutelary deities, the guardians of the shrine, stand at the bottom of the stairway, to right and left. And there is a graceful contrast between the solemn massiveness of the monument, abiding in its silent grandeur, and the jubilant, busy divinities hovering all around. The attitudes of both the dancing and the flying genii are depicted in a masterly, free way, with a virtuosity standardized by a long tradition that renders their gestures easily, as a matter of course.

Another stone slab from Mathurā, but of a slightly earlier date, shows not a stūpa, but a sanctuary of kindred kind, and many of its details supply information Pl B10c concerning the décor and function of the early stūpas (Text Plate *B10*, below). What this relief represents is a holy tree, a tree of the same species as the Bo Tree, which has been raised to the rank of a sanctuary. It has been surrounded by a wooden structure that in its upper part broadens to a terrace, and this, with its fourfold foundation, supports a parasol of world dominion flanked by poles flying giant streamers. Similar poles, with enormous banners celebrating the spiritual victory of the world-conquering Buddha, stand around the whole sanctuary, while access to the tree—for the purpose of paying worship at its massive trunk—is gained through a gate of wood, of the same horseshoe type as appeared in the rock-cut façades of the Buddhist caityas in the Western Ghats. For just as the stūpa is a symbol of nirvāṇa, so is the Bo Tree, the tree of enlightenment, the tree of that Immovable Spot where the Buddha defeated Māra and achieved the Highest Goal.

The most detailed representations of an early stūpa, with its flagpoles, railings, and other decorations, are found on some of the votive slabs that once covered

the great sanctuary of Amarāvatī (second century A.D.). The dome of this stūpa, according to the relief shown in Plate 96, was crowned by a square, casketlike terrace supporting a forest of parasols. The lower portion of the dome and drum was covered with sculptured slabs, representing either scenes of the Buddha legend or devotees in postures of worship. Sixteen huge flagpoles lavishly decorated with leaping horses and many other ornaments, including enormous representations of the Wheel of the Law resting on recumbent animals, stood in groups of four, facing the four quarters through the four main entrance gates of the railing, while the railing itself was ornamented elaborately between its decorated posts. Each of the gates (in this case they were not toraṇas, with horizontal beams and *Pl. 96*

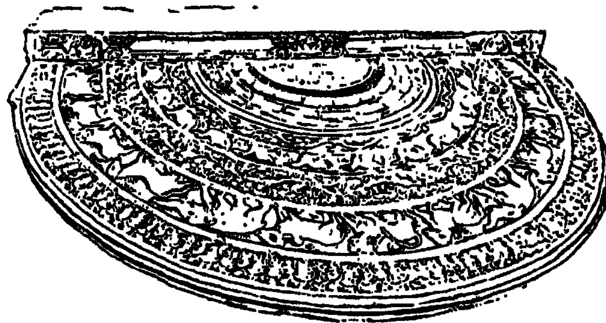


Fig. 8. "Moonstone" at Anurādhapura. c. v *century* A.D.

dryads) was guarded by four lions, and sections protruded from the circular main railing at either side of each entrance to give additional ways of access to the area; these too having guardian lions.

The central relief on the drum of the stūpa that caught the eye of the worshiper as he entered the gate was a representation of the adoration of the invisible Buddha on his throne beneath the holy wheel. Steps then led to a low terrace that formed the base of the drum of the stūpa, and these steps ended in a carved semicircular stone—a so-called moonstone—such as appears also on the dāgabas or stūpas of Ceylon.

Figure 8 is a Ceylonese replica of the semicircular lower steppingstone (the moonstone) that ended the stairway to the terrace of the Amarāvatī stūpa. Here, at Anurādhapura (in the fifth century A.D.), it was in the same position as in the earlier Indian monuments, where it formed an ornamental and symbolic ending for the staircase that the pilgrim ascended to perform his circumambulation. Furthermore, there is on it an ornamental rim of wild quadrupeds following each other in the same fixed order as in other Buddhist monuments: elephant, horse, lion, and humped bull. We find the same series, as early as the Maurya period, on the pillars of the emperor Aśoka (third century B.C.). The symbolism obviously

is of ancient standing and presumably represents the four quarters of the world.

Pl. 4 Plate 4 is the polished sandstone lion-capital of Aśoka's pillar at Sārnāth, which bears inscriptions dating from 243 to 236 B.C. and shows the royal symbol of the lion facing the four quarters. The beasts originally supported on their heads the wheel of universal kingship. The drum beneath them and above the bell-shaped capital (which represents a lotus flower turned downward) has an animal frieze with the symbolic wheel on the intervening faces, and whereas at the top there are only lions, around this frieze the other animals of the Ceylonese moonstone also appear, namely the bull, the elephant, and the horse. The lions are conventionalized heraldic beasts, like most of the lions of the Aśoka period, and of Bhārhut and Sāñcī as well. They are a sort of hieroglyph denoting "kingly power dominating the four quarters." Lions were not a familiar part of the daily experience of the Hindu artists; their representations therefore lack spontaneous vigor and individual life and cannot compare with the Hindu renditions of the more familiar beasts. They never move into the sphere of reality but remain in the category of conventionalized iconography. In contrast, the bull, horse, and elephant of this pillar really live. They are a link between the early animals on the Indus Valley seals and the later at Ajaṇṭā and Māmallapuram. The horse in India is known as the "swift-going" (*turaṅga, turaga*) beast, in contradistinction to the ox, which is the common draft animal of the townsfolk and peasants. The horse belongs to the chariot of feudal warfare, to the cavalry, and to the king when he goes hunting in his special hunting-chariot. On the other hand, the noiseless, smooth, and elastic gait of the elephant is regarded as a phenomenon of majestic beauty. And the zebu bull, the sacred animal of Śiva, is to this day one of the most familiar sights of the land.[49] The specific gaits and strides of the horse and the elephant have been depicted to perfection. The beasts of the four quarters give us the sense of this column as the mid-point of the world; for it symbolized the world rulership of Aśoka and, so, was the cosmic axis.

We have noted the extraordinary conservatism of Indian art. Throughout the land of the Bhāratas the neolithic period, as well as all phases of antiquity and the middle ages, coexist with the great temple structures that have evolved from

Pl. 448 it. The soaring gates of Madura (Plate 448), dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D., which symbolize the cosmic spheres clustering and rising around Mount Sumeru, towering into subtle celestial realms and finally fading into the pure ether, carry on their summits a precise reproduction of the pre-

[49] All animals have souls, like human beings, but the cow is regarded in India with particular reverence. "Cow" is a synonym for the all-supporting, all-nourishing mother earth (*bhū-devī*) as well as for the goddess of speech, Vāc-Sarasvatī, who is the particular tutelary deity of priests, poets, writers, and intellectuals. The cow was the most sacred animal of the cattle-breeding Āryans.

Dravidian Toda hut of thatch. And likewise, side by side with the monumental and highly decorative forms of the stūpa, the primitive model can be found. The snapshot at the bottom of Text Plate *B4* discloses what this model was: a little mound of battered clay, serving not as a grave or relic monument, but as a shrine, a simple focal point of devotion. To this day, mud mounds of this sort in South Indian villages serve as shrines of the seven mother goddesses. And we see also in this picture the archetypal form of the pole supporting the kingly parasol and of the flagpoles that surround the stūpas and figure in the temple courts. It is a primitive perch with a mere shred of cloth. *Pl. B4c*

4. The Sacred Sites of Hinduism

THE gods of later Hinduism, in contrast to those of the Vedic period, though roaming freely in the universe and manifesting themselves wherever they please (for example, in any mud mound properly regarded), have certain favorite abodes on earth, places where they like to stay, and these have acquired sanctity through the permanence of the divine presence. Such sites have been for centuries the goals of pilgrimage for devotees, since one can be certain to meet the gods there and experience their atmosphere. And because of the religious power of this atmosphere, the great resorts have absorbed and become identified with innumerable local divinities, demons, spirits of the waters, spirits of the trees, and spirits of the soil. Moreover, in a long process of spontaneous merging, these minor local presences have come to be regarded as manifestations, partial appearances or attendants, of the higher all-pervading gods.

Mount Kailāsa in the Himālayas is the favorite dwelling of Kubera, king of the yakṣas and lord of the metal and jewel treasures hidden within the mountains. But Śiva too enjoys this wonderful retreat, whither he retires from the turmoil of the densely populated plains to practice yoga, concentrating on his own pure essence, alone on the mountain. And the Goddess lives there also; for in one of her manifestations, as we already know,[60] she is the daughter of Himālaya, the king and father of the mountains, and is called Haimavatī, "the daughter of Himavat," the daughter of the mountain "possessing snow";[61] or again Pārvatī (from *parvata*, "mountain"), "the daughter of the mountain." But she is equally the

[60] Cf. *supra*, pp. 117–121. [61] *Himālaya*, "the abode (*ālaya*) of snow (*hima*)."

divinity of the Vindhya Mountains, which separate the North Indian plains from the Deccan and the South; hence the goddess "Dwelling in the Vindhyas," Vindhya-vāsinī, is another of her paramount forms. Śiva likewise dwells in numerous sites. For example, in gratitude for the cleansing power of the waters he has settled permanently at Benares, the town where the waters of the Ganges are most holy and beneficent,[52] and because of his eternal presence there, in his gold-roofed temple of the "Lord of the Universe" (*Viśveśvara*), Benares is the most sacred city of Hinduism. Meanwhile Prayāg (Allahabad), which is at the confluence of the Ganges with the Jumna, the second great river of the North Indian plain, is the permanent dwelling of Viṣṇu in his manifestation as Kṛṣṇa; for there Kṛṣṇa was born and spent his boyhood among the cowherds who grazed their flocks along the banks. And finally, Hardwar in the Himālayas, where the divine Ganges breaks through the mountain ranges to the plain, the so-called "Gate of the Ganges" (*gaṅgā-dvāra*), is a haunt of numerous divine beings, both great and small, as well as of beasts and men. From ancient times to the present day it has been a favorite resort both of the great yogīs and of simple pilgrim devotees.

In all such sanctuaries there has been a continuity of tradition and inspiration for millenniums. Kings have visited and endowed the sites and the poor have left votive gifts. And the influence of this vitality on the art and architecture of India has been immeasurable. It accounts, in large measure, for the curious existence, side by side, throughout the subcontinent, of the highly refined and the truly primitive; also for the conservatism of India's architecture in stone, which undoubtedly was largely inspired simply by a desire to enlarge, and to make more permanent, shrines that in their basic structure came down from the remotest Indian past.

Pl. 348–375 Plates *348–375* are views of what remains of the great thirteenth-century Sun Temple at Koṇārak. The whole building is alive with sculptured forms of a benign, beautifully humanized radiance, rendered with consummate competence and ease. Yet side by side with such sophistication there persists in India to the present hour the art of the primitive idol, the grotesque fetish full of
Pl. C16c terror. In Text Plate *C16c* is a diagram-picture of the Jagannāth ("Juggernaut") temple of Purī, in Oṛissā, which is on sale for pilgrim devotees. In the center of this diagram is the main shrine, with its primitive, doll-like, gaily colored figures of Jagannātha (a form of Kṛṣṇa), his brother Balarāma, and their sister Subhadrā.
Pl. C16e Plate *C16e* shows the same holy trio, on the lid of a wooden bọx. The feet and arms are mere stumps; indeed, the forms remind one of the masks of the Red

[52] Cf. *supra*, pp. 209–210.

Indians and of the Eskimos of Alaska. They are inspired by the terrifying, wrathful aspect of the divine forces, which never fades, and are in radical contrast to the glorious humanizations of the Gupta and Pallava styles, where the Indian gods in their gracious anthropomorphism easily match the comely Olympians of fifth-century Greece. Plate *450* shows a file of South Indian representations of a horse-shaped folk-divinity known as Ayanar, and Text Plate *B4b* a little shrine on the flat roof of a modern temple, also in the South, that was erected in the twentieth century in Tiruvannāmalai. In the latter—which is of a type that is not uncommon in contemporary India (the temple itself is shown in Plate *454*)—the force of the primitive idol and the weakness of a sentimental naturalism comparable to that represented in the modern Roman Catholic notion of a statue have combined to produce a phenomenon from which every trace of spiritual grandeur can be said to have departed.

Pl. 450
Pl. B4b
Pl. 454

"And so," to quote a line of Blake, "the Princes fade from earth, scarce seen by souls of men. . . ." [53]

5. An Architecture Based on Wood

ONE can readily understand why stone was never the obvious or usual material for Indian architecture, either in town or in country. Clay, wood, bark, and leaves predominate in the villages throughout the subcontinent and play a prominent role in buildings even in the greater cities. The spirit of the vegetable material out of which the straw-covered prototypes of India's stone, brick, or clay structures were made still is manifest, therefore, in the curved outlines of the temple roofs—and in the miniature duplicates of the main buildings budding from the summits, like new growths of the same life-substance, or like the pointed spear of a shaft of grass. The Pallava temple sculptured from a boulder at Māmallapuram shown in Plate *268* is an exact copy of the typical straw-covered hut and the curve of its roof will be recognized in the roofs of present-day villages all over India. It is simply a replica in rock of a timeless primitive idea. The usual Indian house is not cemented but tied together, and its master builder is a carpenter, not a mason. His heavenly prototype, Viśvakarman, the god learned in all works, who is the

Pl. 268

[53] *Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, edited by Geoffrey Keynes (New York, 1932), p. 231.

constructor of heaven itself and of all godly and human palaces, has for his sign the carpenter ax with which he hews out beams.

There is a classical text of later Hinduism, an encyclopedic treatise on Hindu lore known as the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, that throws an interesting light on the relationship of Hindu architecture to its materials. The passage in question has to do with the religious merit and heavenly rewards to be derived from the construction of sanctuaries. "Listen," we read, "to the merit that is acquired by the man who, in the name of any Deva or for the attainment of any desire, builds, consecrates, and gives away a temple made of timber and thatch and other materials, or renovates such a temple, decorated with flags and with images of the carriers (*vāhanas*) of the Deva. One who gives away a thatched temple shall live in the region of the Devas for one thousand periods of ten million years (1,000 *koṭis*). One who gives away a brick-built temple shall live a hundred times that period, and he who gives away a stone-built temple, ten thousand times the last-mentioned period." [64]

To the devotee investing part of his earthly possessions, as a donor dedicating a sanctuary, it is a question of whether he can afford the greater heavenly reward by erecting an edifice of stone. Apparently, the duration of the future residence in heaven is determined by the durability of the sanctuary. The most durable material, however, cannot be quarried everywhere; moreover, the transportation as well as the working of stone is very costly. Stone buildings last longer than those of wood or brick and yield the donor, correspondingly, greater benefits, yet obviously stone sanctuaries were not the usual thing. If one considers the millions of buildings that must have been constructed during the millenniums of India's long-enduring civilization, it is clear that stone, even for temples, can never have competed with the lighter, more perishable yet more readily replaced materials that abounded everywhere. Stone was never normal and never even became dominant enough to influence the basic Indian concept of an architectural style.

Pl. 290 The pillars in the Pāṇḍava temple at Māmallapuram (Plate 290) look like copies of simple wooden posts carpentered to support a veranda or the interior of a hut or stable; yet they are part of the living rock itself, left over when a relentless labor of hammering chisels carved this hidden sanctuary into the side of the hill. Not even in the classic period, in the seventh century A.D., the golden age of the Pallava style of sculpture, did Indian art evolve a really appropriate design for a column or pillar of stone; on the contrary, stone was *always* treated as though it were wood. The familiar form of the wooden beam or post, shaped from the trunk

[64] *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* 13. 23–26. (Tr. by Arthur Avalon [Sir John Woodroffe], in *The Great Liberation*, Madras, 2nd edn., 1927, pp. 381–382.)

of a tree simply by trimming a log into quadrangular or octangular form, dominated the mind and hand of the sculptor even when he was carving out pillars of stone supposed to look as though they were supporting solid roofs of rock.

The moment we realize this, and see that Indian architecture proceeds from the craftsmanship of the carpenter and that the patterns natural to wood were projected into the more durable and resistant material only on those comparatively rare occasions when some kingly donor could afford the tremendous cost, we shall understand and begin to appreciate the carvings of the columns, capitals, and façades. We have to remember that the rich, fanciful, and fantastic forms arose from and were everywhere visible in the more readily workable material and that they were only exceptionally transposed into stone. Wood was the substance from which these pillars evolved, with their animal designs, lavishly carved capitals, and delicate chiseling along the shafts; wood, the substance in which such forms were familiar. The translation into stone was made possible only by the votive gifts of kings, princes, and the very rich, or by co-operative communities raising money among their pious members. Nevertheless—and this inverts our whole experience of Indian art, giving, as it were, a picture in the negative—what has survived is not the wood but the unusual stone. For stone is all that has weathered the storms of the ages to give us an inkling of the architectural spectacle of early India.

Moreover, even today it is carpentry and wood carving that guide and dominate Indian stone architecture and its decorative elements. The pillars of the halls and verandas of the temple at Madura (Plate 449), dating from as late as the *Pl. 449* seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, still slavishly copy wooden pillars in their main outlines, their richly varied profiles, and their minute and painstakingly executed details.

In wood, the round irregular trunk of a tree is first shaped roughly into a long, squared beam. Then its void and meaningless surface is animated with intersections that create a sequence of cubiform blocks, with square sides, fit to frame sculptured reliefs. These are next separated from each other with polygonal drums, and in this way areas are prepared for an infinite variety of decoration (see Plate 400). Each pillar is to be treated individually and will afford space for count- *Pl. 400* less ornaments and pictures. The same carpenter who felled the tree and shaped the beam now embarks on this more delicate work of elaborate decoration. Furthermore, he will also be the one who erects the edifice. The two crafts, that is to say, sculpture and building, are branches, or rather stages, of a single masterful art. Hence a perfect coalescence of architecture and sculpture has been achieved in all these amazing stone monuments, not *in spite of* but actually *through* their

lavish decoration—which, in addition, is in the manner of wood, not of stone. Or, to restate the case the other way round: in India the evolution of an architecture definitely distinct from carving and sculpture never was achieved.

In the West, among modern architects, it has become the rule to build in accordance with the peculiar demands of the various materials: wood, brick, stone, concrete, steel, or glass. That is to say, a kind of aesthetic asceticism has come to prevail; a purism repudiating such innocent thoughtlessness (and virtuosity) as would ignore the characteristic limitations and qualities of materials. Furthermore, certain earlier periods and provinces in the history of Western architecture seem to have shared (and so are called upon to support) this puristic attitude, though possibly they were less conscious of the rigid principle, less aware theoretically of its rules, than we are today. Many great periods of architecture, on the other hand, ignored the modern rules completely, and in these, as in the architecture of India, building was guided by a very different teleology.

Stone in itself, when quarried, lacks stereometrical regularity: it is not, of itself, cubically delimited. Having been volcanically driven forth from within the earth as a molten magma, it is in origin a liquid that has become solid; or else (secondarily) a sediment of the waters that has settled and become condensed under great pressure. Stone, whether igneous or sedimentary, can be used in various and even contrary ways.

European architecture has attempted again and again to escape from the geometrical severity of the classical tradition—from the clear-cut tectonics that were exhibited at an early period in the pyramids and architecture of Egypt and later in the composed grandeur and solid proportions of the Romanesque of the early Middle Ages. The vegetal abundance of the late flamboyant Gothic, the vast halls of churches turned into forests of interlacing trees, the exuberant play of leaves and flowers in the traceries of windows, indicate sufficiently how the pendulum of taste can swing from the weight of stone to the bursting life of the vegetative principle. The Italian Renaissance, with its rediscovery and increasing appreciation of Greek and Roman art, swung back to classicism, in a vigorous reaction: Bramante and Palladio, with their cerebrated style, countermanded the vegetative exuberance of the late Gothic and the pendulum returned to the geometrical. But this was by no means the end: in fact, the classical principle triumphed only for a moment; for the Baroque of Italy, Austria, Bavaria, and the rest of Middle and Eastern Europe then burst into growth, to make the buildings of Europe throb. As though endowed with the life force of organisms, baroque palaces and churches, with their bulging domes and undulating ground plans, heave and expand. Likewise in the Rococo the vegetative principle gained and for a time held

the lead. Interiors became enchanted bowers, where the walls and ceilings merged in a blithe décor of delicate and abundant stucco scrolls. But the pendulum returned once again to the geometrical in the gentle sobriety of the eighteenth century and the new classicism of the Georgian and Empire styles. Cubical severity, the harmonious balance of bare surfaces, and clarity without flowering decoration again prevailed.

No such stylistic alternation inspired by contrary principles ever took place in India, where architecture remained, practically without exception, the province of the carpenter alone, the fashioner and carver of wood. The basic virtue of this organic tradition is the complete coalescence within it of building and sculpture. The décor is not an added ornament but emerges from the material of the structure. It is only a question of expense and loving care as to how far the façades, pillars, and interiors are to be sublimated into works that would seem to have come from the hands of master carvers of ivory. Vast temples often appear to have been worked rather with the hand-knife than with chopping-chisels, and the solid stone seems to have yielded like clay or butter. In consequence, stone never came into its own in India. Its grave, rigid, unyielding, and ponderous nature remained essentially undiscovered.

Primarily inspired by the living matter of the tree, but then augmented by the dynamics of the Hindu conception of the universe as an organism, the timeless art of wood carving came to a climax of exuberance in the late South Indian temples. A dramatic vivacity converted structural pillars into gorgeous cavalcades of glorious riders, amidst teeming crowds of minor figures—as, for example, in one of the most significant remains and achievements of this truly Indian style, the pillar-façade of the Viṣṇu temple at Śrīrāṅgam (Plate 447), which was erected *Pl. 447*
in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The rich orchestration proves that this cannot have been in its time an isolated, or extremist, document. It was the flowering in stone of a style that was already well known, and understood, in wood.

Some of the finest examples of the Hindu conception of architecture as an art not of building but of carving appear in the monuments of the Hoyśala dynasty of Mysore. The Keśava temple at Somnāthpur (Plate 427) was erected by *Pl. 427*
Somanātha, an officer of the Hoyśala king Narasiṁha III, in 1268 (the date is given in an inscription in the entrance hall). The main structure stands in a court two hundred and fifteen feet long by one hundred and seventy-six wide, which is enclosed by a columned circumambulatory in whose walls are sixty-four niches containing statues. The base of the temple is three feet high and the whole building (base included) thirty. Its stone is a kind of steatite that when quarried is very soft but when exposed to the sun and air quickly hardens, to become a shining,

brilliant black outside, like polished marble, while the interior of the stone remains a dull gray-brown.

Architecture is completely under the spell of carving in this charming votive gift, presented—as if on a tray—to Viṣṇu as the "god with the curly locks" (*keśava*). The softness of the stone made possible a technique closely akin to ivory carving, and the devotional enthusiasm of the donor was expressed in the unending labor and unbelievable finish of each detail. The base of the structure is encircled with friezes: around the entrance and entrance hall are an elephant procession, a rider procession, wave-tendrils, and scenes from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the Purāṇas. The terrace, broad and star-shaped, with its wall bending in and out, repeats the ground plan, its light and shade profiles having been designed, like the horizontal ribbon decorations, for the merciless, direct sun. The walls admit a subdued light through open geometrical patterns. Viṣṇu images appear between miniature columns and towers, at the sides of which heraldic lions (*śārdūla*) stand forth.[55] Love scenes and gods decorate the narrow ornamental bands, while above are makaras (dolphin-elephants) and haṁsas (wild ganders). Columns richly articulated serve as wall-spacing and corner resolutions. The work is a masterpiece of delicacy and intimate charm, reminding one of an achievement rather of lacemaking than of building. Moreover, the perfection and intimacy bear little relationship to the actual dimensions, which are considerable. In its proportions and forms the temple might be a decorative object in a parlor, under glass.

Another in the same style was begun by the Hoysala king Vīranarasiṁhadeva in 1235, at his residence ten miles eastward of Belūr in Halebīd (Plates 428–433). The construction was interrupted in 1310 by a Muslim invasion from the north, which overthrew the dynasty, and so the crowning tower and roof-story are lacking, while parts of the ornamental friezes on the upper walls remain unfinished. This temple is dedicated to Śiva. It is oriented eastward and its central part contains figures of Śiva and Viṣṇu, attended by heavenly damsels. The sanctuary stands on a high base. Its outer wall, with protruding façades and receding angles, is covered with ribbons of animals and celestial beings: a frieze with gods and apsarases on top; scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the middle, and animal friezes below. The sculptural genius has imparted an extreme plasticity to the ground plan and the surface, creating an ideal field for the interplay of light and shade. Indeed, the stone was folded and carved as easily as ivory or cardboard: the spirit of the ornamentation having gained complete supremacy over structural design.

Pl. 428–433

[55] Most of the one hundred and ninety-four statues of the sanctuary bear their artists' signatures, forty being signed by Malitamma.

One cannot but feel that the Puritanism of any criticism based on doing justice to the material is here thrown into a position *ad absurdum*. The entire building was transformed into a giant's jewel casket, and the handling of the stone offered no problem. Anyone considering material at all would be moved to ask only "What kind of stone?"

6. The Great Jaina Temples

THE chief characteristic of late Indian building may thus be said to be a complete victory of the decorative element, as conceived by sculptors in wood and ivory, over the structural expressivity of architecture. The most remarkable examples of this ornate style are not Hindu, however, but Jaina, in Gujarāt, and especially at the great Jaina center of pilgrimage, Mount Ābū, in Rājputāna. The principal temples on this holy site were built during the two centuries 1032 to 1232 A.D.

Mount Ābū (Sanskrit *arbuda*, "swelling tumor") is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, where it is said that in the Golden Age, when the gods used to visit the earth and mingle freely with mortals, the place where this mountain stands was beloved by Śiva and a favorite resort of the thirty-three crores of Hindu gods. It was at that time a level plain, but with a great fissure of unfathomable depth into which there fell, one day, the miraculous divine cow Kāma-duh ("whose milking yields whatever you wish"). The owner of the cow, a holy sage named Vasiṣṭha ("master of every desirable object"), called in his distress upon the river goddess Sarasvatī, who responded, and the cow was brought to the surface again by a miraculous rising of the subterranean waters. Fearing a repetition of the accident, the sage then approached Śiva, who was in the Himālayas, on Mount Kailāsa, at the time, and begged him for relief in some permanent form. The god advised the sage to speak to King Himālaya, and when he did so, the mountain-king summoned his sons (all of whom were huge mountains), asking for a volunteer to fill up the hole. The youngest, Nandivardhana ("increasing happiness"), stepped forward; but since he was lame, he desired to be carried to the distant plain on the back of a friend who was named Arbuda and was a large snake. Vasiṣṭha, the sage, consequently, had to beseech Arbuda's co-operation; and he

promised the serpent that when the hill had filled the abyss it should be named Arbuda, not Nandivardhana. The lame Nandivardhana and the happy snake then left the Himālayas and plunged into the abyss, which proved to be so deep that only Nandivardhana's nose remained visible and the serpent's writhings made the mountain continually quake. Once more Vasiṣṭha had to invoke Śiva; and the god, from his throne in distant Benares, simply thrust his foot through the earth until his toe appeared on the summit of the mountain: the hill came to a standstill immediately and no longer rocked.[56]

It is an ancient tale, full of imagination, probably an old local tradition reflecting geological changes in the surface of the plain near Mount Ābū during one of the earthquakes that are not infrequent in that part of India. It suggests the volcanic rise of a mountain out of a crater fissure. Fifty sacred lakes are on Mount Ābū. One, the so-called Nail Lake, is supposed to have been excavated by the fingernails of semidivine sages at the beginning of history. Judging from these Hindu legends, the mountain must have been at one time a sacred Hindu site.

The chief period of Jaina temple building began within seven years of the Mohammedan sack of Somnāth by Mahmud of Ghazni (1024 A.D.) and ended within a few years of the invasion of Gujarāt by Ala-ud-din Khilji (1297 A.D.). The aspirations and the dynamic consciousness of a great era of Indian national life thus were crystallized in this richly flowering architecture. It was a brief but glorious day, burning with the fine frenzy of the religious zeal that flared in reply to the iconoclastic ruthlessness of the Muslim invaders. For the temple of Somnāth, the fabulous magnificance of which has never since been surpassed, had been outrageously desecrated and destroyed by Mahmud. His act of barbarism intensified among the native Indians an activity that had already begun even prior to the invasion: and during the few years that remained before the fall of Northern India buildings rose multitudinously in living protest. Moreover, by this time patronage had passed into the hands of merchants and humbler subjects, so that the temples of Mount Ābū can be regarded as examples of an architecture of the people, as distinguished from the architectures of kings.

The most important of the temples on Mount Ābū cluster near the village of
Pl. 390, 391 Dilwāṛa (*deval-vāra*, "province of temples"). Plates *390* and *391* are views of the interior of one dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha, built by the banker Vimala Shā of Gujarāt, and consecrated 1031 by the Śvetāmbara teacher Vardhamāna Sūri. The donor purchased the ground from the Paramāra king Dhara by completely covering it with pieces of silver. Within is a large bronze image of the first Jaina savior,

[56] From Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Heilige Stätten Indiens* (Munich, 1928), p. 49.

with eyes of precious stone and a necklace of gems. The costliness of the materials and the rich ornamentation of jewels are typical of the monuments of this wealthy banker sect.

The plan of the sanctuary is that of a rectangular open court surrounded by a garland of chapels, in the middle of which is a freestanding temple. On each of the long sides of the central temple are nineteen chapels; on each of the short sides, ten; and before all of them, surrounding the entire court, there runs a double-ranged column hall with two hundred and thirty-two columns, every four columns constituting a portico to a chapel. Within each of these chapels, at the back, is a sitting image of Ṛṣabhanātha, smaller than the chief cult image. And everything is of white marble completely sculptured. The forehall of the main temple is four column-ranges deep and its mid-point is a circular cupola on twenty-four columns. Architraves reach from column to column, and arches, like garlands, flow from shaft to shaft.

Opposite this temple is one dedicated to the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha (also known as Ariṣṭanemi), which was built in 1232 by the brothers Tejahpāla and Vastupāla, ministers of the Vaghela prince of Dholka, King Vīradhavala (Plates *392* and *393*). Its ground plan is comparable to that of the monument just described. A legend offers an explanation of the obvious investment of an extraordinary treasure in its construction. The two brothers, it is told, had accumulated in the course of their lives such unusual wealth that they did not know where to hide it, and while discussing the problem one day forgot to go to eat. Tejahpāla's wife, Anupamā, sent a servant to remind them, then came herself, and thus learned of their anxiety. She advised placing their treasure on the summits of mountains in such a way that it should always be visible and, so, safe from thieves. When asked what she meant, she replied that her husband and his brother should build temples on the mountains Ābū, Śatruñjaya, and Girnar. *Pl. 392, 393*

The two sanctuaries just discussed are made of a white marble that was quarried on the plain below, and dragged four thousand feet up to the summit. Both contain cupola-shrines with columned halls, in which decorative work and miniature have been brought to a supreme technical finish. The marble was worked to a shell-fine, translucent thinness, not by chiseling, which could never have fashioned such delicate forms, but by rubbing; the workers having been paid, it is said, according to the quantity of marble dust that they produced. A complete transformation of architecture into ornament was achieved: an all-enwebbing filigree of delicate, sweetly enveloping movement. Neither temple, however, is original in invention. On the contrary, both represent the culmination of a tradition that

was no longer hampered in the least by the resistance of the material it had mastered; the craft, in fact, was on the brink of smothering, exhausting itself, and degenerating, in a self-reproductive routine.

The exterior of the Ṛṣabhanātha temple is still graceful and lively. Its interior, however, is already beginning to drown in its own sweet sap. The ornamentation has ceased to be a playful self-dissolution of the material, spreading itself out over its own surfaces like a thrilling shudder toward a more agitated life. Rather, it has become a fabric of preciosities laid upon the body of the material, and under it all flow has solidified. The total effect is of a building that has decomposed its substance into décor, and there lies over it a sweet macabre shimmer.

The intrinsic frailty and lack of true monumentality inherent in this picturesque, delicate Jaina style are the price it paid for the breath-taking beauty of its ceilings, pillars, doorways, niches, and panels. As Cousens remarks in his *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, "The crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty." [57] Each chapel, each statue, each column, is part of an extensive lacework in which every detail represents the skilled realization of a fixed formula. And the end is a frozen, lifeless beauty, produced in infinite bounty.

The same, almost incredible, late style is again evident in the Jaina "pillar of
Pl. 394b fame" (*kīrtti-stambha*) at Chitor, in Mewar, Northern India (Plate *394b*). Its shaft has been transformed into a slender, frail but rich, many-storied building, enshrining in its niches statues of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, and with a pavilion at
Pl. 394a the top, which is open to all four sides. The pillar shown in Plate *394a*—which is in the same city, and some eighty feet high—was built 1442 to 1449 A.D., in commemoration of a local victory. The profile is one of graceful exuberance, suggesting utter safety: thus the idea of victory has been expressed in a very gentle and winning way. The monument is a masterpiece much more of carving than of structural building, in spite of the many stories and the spacious summit to which one can mount for a view of the realm. The form, moreover, is in no way determined by or related to the dimensions. What the graceful tower most closely resembles is a lovely, richly carved ivory or wooden staff.

[57] Henry Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India* (London, 1926), p. 46, cited by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), p. 111.

7. The Hindu Temple, Northern Style

IN INDIAN TEMPLES, whether structural, as in the Hoysala and Jaina monuments just discussed, or sculptured, as at Māmallapuram, two traits are notable. First, their forms have no relationship to their measurable dimensions, which simply hover about their shapes as a purely factual circumstance. They reveal, on the whole, simple (or, when built in stories, multiple) adaptations to the stature of man; yet their size, properly, is indeterminate, since, in their entireties, they are visions that have become manifest on the human plane from a superior sphere: they are precipitations from the godly world of the divine chariot (*vimāna*, *ratha*), which in these stone forms has found an earthly reproduction. They might equally well be works in miniature: wood or ivory carvings fashioned in a single piece. Secondly, Indian temples have no relationship to their landscape. They are never adapted to it through a style-feeling that transforms into architecture the natural qualities of their site, as are, for example, the castles of the European Baroque. Transitionless, fragmentlike, they rise, interrupting the earth world. Or they break into it, as at Elūrā. The divine superworld, through its symbol, and the earth world, the local landscape, stand, without transition, side by side. The temple compound, geometric and rectangular, never mingles in marriage with the outer terrain, but rests in itself, cut off, alien, like an army camp in an enemy country—the Roman quadrata—as at Aṅkor Wāt. No bridge leads from the day world to this castrum of the gods, only a leap; as from the sense world of the eye to the inner contemplation of the realms of vision.

The principal elements in the construction of an Indian temple are (1) the nucleus, womb, or "germ cell" (*garbha-gṛha*), which is the holy of holies or chief sanctuary, where the image or object of worship is located; (2) an intermediate space (*antarāla*); (3) a hall for the worshiper (*maṇḍapa*); (4) the circumambulatory (*pradakṣiṇā*) surrounding these; and (5) enclosing all, the bounding wall (*prākāra*). Decoration (*alaṅkāra*) is obligatory, the model for what is lovely being the ornamentation of the human body with jewelry, as, for example, in the Bengalese image of the goddess Gaṅgā (Plate 385) and the tenth-century nude Pl. 385
from Nokhas (Plate 323). A temple is to be fashioned as a richly decorated living Pl. 323
form. Pure stereometry, therefore, receives no emphasis; in fact, it is regarded as of little worth, since sheer material, unsublimated matter, is, to the Indian, hardly

conceivable. The world is a structure pulsing with inner life, an organism swelling with productive juices. It is a welling mass of self-transforming, ever-living substance, not a concatenation of rigid masses in empty space. According to the cosmology already noted,[58] the subtle matter of ether-space (*ākāśa*) condenses into the solid forms that we touch and see, and so everything—space itself as well as the matter and beings within it—is alive. The walls and columns of the temples are vital condensations swelling with their own life, as they make manifest the foaming beauties of the celestial realms.

It is clear from Indian literature that both temples and images must have existed in the second century B.C. and perhaps earlier.[59] Very little architectural evidence remains, however, antedating the epoch of the Gupta dynasty (*c.* 320–650 A.D.); for since it was precisely in the Ganges Valley, the central and chief area of the Gupta empire, that the Muslim empire flourished a millennium later, most of the monuments aboveground were destroyed by the sectarian zeal of Islam. The oldest stone ruins that have been found represent not the beginnings of a style, but fully developed forms. Moreover, they are of several types: (1) stūpas, (2) excavated caitya-halls and vihāras, (3) structural caitya-halls and apsidal Hindu temples, (4) flat-roofed temples, (5) śikhara shrines, (6) exceptional types such
Pl. 99 as that of Bodhgayā (Plate *99*), and (7) palace, domestic, and theater structures.[60] Fragments of the fourth type have been discovered at several sites. They are in a square form of stern simplicity, yet full of grace. A little shrine at Sāñcī, known as
Pl. 112a temple XVII (Plate *112a*), is an excellent example.

The śikhara, the North Indian spire, begins to appear in the late Gupta period.
Pl. 116 We have viewed the Durgā temple at Aihoḷe (Plate *116*). Another specimen, also in Aihoḷe and likewise dating from the sixth century A.D., is the so-called
Pl. 113 Hucchīmallīguḍi temple (Plate *113*), which, as Dr. Coomaraswamy remarks, "is
Pl. 327 not unlike the well-known Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara [Plate *327*], but much more severe, and with only two courses between successive angle-āmalakas."[61] In the mature structures of this form the base (*adhiṣṭhāna*) contains the nuclear cell while the neck (*grīva*), crowned by a projecting cornice, supports the main mass of the dome (*śikhara*), which is bulb-shaped, like the domes of the later Buddhist stūpas at Ajaṇṭā, and springs from a composite lotus-molding of three parts: two layers of lotus petals and a connecting bead-molding called the "binding garland" (*mālā-baddha*). The dome itself is surmounted by a pinnacle (*stūpi*) in the form of a "great lotus" (*mahāpadma*), which is supported by a molding called the "ribbon" (*paṭṭikā*) and bears on its top the finial "water-pot"

[58] *Supra*, pp. 216–217.
[59] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.
[60] *Ib.*, p. 75.
[61] *Ib.*, p. 79.

(*kalaśa, kumbha*).[62] Symbolically, this elaborate summit corresponds to the eight-petaled lotus in the center of some Tibetan maṇḍalas [63] and the whole tower is an adumbration of the hierarchies of the cosmos, centering around the world axis, Mount Sumeru.

The great form is to be thought of as precipitated from on high. It unfolds from an invisible point above the summit, pouring out of that immaterial center (*bindu*) from which the evolution of the universe as consciousness proceeds, and coming down through spheres of subtle mind-stuff to the compact realm of visible-tangible forms. In the holy of holies the devotee communicates with this divine essence which has evolved downward to within his reach, so that he may be temporarily reabsorbed into its pure bindu-state, which is symbolically at the summit of the towering reach above his head but actually within his heart. The function of the structure is to facilitate this union between the living being (*jīva*) and the universal spiritual ground (*brahman*), the latter personified in the anthropomorphic god whose dwelling is in the temple. The bulging spire, with its carved ribs, rising directly above the shrine, may be echoed throughout the architecture by numerous repetitions of its form—much as the dominant motifs in Buddhist caityas and stūpas are repeated in the ornamentation. Ribbons or nets of ornamental design constitute in India the main device of architectural décor from the period of the earliest to that of the latest remains.

Plate *328* is a view of the vast Śiva sanctuary at Bhuvaneśvara, the temple-city *Pl. 328*
of the "Lord (*iśvara*) of the World (*bhuvana*)," which is the chief cluster of architectural monuments in Oṛissā. The construction is attributed to the Keśāri dynasty, which governed Oṛissā between the sixth and twelfth centuries A.D., and tradition tells of some seven hundred temples in ancient times. Today there remain hardly more than a hundred. The Paraśurāmeśvara temple (noted above) can be dated with some precision *c.* 750 A.D., while the huge Liṅgarāja temple (Plate *329*), which Coomaraswamy has described as "perhaps the most majestic *Pl. 329*
Indian temple now standing," [64] was constructed *c.* 1000 A.D. The Mukteśvara temple (Plates *330–335*) dates *c.* 950 and the Rājrānī (Plates *336–343*), *c.* 1100. *Pl. 330–335, 336–343*

According to the origin legend, there was on this site, in the beginning, only a "single great mango forest" (*ekāmravaṇa*), that is to say, a pre-Āryan tree sanctuary, not a Hindu temple. Then, in the Treta Yuga, the mythological period of the world immediately antecedent to the present age, Siva decided to leave his residence in Benares, which had been spoiled for him by throngs of unbelievers,

[62] The dome of the Taj Mahal, though the building is Muslim, follows precisely, in form and symbolism, the old Buddhist-Hindu canon of the "great lotus" and "water-pot."

[63] Cf. *supra*, p. 212.

[64] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

and the sage Nārada suggested that he should move to the One Mango Forest north of Blue-Rock Mountain (*nīlaśaila*). This site was already a dwelling place of Viṣṇu yet was known to only a few initiates. (The Viṣṇu cult, that is to say, had already taken possession of the pre-Aryan tree sanctuary and so antedates the Śiva cult in this site.) Śiva approached, giving honor to Viṣṇu, the Lord of the World, and received from him permission to settle in the neighborhood on condition that he should never return to Benares. (The proposal indicates both a harmonization of the rival cults of the two gods and a stress on the new great Śivaite pilgrimage center against the older one in Siva's residence par excellence, Benares.) When the sublime visitor graciously explained that he could not completely sever himself from Benares with its numerous sanctuaries, Viṣṇu indicated that all the temples and holy sites that distinguished Benares were also here; whereupon Śiva, in the form of the liṅgam of the "Lord of the Three Worlds" (*Tribhuvaneśvara*), moved in and settled down. That same liṅgam may
Pl. 329 be seen and worshiped to this day in the Liṅgarāja temple (Plate *329*).[66]

Pl. 327 The Paraśurāmeśvara temple of Bhuvaneśvara (Plate *327*), dating *c.* 750 A.D., is a notable development of the Gupta type that was represented in the sixth-century Durgā and Hucchīmallīguḍi shrines of Aihoḷe. It is small, yet richly and beautifully decorated. The porch (*maṇḍapa*), with its flat, slanting, double roof, receives light through a kind of clerestory between the roofs, and there is a distinct separation of the temple proper (*vimāna*) from this more broadly set, low, rectagonal block. The vimāna, on a cubic base, has rising walls that are brought together parabolically to meet and support a cushion-shaped, broad āmalaka-knob, whose form is echoed in angle-āmalakas that appear at every fourth stratum of the strongly emphasized corner-ribs. These regularly introduced corner-āmalakas indicate that the layers in which they appear represent roofs. Each corner reinforcement has five such āmalakas; hence the śikhara is to be viewed as a tower of five stories rising above the cubic base. These serrated layers represent the storied structure of the universe. An old architectural symbol of superimposed pavilions has thus become compressed here into a solid tower with serrate walls. The vertical emphasis of the corner and middle ribs ties the whole together with a parabolic sweep, and at the summit, above the āmalaka tree fruit, is Śiva's trident.

Pl. 330 Plate *330* shows the Mukteśvara temple, of about two centuries later. The height of its tower structure is some thirty-four feet and the length of each side of the square base about fourteen and one-half; the length of the maṇḍapa is twenty-five feet eight inches and its height twenty feet two inches. In contrast to the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, this building has the richly staged maṇḍapa roof

[66] This is a purānic legend, from the summary by Glasenapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–96.

characteristic of the later temples of Oṛissā and consisting of horizontal stone layers stepped back. The corner reinforcements of the śikhara, furthermore, are not simply built out before the walls, as in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, but appear to be embedded, and this appearance conduces to a plastic activity of the contours. Five āmalaka strata are to be seen below the crowning āmalaka-knob (Plate *335*), while between them, compressed to a flat ornamentation, is the old *Pl. 335* gandharva-mukha window motif, larger on the corner columns than on the middle. Structurally, each side is felt as five-columned, with a middle column, two corner columns, and two columns between; the cell block being separated from this tower by a strongly profiled wall band. Below, on the cell itself, are the world guardians. Above, on the middle columns, are open lotus blossoms, with flying genies, and above these are dancing women. Toward the summit, the neck draws the quadrangular tower into a circular form, and above its crowning āmalaka is a pot-shaped kalaśa, which again, as in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, supports Śiva's trident.

But the lord of all is the great Liṅgarāja temple, constructed *c.* 1000 A.D. (Plate *329*). The superimposed cornices of its maṇḍapa divide into two groups and so *Pl. 329* suggest two stories, while in the śikhara the effect of height is enhanced by the vertical lines of the strongly stressed ribs, of which two on each side bear reduced replicas of the whole. The tower is crowned by an immense ribbed āmalaka fruit, above which is the pot-shaped finial, the kalaśa. And within this really wondrous main temple of the vast temple-city of Bhuvaneśvara is the chief cult image, the liṅgam—a great, unworked block of granite, in a socket of chlorite symbolizing the yoni. The temple is in a court surrounded by a high wall, within which are four major structures: the temple itself, its entrance hall, a dining house, and the hall of the sacred dances. Nearby are the Bhagavatī temple of the goddess Pārvatī and the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of the heroes Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Plates *336–343* *Pl. 336–343* show the Rājrānī temple (*c.* 1100) of the same holy city.

Between Bhārhut and Sāñcī, in Bundelkhaṇḍ, and dating from the same period as the Liṅgarāja of Bhuvaneśvara (950–1050 A.D.), is the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho (Plates *309* and *310*), which is also dedicated to Śiva. Its total *Pl. 309, 310* height is somewhat more than one hundred and fifteen feet, its length about one hundred and five and the width just over sixty-two. In its maṇḍapa cupolas, with their deep horizontal shadow-lines, the rooflike character has been retained: they rise, however, in three stages, pressing back toward the flanking āmalakas of the śikhara, and so tend to merge with the vertical of the main structure. With this stress on elevation, a unified sense of the whole has effected a grandiose victory of the śikhara. As the style-giving element, this towering main structure has deter-

mined the forms of all the subordinate parts. Secondary śikharas, mounting in four stages, each crowned by an āmalaka, combine with the āmalaka of the main tower to suggest the traditional number five, but in the ribbing of the śikhara itself the usual āmalakas have been reduced to mere ring ornaments. Furthermore, the horizontals in the śikhara core have disappeared and the window motif is merely a punctuation; also, the old hip-roof is gone. A spontaneous, rising growth, consolidating originally disparate forms, has produced a single, diversely unified, upsurging structure.

The quadratic temple ground plan, as norm, is still visible, but the traditional pattern has been modified rather boldly. On three sides are windows instead of entrances and the circumambulatory has been enclosed within the building. The exterior is gorgeously ornamented, yet the horizontal bands have been swept into the general upsurge by the vertical force of the piers on which they are carved. Inexhaustibility is suggested by the orderly yet teeming abundance of the cupolas, reinforcements, minor śikharas, and āmalakas. The earlier parabola has become a cluster, and its swinging curve a plantlike colossal growth. This temple, with its abundant sculptural décor, is one of a cluster of such soaring visions: Śivaite, Vaiṣṇava, and Jaina. All are of about the same period and style. Khajurāho, in fact, is second in importance only to Bhuvaneśvara among the monuments of the Northern, śikhara type. A sense of its magnitude and bounty may be gained from a *Pl. 309–318* study of Plates *309–318*.

The very famous, though now ruined, Sun Temple (*sūrya deul*) of Koṇārak, in Oṛissā, built by Narasiṁha Deva of the Gaṅgā dynasty, *c.* 1238–1264, is perhaps the most impressive single ruin of this Northern art. Only the maṇḍapa *Pl. 354* survives, rising in three stages (Plate *354*), the main structure, the śikhara, hav- *Pl. 358* ing disappeared (Plate *358*). The whole temple is represented as resting on great wheels; for it is a vision in stone of the chariot of the sun.[66] Horses pull the mighty *Pl. 357* vehicle (Plate *357*) and two great elephants stand nearby, unharnessed (Plate *Pl. 375, 348* *375*). Eastward is a dance hall (Plate *348*), covered with the sculptured forms of *Pl. 352* apsarases and gandharvas (Plate *352*). Numerous erotic scenes suggest the sensuous delights enjoyed by the happy occupants of the sun-god's celestial realm, where (to use the language of the Tantra) "bhoga is yoga," "delight is religion." [67] Known as the "Black Pagoda," this ruin is a major example of the architecture that was in full flower in Oṛissā at the time of the coming of Islam.

[66] Cf. *supra*, p. 10–11.

[67] "Bhoga (delight) is yoga (religion)." For a discussion of the Tāntric symbolism of sexual intercourse (*maithuna*), cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 581–595, and *supra*, pp. 124–131. See also Sir John Woodroffe, *Shakti and Shākta* (3rd edn., Madras and London, 1929); O. C. Gangoly, "The Mithuna in Indian Art," *Rūpam* (Calcutta), 22–23 (1925); and Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part II (Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Publication 3059; Washington, 1931), pp. 23, 30, 33.

8. The Hindu Temple, Central Style

THE PALLAVAS, who in the second century A.D. were vassals of the Āndhras in the Godāvarī-Kistna delta, succeeded them in rule in the third and fourth centuries, and from 600 to 750 were the chief power on the east coast of the Deccan, in constant battle with the Cāḷukyas in the west. The first Pallava king whose dates are exactly known was Siṁhaviṣṇu (575–600 A.D.). He lost Veṅgī to the Cāḷukyas but extended the realm southward to Tanjore, where Kāñcīpuram (Conjeeveram) became his capital. Mahendravarman I (600–625), his son, fought successfully the Cāḷukya Pulakeśin II and seems to have been converted from Buddhism to Śivaism by the holy man Apparsvāmin. He commenced the sculptural architecture of the temples and caves of Māmallapuram (Plate 266), but the name *Māmalla*, "The Hero," which is inscribed in one of the rathas, was the agnomen of his successor, Narasiṁhavarman I (625–645). The city was called after the latter because he was by far the most successful monarch of his line. Hsüan Tsang, when touring India, visited his capital, Kāñcīpuram, in 640, and was impressed by its splendor. Narasiṁhavarman, "The Hero," conquered Bādāmī, the capital of the Cāḷukya king Pulakeśin II, in 642, but under his successors the empire declined. Parameśvaravarman (655–690) was defeated by the son of Pulakeśin II, Vikramāditya I (655–680), and the Cāḷukyas then conquered Kāñcīpuram. Parameśvaravarman's successor and son, Rājasiṁhavarman, retook Kāñcīpuram and built a great temple there, and so seems to represent a pause in the disintegration of the dynasty. However, the Pallava king Nandivarman was defeated about 740 by the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya II, and about 780 the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva broke decisively the Pallava power. His son, Govinda III, subjected them completely to Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule, *c.* 803, and finally, a century later, when the Pallava prince Aparājita capitulated to Āditya Coḷa, the Pallava territory was incorporated in the Coḷa realm. Pl. 266

The high period of the Pallava style came between 600 and 850 A.D. Its main monuments are the Trichinopoly caves (*c.* 650), the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcīpuram, built by Rājasiṁhavarman (*c.* 700), the pagoda of Bahur near Pondicherry (*c.* 800), and the so-called "seven pagodas" at Māmallapuram. As already noted, the latter were carved during the reigns of Mahendravarman I (600–625), Narasiṁhavarman I (625–645) and Parameśvaravarman (655–690), the name of the site being based on the surname of the second of these kings.

Later, however, the designation "City of Heroes," Māmallapuram, was misinterpreted as applying to the Pāṇḍavas, the five heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, after whom the shrines then were named. Māmallapuram today is a petrified town of temples peopled by animals carved from boulders: a bull, an elephant, and a lion. In the immediate area also is the great Descent of the Ganges relief.

Pl. 266, 268 The so-called Draupadī ratha (Plates *266*, *268*), which is named after the wife of the five heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, has a base only eleven feet square and is but twenty feet high; its crowning portion is missing. The special and very simple form is perhaps explained by the fact that this is the only temple in the group dedicated to a female: it belongs to Durgā (in the south called Kālī and Cāmundā), and her statue stands within, facing the open door. The rectangular cell is large enough only to shelter this image and admit the devotee coming in prayer and meditation to offer his handful of flowers (*puṣpāñjali*). The roof is a literal stone reproduction of the straw covering of the timeless village hut. The charming little sanctuary has four doors facing the four quarters, three being blind and decorated on the outside with reliefs of the goddess that suggest the image within.

The function of these blind doors with their sculptured reliefs is not purely ornamental. The pleasure that they give to the senses is, at the most, but one function among others, indicating that the votive gift of the sanctuary will be delightful to the god. For works of religious art are not meant primarily to please mankind: their chief purpose is magical. They are instruments designed to distribute in all directions the beneficent influence of a divine being. The textbooks of the Hindu craftsmen state that the figure of a divinity pours out power, the essence of the god in the statue radiating an auspicious force in the direction toward which the face is turned, while the back brings evil, disaster, and ill luck. Therefore, at the gate of a town the figures of two auspicious divinities should be placed: Śrī Lakṣmī, the goddess of luck and prosperity, and Kubera, the lord of riches, who controls the hidden treasures in the womb of the earth. Both should face the town; for on whatever place these two cast their eyes, they pour prosperity, health, and victory, whereas places on which they turn their backs are visited by plagues, violence, immorality, and murder. Furthermore, all around the outside of a town, at regular intervals, surrounded by beautiful gardens or plantings of trees, there should be distributed sanctuaries of beneficent divinities, with their faces turned toward the settlement. Even on distant hills, when in the environs of a town, the images within sanctuaries had better have their faces turned toward the town. Any violation of this principle, advise the textbooks, tends to entrain more disaster than good.

Now the surface of the earth, according to an old conception, is quadrangular;

therefore the square is the geometrical figure used to symbolize the element earth, just as the triangle, which is similar to a rising flame, connotes fire. A quadrangular temple, having four openings to the four quarters, either real doors or symbolical substitutes, sends out force from the divine presence sheltered in the sanctuary to the entire world. Representations of such temples are the usual nuclei of symbolical diagrams and pictorial representations of the essence of divine beings—as, for example, in the above-noticed maṇḍalas of Tibet.[68] And accordingly, since sanctuaries are intended to protect their surroundings, ward off demons, and prevent disease and disaster, they should shine in all four directions. That is why in the little Pallava shrine the beneficent power of the principal image is allowed to pour forth through the main entrance, while the other walls have symbolical substitutes in the sculptured reliefs on their blind doors to represent the divinity facing the remaining quarters of the earth. In the course of time, as the influence of this principle increased as an inspiration for the forms of the Hindu temple, there developed a rich proliferation of ornamental friezes containing innumerable divine figures, emanating in all directions the divine strength stored in the central image of the innermost shrine. This idea is well represented in the decoration of the twelfth-century Rājrānī Temple at Bhuvaneśvara (Plates *336–343*). *Pl. 336–343*

The Arjuna ratha of Māmallapuram (Plate *268*, second temple) was abandoned *Pl. 268* before its lower story was completed. There is a crack running through the building: possibly the boulder could not stand the carving. Of the same pattern but on a larger scale is the Dharmarāja ratha (Plate *267*), which contained a liṅgam as the *Pl. 267* main image. These two illustrate the simplest form of the Dravidian temple. Another conception is to be seen in the Bhīma ratha (Plate *266*, third temple). *Pl. 266* The base here is twenty feet long and twelve wide and the building about thirty feet high, with the entrance in the middle of the long side. On a small scale, this represents the prototype of the later South Indian temple gates (*gopura*); for example, those at Madura (Plate *448*) and Tiruvannāmalai (Plate *405*). The *Pl. 448, 405* heavy tunneled roof, which is the crowning glory, points back, as we have noted before,[69] to the primitive Toda hut.

And finally, before turning from this cluster of precious architectural documents, we may note the so-called "Shore Temple" (Plate *294*). This is a structural, not *Pl. 294* sculptured, building of a later date—the beginning of the eighth century. With its pyramidal towers it is in the so-called Rājasiṁha style.[70]

[68] *Supra*, p. 212. See also Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York and London, 1946), pp. 137–148: maṇḍala and yantra.

[69] *Supra*, p. 257.

[70] Comparable temples are the Kailāsanātha of Kāñcīpuram, built by Rājasiṁhavarman (see Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figure 197), and the central shrine at Paṇamalai (*ib.*, figure 203).

9. The Hindu Temple, Southern Style

TURNING our regard now to the South, we find that in contrast to the temples of the northern śikhara type, those of the Dravidian tradition are many-storied and with a definite horizontal emphasis, carrying on their summits, instead of the finial or "water-pot," either a vaulted roof or an octagonal or domical structure. Moreover, in the South the four gateways (*gopuras*) in the four sides of the walled enclosure that surrounds the temple area tower high above the main building, in contrast to the North, where the chief spire is the śikhara, just above the garbha-gṛha, the holy of holies. Both the śikhara and the gopura symbolize the celestial sphere of the god whose earthly residence is the sacred temple site.

CĀḶUKYA DYNASTY (c. 550–750)

Pl. 141 THE Mālegitti Śivālaya temple at Bādāmī, built *c.* 625 A.D. (Plate *141*), is one of the oldest structural shrines of Dravidian type – "the only structural temple in the style of the Māmallapuram rathas now surviving; it is of pure early Pallava type, which may have first affected the Cāḷukya as a result of Pulakeśin II's conquest of Veṅgī in 611." [71] The ornamental terminals over the reliefs on the outer walls are almost identical with those found at Māmallapuram. In the art works of both the Cāḷukya and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, structural motifs of northern and southern character appear together. See, for example, in the temple series of Paṭṭadakal, *Pl. 299, 303, 304, 308* Plates *299*, *303*, *304*, and *308*.

According to Jouveau-Dubreuil,[72] the origins of the art of the South lie in the great northern epochs of Sāñcī, Bhārhut, Gandhāra, and Amarāvatī; the last-named site, on the bank of the Kistna, being geographically very near to the Tamil ethnic area. Veṅgī, between the Godāvarī and the Kistna, which the Cāḷukya

[71] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 95, note 2, and 242.

[72] Gabriel Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde* (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'études, 26–27; Paris, 1914), Vol. I, pp. 6, 13 ff.

Pulakeśin II (608–642) conquered in the year 611, was originally a portion of the Āndhra domain. He, however, took it from the Pallavas, and they, in return, under King Narasiṁhavarman I, defeated and presumably slew him at Bādāmī in 642. Some twenty years later the Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya I (655–680) captured the Pallava capital of Kāñcīpuram, and about a century later (740) the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya II (733–746) captured Kāñcīpuram again. These political exchanges suffice to suggest the way or path of the historical diffusion of the Āndhra-Pallava-Cāḷukya style. In the year 753 the Cāḷukyas of the western Deccan were overthrown by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[73]

COḶA DYNASTY (c. 850–1150)

ABOUT 900 A.D. the Coḷa king Āditya conquered the Pallava realms to the north and, shortly following, his son, Parāntaka I (907–949), took Madura, capital of the Pāṇḍyas to the south, and invaded Ceylon. Rājarāja I, known also as Rājarāja-deva the Great (955–1018), who ascended the Coḷa throne in the year 985, extended his dominion throughout the South of India, subjugated Ceylon, and fought successfully the powerful Cāḷukyas to the north. To commemorate his numerous victories he built, in honor of Śiva, the Rājarājeśvara temple of his capital Tanjore (Plate 396).[74] *Pl. 396*

According to the Tamil inscriptions on its base, this stately edifice was erected *c.* 1000 A.D. There is evident in its regular structure a kind of orderly military genius, which has subdued its massive vitality. It excels in its clarity of design and harmony of proportions. A completely static, solemn monumentality was intended, in contrast to the soaring uprush and overflowing ornamental energy that were to characterize the works of the periods to come. In front is a low maṇḍapa; behind, a high vimāna. It is a gigantic monument full of repose, reflecting the consolidation of a new empire after successful conquest.

Rājarāja-deva's son, Rājendra I, who succeeded him in the year 1018, extended the realms of the Coḷas along the Bay of Bengal toward Burma and overthrew (1025–1027) the Burmese kingdom of Pegu. Rājendra II (1070–1118), a contemporary of the Vedāntic theologian Śrī Rāmānuja,[75] conquered Kaliṅga (Orissā), but immediately following, in the reign of Vikrama (1118–1135), a decline set in,

[73] For the chief Rāṣṭrakūṭa monuments, cf. *infra*, pp. 290–298.

[74] Jouveau-Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 114. Tanjore (*Tanjavur*) is said to have been named after a demon Tanjan, who was overcome by Viṣṇu. Cf. Glasenapp, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[75] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 458–460.

which ended in the collapse of the Coḷa empire, *c.* 1150, and the rise of the Pāṇḍyas to the south.

The chief architectural monuments in the Coḷa style, besides the imperious temple already discussed, are the Bṛhadiśvarasvāmin temple of Tanjore with its holy Śiva-Gaṅgā pond, likewise built by Rājarāja I, the Śrīnivasanalur temple of Koraṅganātha (930 A.D.), the little gopura in Jambukeśvara (1150 A.D.), and the Subrahmaṇya temple of Tanjore.

PĀṆḌYA DYNASTY (c. 1100–1350)

THE high period of the late Dravidian style of the Pāṇḍyas can be placed *c.* 1100–1350 A.D. This art developed elements derived from the Coḷas, and heralded the works of sixteenth-century Vijayanagar.[76] The Pāṇḍyas in the thirteenth century seem to have dominated the entire Tamil region. Their realm included what are now the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly, which in the tenth and eleventh centuries had been subject to the Coḷa kings.

In south Madras, in Cidambaram, there is a magnificent temple dedicated to Śiva Naṭeśvara, the "King of Dancers" (Plate 446), which is supposed to
Pl. 446 have been constructed by a certain King Hiraṇyavarna ("Golden Color") of Kashmir. His former name had been Śvetavarna ("White Color"), because he had been a leper; but after bathing in the holy tank of the city he was healed and his body acquired the ideal human skin color, which is a golden tone. He therefore summoned from the Ganges area, from Āryavārta, the land of the Āryans, where the purest Brāhmanism was supposed to flourish, three thousand Brāhmans. When these arrived, however, their number was found to be only two thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine, and this so disturbed them that they did not wish to remain. Śiva appeared to them and, revealing that he himself was the three-thousandth, persuaded them to stay.

The temple compound stands in the middle of the city and is surrounded by a great wall. It comprises a pond and four large halls, as well as a number of lesser temples. The stones for the buildings were transported forty miles, over trackless country and across a great river. In the principal sanctuary, the Cidambaram-rahasya, is the so-called Ākāśa Liṅgam (ether-liṅgam), one of the five crystal element-liṅgams that the philosopher-monk Śaṅkara (*c.* 788–820/50?) is supposed to have brought from the Himālayas. The other four element-liṅgams are the Yoga Liṅgam in Kumbakonam, the Bhoga Liṅgam in Śriṅgeri, the Mukti

[76] To be discussed *infra*, pp. 281–282.

Liṅgam in Kedarakṣetra, and the Vara Liṅgam in Nepal.[77] This legend, like that of the Brāhmans, points to a stream of influences from the north.

Another legend suggesting arrivals from the North is associated with the temple city of Tiruvannāmalai (Plate 402). The name Tiruvannāmalai, which Pl. 402 means "The Holy Fire Mountain," refers to a mountain cone nearby. The legend declares that during the happy love games of Śiva and Pārvatī in their Himālayan garden of Kailāsa, the goddess once covered Śiva's eyes with her hand, whereupon darkness fell immediately over the whole earth; for the sun and moon had lost their light. Moreover, what had been but a moment for the godly couple had been for the world many years, so that mankind bitterly complained to the Great God. To atone, Śiva sent Pārvatī on a pilgrimage to the holy cities of India and, when she had done penance in Tiruvannāmalai, appeared to her as a flame on the mountain peak, telling her that her penance now was ended. In memory, a prodigious fire is lighted on the summit of this mountain every Kartika (November and December) by the priests of the temple.[78]

The Pāṇḍya empire was invaded 1311–19 by the southward-driving Muslims, when Malik Kafur and Malik Khosrau advanced as far as to Madura, and at the end of the fourteenth century the weakened kingdom fell to the rule of the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar.

VIJAYANAGAR (c. 1350–1565)

THE Mohammedans destroyed Halebīd, the capital of the Hoyśala Ballalas, in 1311, and Warangal in 1325. In 1343, however, a Hindu prince, Hari-Hara I, drove them back, and in 1379 his nephew, Hari-Hara II, created an independent Hindu kingdom with its capital at Vijayanagar, on the Tuṅgabhadrā. Dominating the South, this realm remained for over two centuries the final stronghold of Hindu civilization, until 1565, when it was overthrown at the battle of Talikota by the combined might of its neighbors, the Muslim princes of Bījāpur, Ahmadnagar, and Golkonda.

Vijaya-nagara, the "town of victory," was at its zenith of power and splendor in the first half of the sixteenth century, in the reigns of Kṛṣṇa Deva (1509–1529) and Acyuta Rāya (1529–1542). It was at that time the chief craft center of the South, as Gaur and Ahmadabad were of the North and West. The city's ruins, near the modern village of Hampi on the Tuṅgabhadrā, cover more than ten

[77] According to another listing, the five element-liṅgams are declared to be: the Mokṣa Liṅgam in Cidambaram, Yoga Liṅgam in Kāñcīpuram, Bhoga Liṅgam in Śrīraṅgam, Mukti Liṅgam in Kalahasti, and Vara Liṅgam in Tiruvannāmalai.

[78] Glasenapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89.

square miles, and when it was in its glory (*c.* 1520) a Portuguese traveler, Domingo Paes, climbing a hill from which he could survey a great part of the city, discovered it to be "as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight." "There are many groves of trees within it," he wrote in his notes; and this implied for that arid area that there was a large water supply maintained by an elaborate system of artificial irrigation, dams and canals. "There are many conduits of water," Paes went on, "that flow into the midst of the city, and in places there are lakes; and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other richly bearing fruit trees. Below the Moorish quarter there is a little river, and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruit trees, for the most part mangoes and areca palms, and jack trees, and also many lime and orange trees, growing so closely to one another that they look like a thick forest; and there also are white grapes." The palace of the king, he observed, enclosed a "greater space than all the castle of Lisbon." [79]

In legendary times, Kiṣkindha, the residence of the legendary monkey-king Sugrīva, is supposed to have stood on this site, close to the mountain Ṛṣyamūka. Sugrīva and his captain Hanuman were encountered here by Rāma when he was on his way to rescue Sītā from her imprisonment by the demon-titan Rāvaṇa.[80] The simian army joined the hero and played a major role in the subsequent battle, and to this day the monkeys in the neighborhood of Mount Ṛṣyamūka are regarded as descendants of the valiant little vassals of Rāma's friend, the monkey-king.

Pl. 438b Work on the Viṭṭhalasvāmin temple of Vijayanagar (Plate 438) was commenced in 1513 under Kṛṣṇa Deva, and continued until the fall of the city in *Pl. 439* 1565. Its stone processional wagon (Plate 439) is so exquisitely constructed that one at first mistakes it for a piece of monolithic sculpture.[81] According to Havell,[82] *Pl. 437* the so-called elephant stables (Plate 437) were a mosque built by the Hindu king for his Muslim troops. Here the Hindu craftsmen adapted their temple tradition to the needs of the ritual of Islam. The seven larger domes are prototypes of the Jami Masjid at Bījāpur, and are modifications of the same Buddhist-Hindu patterns that appear in their original form in the four intermediate domes. In fact, nearly all of the distinguishing traits of the early Muslim buildings of Bījāpur, which were designed by the Hindu-Muslim schools of Mālwā and Gulbarga, derive from the Hindu tradition of India's South.

[79] Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (*Vijayanagar*) (London, 1900), pp. 256–257 and 254.

[80] Cf. *supra*, p. 227.

[81] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[82] Ernest B. Havell, *Indian Architecture* (London, 1913), p. 185.

MADURA (post 1565)

THE elegant and extremely ornate architectural development that began in the sixteenth century at Vijayanagar was continued through the seventeenth under the Nāyyak dynasty of Madura. These kings, following the catastrophe of Talikota, succeeded the monarchs of Vijayanagar as the main upholders of the banner of Hinduism against Islam. Their greatest king was Tirumala (1623–1659), and their chief god was Śiva—not Viṣṇu, as at Vijayanagar.

If we may judge from the origin legends of the city of Madura, the huge sanctuaries and temples, which have been resorted to by thousands of pilgrims every year for generations, sprang into existence on sites that were formerly the sanctuaries of neolithic cults. Apparently, with the spread of Brāhman civilization to the South during the first millennium of our era, the local cult of a stone monolith, a liṅgam, was absorbed and integrated in this region into the worship of Śiva. The holiness of the place is said to have been discovered, in mythical times, by Indra, the king of the gods, when, laden with guilt for having slain the demon Vṛtra, who was of the Brāhman caste,[83] he wandered over the whole continent as a pilgrim in search of holy places where he might be cleansed of the stain of his sin. At the very site that is now Madura, in the midst of the lonely wilderness of the jungle, he suddenly felt free of guilt and, looking about for what had caused this miraculous experience, discovered a liṅgam beneath a tree. He paid it worship with flowers from a nearby pond, and soon the other divinities flocked to follow his example. The pond became a holy place known as the "pond of golden water lilies" and every year during the month of Chaitra (March and April) there is held here a special festival to commemorate the worship of Śiva performed by Indra.[84]

The first human being to honor Śiva at this place was a merchant, Dhananjaya, who by chance beheld the gods bowing before the liṅgam and when they had departed followed their example. He told what he had seen and done to King Kulaśekhara, who already had had a dream in which Śiva had enjoined him to clear the wilderness and build a temple on that spot, and around the temple a town. Both the temple and the town were consecrated by the Great God himself with the holy water of the celestial Ganges, which descends onto his head and

[83] Cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, p. 3.

[84] This detail reflects the abdication of Indra in favor of Śiva, the "Great God" (Mahādeva) of later Hinduism. It is comparable to the legend of the boy Kṛṣṇa's defeat of Indra at the Govardhana hill (cf. *supra*, pp. 217–221).

flows through his matted hair, and in this way the younger cult site in the impure South was equated with the high pilgrimage centers of the North.[85]

Moreover, the pond with its golden lotus flowers is supposed to contain the seed of Śiva, which is the essence of immortality; for in the remote age when the deity, full of destructive forces, abandoned his lonely ascetic life to marry the daughter of King Himālaya, Pārvatī, on whom he was to beget the god of war,[86] the gods of the heavens, whose prayerful request had been the immediate cause of his condescension to become a lover and husband, fearing lest the child he was about to beget should shatter the universe by its very coming into being, sent the fire-god Agni to receive Śiva's seed in his fiery mouth. Agni, however, could not retain the glowing essence, and so it fell to the ground, where it turned into a golden lake with golden lotuses; and Pārvatī drank from this, whereupon she conceived her child, Skanda Kārttikeya, the god of war.[87] The pond at Madura is supposed to be this lake (or its earthly counterpart), and pilgrims who resort to it for ceremonial ablution are said to be purified through contact with the seed of Śiva.

Characteristic of these legends, as of many others celebrating the holy places of India, is the fact that they represent the miraculous powers as having pertained to the site of the sanctuary when it was still a wilderness. The conquering god of the Āryans arrived, experienced its wonder-working power, discovered the old cult-object of the pre-Āryan culture (the śiśnadeva of the *Ṛg-veda*),[88] and bowed before it. This act effected a fusion of the ancient with the later cult; the local object of worship in the wilderness being thus symbolically accepted and absorbed by the newly introduced North Indian sect—which itself was the product of an earlier syncretism.

Śiva and Pārvatī are worshiped in Madura under the forms of Sundara Pāṇḍya and Mīnākṣī, who were the divine ancestors of an old dynasty of the city—Madura having been the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas. Malayadhvaja, the son of the city's founder Kulaśekhara, was without issue (the story goes) and, following Indra's advice, brought to Śiva a great offering. Whereupon Mīnākṣī, the "Fish-Eyed," a manifestation of Pārvatī in a three-breasted form, appeared over the offering flame. Adopted as the son of the king, she was raised as a male, and when she assumed the sovereignty, conquered all the neighboring princes, finding none irresistible and so eligible to marry her. She gave battle even to the gods and conquered Indra. However, when the warrior maiden was preparing to attack Śiva

[85] Legend from the *Madurā-sthala Purāṇa*, as summarized by Glasenapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79.

[86] Cf. *supra*, pp. 117–121.

[87] *Matsya Purāṇa* 158.

[88] Cf. *supra*, p. 24.

she lost her third breast and thus knew that he was to become her spouse. When the marriage was celebrated, Śiva, as the king of Madura, called himself Sundara Pāṇḍya and at the marriage festival danced in the silver hall of his sanctuary. The son of the divine couple was Ugra, who became the forefather of many kings.[89]

In the fourteenth century a great number of the ancient buildings of Madura were destroyed by the conquering Mohammedans. Those seen today, therefore, date largely from the period following the fall of Vijayanagar. With the collapse of that kingdom after the battle of Talikota, in 1565,[90] the princes of the South were released from their vassalage to the dynasty, and among the strongest of those breaking free and rising to power were the Nāyyak of the city of Madura. The palace of their great King Tirumala (1623–1659 A.D.) marks the beginning of a new style (Text Plate *B12c*). *Pl. B12c*

This remarkable secular edifice is one of the finest examples extant of the adaptation of the Hindu arch to new structural purposes: the transformation is comparable to what had been achieved at Vijayanagar and Bījāpur in the previous century. The arches are Hindu in form but Mohammedan in application, while the columns that support them are Western, and the whole building is European in character. Such an amazing amalgamation was made possible by the close commercial relationship in which Vijayanagar had stood, for a long time, with the Portuguese settlement at Goa. The Europeans in their outpost had been completely dependent on their flourishing trade with the South Indian capital and had employed Hindu craftsmen for the construction of their buildings. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, however, the Inquisition, newly established at Goa, drove the craftsmen who had built the Christian cathedral and churches to seek refuge at the court of Madura; and they brought with them their knowledge of the forms of the West. The Occidental patterns could be utilized in secular building, and since the palace was not a temple, it lent itself to such innovation. In striking contrast, King Tirumala's temple pavilion clings to tradition and is of a totally different form. Indeed, the style of the religious architecture of Madura is Dravidian throughout.

The Vasanta, or Puḍu Maṇḍapa (Plate 449), which is opposite the large Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara temple, is properly not a maṇḍapa but a flat-roofed corridor with three side aisles. Its columns are luxuriant examples of a triumphant carver's craft. *Pl. 449*

Plate 448 shows views of the great temple itself, the chief edifice of the city. It dates almost entirely from the seventeenth century and is the representative Indian monument of its period. The northern gopura is a towering stack of *Pl. 448*

[89] Glasenapp, *op. cit.*, p. 79. [90] Cf. *supra*, p. 281.

pavilions linked together as friezes, a vast structure of eleven stories. Decisive for its form is the complete absence of corner reinforcements: the middle reinforcements gain thereby in effect, and the whole façade seems ablaze because of the unstressed massiveness of the ornaments and the wealth of figures weaving before it. The details have not been pressed together to an architectonic whole by a vertical binding of light and shade, but have been allowed to romp to their hearts' content. Restlessly, the almost bewildering structure rises in a rippling rapture of forms, offering the eye no opportunity for repose. It spews itself aloft by way of the kīrttimukhas[91] in the middle reinforcement, running up and down itself, world above world, gate above gate. Whereas in the śikhara style of Oṛissā the layers of the overworlds were fused into a single, vegetative unit, harmoniously soaring out of itself with a vertical thrust, here there is an emotionally dizzying uprush, manifold and sparkling, that simply robs one of all sense of form. Originally, the details were loudly and naturalistically painted. And yet, as they lift themselves, flaming, they constitute a unit—as a result of their very massiveness and of a schematic diminution as the layers approximate the top. Here too, therefore, is unity: the unity of the infinite. It is a unity of multifariousness, achieved not through an abstraction and reduction of forms to ornament,[92] but through a titanic massing of natural shapes. This gopura is of the same family as the Chinese pagoda and, like the pagoda, a convincing result of the purely additive principle. All such storied Oriental structures symbolize the many-leveled link between eternity and time.

Optically overtopping the temple-city from four sides and everywhere breaking upon the eye of anyone lingering within it, such gopuras emphasize the flatness of the whole temple compound, behind the walls of which, with its buildings and
Pl. 400-407 towers, the outer world, as earth world, disappears (Plates 400–407). With the upward gliding of the eye, from sphere to sphere, there is given a vertically swung world-feeling, which pendulates between the celestial realms and the human. The sense of being on earth is everywhere swept away. It is no longer a cella for meditation, a sheltered cult symbol with a surrounding walk for circumambulation, that elevates the believer spiritually from his earthly condition: he is actually placed physically in another world, a realm as unsurveyable and multifariously infinite as the court-and-pond-rich temple compound itself; as manifold as the gopura; as unembraceable as all these things together. Such a holy city is an adequate symbol, both of the collective religiosity of the pilgrim streams that pour into it daily and of the boundless individual emotional rapture of such ecstatic

[91] Cf. *infra*, p. 315.

[92] Cf. *supra*, pp. 273–274: discussion of the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva temple of Khajurāho.

Dravidian yogī dancers as Sundaramurtisvāmin and Māṇikka Vāchakar.[93] It is an experience of a form-filled, life-unified world-endlessness, flaming, as the world itself flames, over the void of Brahman.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE

COMPARING this teeming Southern style with the temples of the North, two types of Indian architectural expression can be distinguished: (1) the symbolic, either without figures (as in the more ancient Northern buildings) or with comparatively few; and (2) the realistic (of the later South). In the former the impact of a celestial experience is rendered through an abstract form, but in the latter through an amplitude of images. The colossal Dravidian gopura no longer suggests the overworld through a suggestive shape that simultaneously activates and integrates the spirit, but depicts its various regions directly, in breadth: crude detail pretends to be the inexhaustible object itself. Instead of awakening a realization in the contemplative devotee through suggestion, art here leaves nothing to the observer and the spontaneity of his feelings. His receptivity is flooded with gross pictures. Such is the typical end of a great style.

According to Jouveau-Dubreuil,[94] the South Indian craftsmen worked upon and developed art forms derived from the treasury of the much earlier North Indian tradition represented in the Buddhistic monuments of Aśoka and Kaniṣka. Furthermore, an unbroken evolution of the South Indian forms can be traced from the seventh century A.D. to the present. The gradual transformations in this tradition-bound craft are temporally conditioned and self-consistent; there was never any tendency to archaize or historicize. And there was no influence from any of the historical styles of the West—even of Islam—except as in such rare monuments as those noted above at Vijayanagar and Madura.

In general plan, the outer walls of the temple compounds of the South are rectangular, having two gopuras, one in the east and one in the south; the other sides, however, may also have gopuras. The main entrance is that of the east. The principal entrance of the chief temple also faces east. The compound contains pavilions, holy tanks, courts, shrines, and temples.

At the main entrance there is a "dispensing seat" (*balipīṭha*), which is a small

[93] *Editor's note:* Two highly revered Śivaite poets of the eighth and ninth centuries, whose verses are regarded as revelations and appear in the great Tamil collection known as the "Holy Sayings" (*Tiru Murai*), respectively in Books VII and VIII. See R. W. Frazer, "Sacred hymns of the Śaivas," in James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1928), Vol. V, p. 23, article "Dravidians (South India)."

[94] Jouveau-Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 13 ff. Cf. *supra*, p. 279n.

stone altar in the form of a lotus blossom on which the Brāhmans place balls of rice; and behind this there is a "flagstaff" (*dhvaja-stambha*), a tall wooden mast with three horizontal perches that indicate the chief sanctuary and carry bells that tinkle in the wind. Between the dhvajastambha and the sanctuary that it announces, there is in Śiva temples a recumbent Nandi facing the temple entrance, and in Viṣṇu temples a Garuḍa or a Hanuman.

The vimāṇa sheltering the main cella (*garbhagṛha, mūlasthāna*) is comparatively small, and the cella itself quadrangular, with an east entrance through which little daylight enters; hence there is constant lamplight within. Śiva temples have as their cult-object a liṅgam on a base which, with its shallow channels, receives the oil poured over the upright and carries it away. Viṣṇu temples harbor an anthropomorphic image of the god.

Behind the chief sanctuary of the South Indian temple compound two more temples stand: at the right (the north), in Śiva sanctuaries, one to Śiva's son Skanda Kārttikeya, the god of war, and at the left (the south), one to his other son, Gaṇeśa, the remover of obstacles. Opposite the southern portal is the temple of Pārvatī and, beside that, one to Śiva Naṭeśvara, "The Lord of Dancers." In Viṣṇu temples, Lakṣmī appears instead of Pārvatī. Thus the sanctuaries display the god in the circle of his family, the natural life unit, the god being worshiped together with his wife and child. But there has to be one more temple for Śiva than for Viṣṇu, since, besides his chief symbol of the liṅgam, his human form as Naṭeśvara must also be represented; Viṣṇu, in contrast, being in human form in the garbhagṛha. The walls and steps of these buildings are commonly decorated with white and red vertical stripes, the walls being embellished in Śiva temples with Nandis above and at the corners, in Viṣṇu temples with Garuḍas, and in Kālī temples with the vehicle of the Goddess, the lion.

In a South Indian compound of this kind the gopura, which is much more conspicuous than any of the temples, is usually twice as high as broad. Its gates are of wood with metal ornamentation; their hinges, fixed in two great monolithic doorposts, are decorated with bas-reliefs. The number of stories in such a towering structure is always uneven. Each is decorated with little pavilions (*pañcarams*), quadrangular at the corners, the midmost of which is larger than the others and pierced with a single open window. Before the pavilions are images of baked clay, representing the deity of the cult site in various manifestations. At each side of the middle window is a door-guardian (*dvārapāla*), pointing with a finger, his opposite foot being set on a club; and at the corners of each story, above the quadrangular pañcarams, other dvārapālas appear, having one hand on the hip and the other lifted in prayer.

With the exception of certain of the sculptured details, which vary from stage to stage, the decorations of all the stories are the same. As they grow smaller, going up, no details are omitted, but all are reduced. At either side of the copings are large siṁhamukhas ("lion faces"), the copings themselves being ornamented with cones, either as many as there are stories or two more. From top to bottom the gopuras are kept freshly painted, their predominant tone being the reddish one of the bricks and clay figures. The understructure is always granite.

In general, Indian architecture invites analysis of its ornamentation and of the sculptural handling of its structural elements, but presents no such tectonic problems as medieval cathedral architecture. There is no vaulting, either in the stone temple or in the stūpa. Both are layered. And the great halls are roofed with gigantic granite slabs that rest on monolithic columns. The arch has been avoided intentionally—for the arch never sleeps. The predominant structural factor throughout is the reposeful horizontal of the layer of stone.

10. The Hindu Cave-Temple

"THE Brāhmans," writes Dr. Coomaraswamy, "did not begin to make excavated shrines, whether underground or monolithic, much before the sixth century nor continue to do so much after the eighth, and of over twelve hundred 'cave' temples in India not many more than a hundred are Brāhmanical, while nine hundred are Buddhist and the remainder Jaina. All cave-temples are more or less direct imitations of structural buildings. But while in the course of seven or eight centuries something like a Buddhist 'cave style' had been evolved, at least so far as the pillars are concerned, the Brāhmanical caves, temples, and monoliths are imitations of structural shrines of the fully evolved types existing in the sixth century. The inference seems to be that the evolution of structural temple architecture before the late Gupta period took place mainly in connection with the necessities of Brāhmanical cults. The square-roofed cella with flat roof, with or without a porch, and with or without a surrounding chamber *may* have been a specifically Hindu type, the apsidal caitya *may* have been a specifically Buddhist type; but it would be very rash to assert that this must have been the case, or that the Hindus borrowed exclusively from the Buddhists, in view of the fact that in all periods for which ade-

quate evidence is available we find that architectural style is a function of time and space, not of sectarian differentiation."[95]

At Bādāmī are four caves dating from the early Cāḷukya period, of which one,
Pl. 126 No. III (Plate 126), is exactly dated at 578 A.D. This is probably the earliest of the four. Its veranda pillars are embellished with triple brackets "ornamented with magnificent human figures in the full bloom of Gupta abundance."[96] Cave No. II, also of the sixth century, shelters a magnificent rendition of Viṣṇu as the Cosmic
Pl. 138 Boar (Plate 138).

According to the legend,[97] when man and woman were created they inquired of Brahmā where they could live; for the earth was submerged at that time in the Cosmic Ocean. The Creator, considering their problem, fell into a profound meditation, and while he was so absorbed a boar as small as a thumb slipped from his nostril. The deity scarcely noticed him. But the animal expanded in the free air to the size of an elephant, and with lifted tail and erected bristles, shaking his bristly mane and showing the white hairs, with flaming eyes flew diagonally across the heavens, his feet scuffing aside the clouds. Scenting with his snout to learn the whereabouts of the earth, he plunged into the depths. And there the Lord of Demons, Daitya Hiraṇyākṣa, "Gold Eye," came against him with an upraised club. The boar killed his antagonist like an elephant slaying a lion and, taking up the goddess Earth, returned to the surface of the Cosmic Sea, to be greeted there by the gods and saints, who were intoning songs of praise.[98]

In the relief, there is great animal vitality in the lively movement of the boar's body, a swing and ease that communicate a sense of the playfulness of the god in the performance of his cosmic deed. And the goddess is perfectly relaxed, in charming and complete resignation to the strong lifting and releasing gesture of the incarnate Lord of the World. A praying nāga and nāginī worship, meanwhile, in believing surrender. The scene has been freely composed, with a playful yet grandiose filling in of the space and a sturdiness of the figure that transcends all suggestion of mere bulk. It is indeed a work "in the full bloom of Gupta abundance." The age in which it was fashioned was one of those rare moments in the history of art in which versatility and restraint were perfectly balanced.

As we have already noted,[99] in 753 A.D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty succeeded the Cāḷukya in the western Deccan: their capital was Malkhed. Shortly following their victory, their new king, Kṛṣṇa II (*c.* 757–783), caused the rock-cut sanctuary
Pl. 204 of Kailāsanātha (Plate 204) to be carved on the model of a structural temple.

Pl. 109, 282 [95] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[96] *Ib.*, p. 96. Cf. *supra*, pp. 85–86, for a discussion
Pl. 128–130 of Plates 128–130.

[97] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3. 13.

[98] Other renditions of this legend will be found in Plates 109 and 282.

[99] *Supra*, p. 279.

The work was begun between the years 757 and 783. Into the mountainside two parallel gorges were driven, which were joined at their inner ends in such a way that a monolithic block two hundred and seventy-six feet long and one hundred and fifty-four feet wide was isolated, from which the whole temple then was carved. The compound, in its present state, comprises an entrance gate, a Nandi temple near the entrance, a courtyard for the circumambulation of the principal temple, two freestanding columns or posts (*dhvaja-stambha*) in the Northern style, a hall (*maṇḍapa*) with a flat roof on sixteen columns, which is likewise in the Northern style, and a main sanctuary, a liṅgam shrine, with a Dravidian type of śikhara crown. In one corner of the courtyard is a chapel dedicated to the five river-goddesses, and along the way of circumambulation are five more shrines. Such a mixture of elements, Northern and Southern, was already typical of the early Cāḷukya tradition. It was inherited from them by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and imaginatively developed.

The sculpture in this temple is characterized by a dignified grace and gentle solemnity. Some of the outstanding works have already been considered: the Śiva and Pārvatī liṅgam in the outer gallery (Plate *208*),[100] the Abduction of Sītā *Pl. 208* (Plate *212*),[101] and the elephant-caryatids (Plate *209*).[102] The burden of the edifice *Pl. 212, 209* is borne easily by the eight pairs of pachyderms, who represent the supporters of the heavens at the four quarters and the points between; for the whole temple is a phantasmagoric vision without weight, composed not of gross matter but of the airy stuff of dream. In its outer gallery, the Śiva and Pārvatī liṅgam (Plate *208*) *Pl. 208* exhibits with benevolent grandeur the god and goddess in their sacred union of the male and female forces. The devotee, privileged to observe their concord, participates in the divine idyl of their happy marriage and, entering then their temple, beholds a celestial realm wherein their harmony emanates from every detail.

This overpowering monument marks the victory of Brāhmanism over Buddhism at Elūrā.

The Buddhist caves of the area are somewhat earlier, dating from the fifth to eighth centuries A.D. They are at the southern end of a long series of rock-cut chapels, which include Hindu and Jaina as well as Buddhist sanctuaries (Plate *188*). The first of them (the façade is visible in Plate *188*) has a hall almost ex- *Pl. 188* actly forty-two feet square; the second (its façade also visible in Plate *188*) has an entrance foyer and behind this a main hall nearly forty-eight feet square surrounded by a spacious gallery of columns. Lateral galleries open along each side

[100] *Supra*, p. 22.

[101] *Supra*, p. 215.

[102] *Supra*, pp. 160 and 250.

of the interior of this second cave and contain niches with seated Buddhas attended
Pl. 191b by chowry bearers (Plate *191b*), the attendants at the right hand of the main
Pl. 190 figures usually holding also a lotus bud (Plate *190*). Apparently these side galleries were an afterthought; for that on the south has been cut, in some places into the roof of Cave I, and in the northern one a number of the figures are unfinished.

The door-guardians (*dvārapālas*) of the main shrine are majestic forms, thirteen to fourteen feet high. The one on the left or north side is simply dressed, with the headdress of plaited hair worn by ascetics and an image of Amitābha
Pl. 187 Buddha as the crest (Plate *187*). His right hand, lifted in the "fear not" (*abhaya*) gesture, holds a rosary, and his left a lotus. He is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the manifestation known as Padmapāṇi, Lotus-in-Hand.[103] And his companion guardian, the figure to the north of the door, is the Future Buddha Maitreya, who will be the next Buddha to appear on earth.[104] Both guardians are attended by two pairs of flying gandharvas and apsarases above, as well as by garland bearers with great curly wigs, and male and female subordinates. And within the main shrine, the dark inner sanctum that they are guarding, is a colossal Buddha, seated on the lion throne, in the attitude of the seated Buddhas in the niches. On each side of his nimbus are gandharvas. And at each end of his throne stand his attendant chowry bearers: precisely the counterparts of the two great Bodhisattvas at the door.

Perhaps the two most magnificent of the great Buddhist carved cathedrals at Elūrā are the Viśvakarman and the Tīn Thāl caves. The former (Cave X) has a mighty entrance court with galleries and an elegant balcony with windows
Pl. 194, 195, 196 (Plates *194* and *195*). Its inner hall (Plate *196*) is forty-three feet wide and almost eighty-six deep, with twenty-eight octagonal columns without capitals, supporting an architrave on which there rests (or rather, appears to rest) the vaulting of the nave. The remote apsidal end is nearly filled with a huge stūpa, fifteen and one-half feet in diameter and nearly twenty-seven feet high, with a large frontispiece nearly seventeen feet high, on which there is seated a colossal figure of the Buddha in the teaching posture. His attendants, again, are the Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi and Maitreya, while in the arch above his head is a flight of gandharvas and apsarases, with a figure of the Bo Tree at the summit.[105]

The Tīn Thāl ("Three-Storied") cave (Cave XII) has been carved in three

[103] Cf. *supra*, pp. 181–185.

[104] Cf. *supra*, p. 190. An excellent example of Maitreya in the role of dvārapāla appears at the
Pl. 192, 193 entrance to Cave VII (Plates *192* and *193*). Distinguished by a richly jeweled headdress with a small stūpa as the crest, he is bedecked with bracelets, armlets, and a thick, jeweled brāhmanical thread.

[105] *Editor's note:* The reader will observe in Plate *196* the beam of light falling from the Pl. 196

stages (Plate *198*). The first is entered by a short flight of steps ascending from the court. In front are eight square columns with bases and plain brackets, the upper portions of the central pair being covered with a delicate floral design; and behind these are two more ranges of eight pillars each, after which there is a recessed area with six more columns, making thirty in all. From the south end of the front aisle the stair ascends. At its first landing is a room within which are figures of the Buddha and Padmapāṇi with their attendants, and the stair goes on from this landing to the second floor—a large hall divided into three aisles by two rows of eight pillars each and with an open veranda. One has to walk the length of this great area to reach the stairway at the north and mount to the top floor, which reveals one of the most impressive chambers in Elūrā. It is divided into five cross aisles by rows of pillars, which, with the two in front of the main shrine, are forty-two in all: perfectly plain square columns, moderately lofty. And in the recesses at the ends of the aisles are figures of the Buddha on stately thrones, with attendant gandharvas, apsarases, and Bodhisattvas. The image visible in Plate *199* is in the posture of calling the earth to witness; that in Plate *201* is turning the Wheel of the Law in the Deer Park of Benares. While the seven saviors ranged along the wall, on lotus thrones and beneath umbrellas of dominion, likewise teaching, are the Mānuṣa Buddhas, the Buddhas-in-human-form, who—as we have seen [106]—were represented by symbolic stūpas and Bo Trees on the architraves of the gates at Sāñcī seven hundred years before. They are: Vipaśyin, the enlightener of the cosmic eon twice removed from our own; Śikhin and Viśvabhū, the teachers of the eon immediately previous to our own; and Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa and Śākyamuni himself, the renewers of the law for our present world period, who are to be followed (*c.* 4500 A.D.) by the lord Maitreya. Regarding them in their enduring silence, in the topmost story of the great carved-out cave, the beholder—even the barbarian who may not know who they are—cannot but be touched by a sense of eternity. Their forms appear again along the wall in the northern half of the hall; and at the northern end of the aisles are more Buddhas in niches. The floors below, likewise, reveal everywhere images of the world-saving Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—silent apparitions in the almost permanent stone—eternal—discovered there by the art of the chisel, as they are to be found within the heart of the devotee by the art of the Buddhist Eightfold Path: Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Effort, Perfect Awareness, and Perfect Meditation.

Pl. 198

Pl. 199, 201

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window directly on the figure of the Buddha. This photograph was taken without artificial light and shows the shrine precisely as the visiting pilgrim would have seen it. Plate *197*, on the other hand, was made with the aid of a photographer's flash. *Pl. 197*

106 *Supra*, p. 162.

Such visions as those of the caves of Elūrā, poured into the rock in defiance of nature, are the architectural equivalents of that superhuman, spiritual indifference to the claims of the gross body which, in the Buddhist ascetic discipline, leads human consciousness to the brink of the realization of nirvāṇa. In the contemplation of these rock-cut sanctuaries the mind is flooded with a supernatural experience of celestial spheres that are those of the mind itself on the brink of release.

From the narrow mountain trail that runs northward along the Buddhist caves there branches a path leading to a series of steps cut into the stone, which mount to the Brāhmanical Das Avatāra ("Ten Avatars") temple (Cave XV). A small rock way goes into the court, which is a mighty area hewn out of the mountainside in such a way as to leave a curtain wall across the front of it and a small Śiva temple in the middle, with a number of lesser shrines and a water cistern in the surrounding walls. And now there open upon us from every side, no longer the visions of Buddha realms, but those of the Hindu saviors: the Goddess, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

Pl. 202 Plate *202* is a view of the second floor of the two-storied Das Avatāra cave. We discover Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva, reposing comfortably in a great-columned hall and know, therefore, that the deity himself cannot be far away. The figures in *Pl. 203* this temple, however, are Vaiṣṇava as well as Śivaite. Plate *203*, for example, is a revelation of Viṣṇu in his avatār of the Man-Lion (*narasiṁha*): the terrible form in which he appeared to the tyrant-demon Hiraṇyakaśipu or "Golden Garment." The pious son of this atheistical king one day was praising Viṣṇu, in the presence of his father, as the transcendent yet immanent creator and sustainer of the world, present within all things. Whereupon the king challenged the god to emerge, if this were true, from one of the pillars of his palace, and immediately the deity appeared in a form that was half man, half lion, seized the blasphemer, and tore him asunder. "It would be difficult," wrote Dr. Coomaraswamy in his interpretation of this relief, "to imagine a more splendid rendering of the well-known theme of the impious king who met his death at the hands of the avenging deity in man-lion form. The hand upon the shoulder, the shrinking figure with the mocking smile that has had no time to fade—what could be more terrible?" [107] The relief is one of the masterworks of Brāhmanical art.

Most of the caves at Elūrā devoted to the Hindu gods are later than the Buddhist. All date from the late sixth to eighth centuries and are of the early Cāḷukya period (550–750 A.D.). In the main they are imitations of a structural temple form that was fully developed by the sixth century and simply transferred

[107] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Śiva* (New York, 1918), p. 69.

here into living rock. It consisted of a flat-roofed garbhagṛha surrounded by a covered column hall that served for circumambulation. "The square flat-roofed cella," writes Coomaraswamy, "may perhaps be derived from the 'prehistoric' dolmens which are so abundant in many parts of India; in these in any case we find the most primitive form of the slab construction—sometimes a single slab covering the roof—which is so characteristic of Hindu architecture. To judge from its wide distribution in the Gupta period this may at one time have been the nearly universal form of the Hindu temple. The next stage surrounded the cella (*garbhagṛha*) with a pillared hall, permitting circumambulation under cover; and it is this stage which we find generally reproduced in caves such as the Dhumar Leṇā at Elūrā [Plate *236*] and the great Śiva shrine at Elephanta [Plates *248–265*]. *Pl. 236, 248 –265* The next step (but all these stages overlap) is to place the shrine at the back wall of the temple, with the result that in a structural temple circumambulation can only take place in an external veranda or on a terrace platform, and in a cave becomes impossible. In the meanwhile a tendency was developing to emphasize the importance of the cella by a duplication of the roof above it and this led to the development of the two śikharas, Āryavārta and Dravidian." [108]

Plate *227* is a view of the outside, and Plates *230–234* the interior, of the seventh-century Rāmeśvara cave at Elūrā (Cave XXI).[109] *Pl. 227, 230 –234* The main hall is sixty-nine feet wide and two hundred and fifty-one deep. In the forecourt Nandi reposes on a massive understructure carved from the virgin rock. The veranda is adorned with powerful pillars, having pot and foliage capitals magnificently decorated with bracket figures of dryads and goddesses accompanied by dwarfs (Plate *228*). *Pl. 228* At either end of this veranda stands a great river-goddess and within the cave (among other images) is the relief of Durgā conquering the Buffalo discussed above (pages 92–93, Plate *234*). *Pl. 234*

In Plates *231–232*, from the same cave, we behold the solemn, terrible, yet *Pl. 231–232* marvelously reposeful dance of Śiva Naṭeśvara, the divine creator and destroyer of the universe—whose operations in time, like those of the Goddess, are but the phenomenal reflex of a supernal state of timeless peace. The god, in his measured movement, reveals a condition approaching repose. There is no dramatic exhibition of the deity's divine frenzy, only a slow musicality of gesture: an overwhelming state of permanently supreme serenity, which is beyond the fluctuations of time and would easily baffle any attempt to undo it. The multiple arms do not insist upon themselves, but are subordinated to the rhythm of the

[108] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 97–98.

[109] *Editor's note:* For a discussion of Cave XVI, the great Kailāsanātha carved temple, cf. *supra*, pp. 290–291.

composition. Devas have descended from the heaven of the Thirty-three and hover in the upper right-hand corner, mounted on their vehicles. Gaṇeśa can be seen at his father's right. And below, watching with no less rapture than ourselves, are Pārvatī and her attendants, and the four musicians. The atmosphere that emanates from the relief is one of utter safety. For this god is God.

Pl. 235–239 In Plates *235–239* we enter the majestic Dhumar Leṇā (Cave XXIX). This temple is often compared with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sanctuary of Elephanta, to which it bears a striking resemblance; but it is larger and in some respects even more impressive; it is also considerably earlier in period. The great hall, including the shrine, is almost exactly fifty yards square, and the whole excavation extends about eighty yards from north to south. Two large lions with small elephants beneath their lifted paws guard the steps that lead into the hall from three sides, and before the west approach is a large circle for the Nandi. The hall is in the form of a cross, and its ceiling, seventeen feet eight inches high, is supported by twenty-six very massive pillars. In the southeast corner is a beautiful Marriage of Pl. 237 Śiva and Pārvatī, with a place in the floor before it for the votive fire (Plate *237*). Pl. 238 Śiva again is to be seen, in another relief, dancing before his spouse (Plate *238*). The chief shrine is in a back wing or recess and, as at Elephanta, is a quadrangular chamber with four doors, each guarded by a pair of gigantic dvārapālas; each guardian, in this case, holding a flower in his right hand and attended by a female Pl. 236 figure also holding a flower (Plate *236*). Within is the symbol of the fundamental, immovable, unchanging essence of the god who in his numerous "likenesses" (*pratimās*)—both benevolent (*dakṣiṇa*) and terrific (*ghora*)—has become variously manifest on the great stage of time. Within, that is to say, is the simple form of the god as the divine life-force of the universe: the solemn liṅgam-yoni.

The beholder of these great Hindu works of architectural rock-sculpture at Elūrā cannot but feel a real presence within them of divinity. And though aloof, enwrapped in their own atmosphere, the gods are felt to be near—as blessed apparitions hovering before the successfully concentrated inner gaze of the devotee. Their phantasmagorical character is not emphasized, as it is in the Pallava monuments of Māmallapuram.[110] Nevertheless, the immaterial spirituality that was attained in the Gupta images of the Buddha has here become a dominant factor in the Brāhmanical conception of a divine being. It has tempered and even eliminated the energetic realism of the earlier Northern styles.[111]

In strong contrast to this dematerialization, and particularly surprising in view of the direction in which the Hindu craft was pointing, are the Jaina caves at Elūrā, which terminate the file of rock works to the north and are the latest in

[110] Cf. *supra*, pp. 87–90. [111] Cf. *supra*, pp. 6–9.

date of the series, belonging to the ninth, tenth, and perhaps eleventh centuries. We have already discussed the ponderous Indra and Indrāṇī of Cave XXXIII, the Indra Sabhā.[112] This temple (Plate *240*) consists of two double-storied caves and a single one, with wings and subordinate chapels. In the court is a large image of Indra's elephant and a half-fallen stone pillar (*dhvaja-stambha*) that is twenty-seven feet four inches tall. The chapel walls are decorated with the sculptured forms of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras (Plates *245* and *247*): Pārśvanātha overshadowed by a seven-hooded snake; Gommaṭa entwined with a creeper; Mahāvīra (not shown in our picture) in the so-called "lion posture" (*siṁhāsana*). The heavy figures of the king and queen of the gods are at the ends of the veranda of the great hall, which once was bright with painting. And the walls within, divided into compartments, are filled with Tīrthaṅkaras, the main shrine being occupied by Mahāvīra. The court around the main temple is for circumambulation. The upper story, like the lower, has a great columned hall, some fifty-five feet wide and seventy-eight long, with an entrance hall that opens at either side into lesser foyers.

Pl. 240

Pl. 245, 247

So here again we find a mixture of Northern and Southern elements, with the latter more predominant, however, than in the vast temple of Kailāsanātha. Typically Jaina is the careful, minute decoration of the rock façade, which is pedantic and rather lifeless. It suggests a covering of fine lacework and already heralds the filigree of the lavish temples of Mount Ābū. The plastic aims and values of the Jaina sculptors in their fashioning of columns and walls always carry a suggestion of meticulous ivory carving. Their images, on the other hand, have a massive, realistic monumentality that is quite their own.

Elūrā (Verūl) is a village in the district of Aurangabad, in the state of Hyderabad. Elephanta is an island in the harbor of Bombay.

The subterranean temple in the latter site is of the same period as the Kailāsanātha of Elūrā (second half of the eighth century A.D.) and likewise a Śivaite work in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa style (Plates *248–265*). Two liṅgam shrines, each completely detached from the walls to allow for circumambulation, are sheltered underground in a pillared hall (Plate *250*). Each has four entrances guarded by dvārapālas. Their basic plan is thus that of the quadratic temple, which underlies all maṇḍalas and yantras: compare the four gates of the early Buddhist stūpas, the ground plan of Aṅkor Wāt, in Cambodia, and the temple banners of Tibet.[113] The interior of the cave in which these sanctuaries repose is a room some one hundred and thirty feet square, with an entrance about fifty-four feet wide, opening to the north toward Śiva's Himālayas (Plate *249*). Two pillars are at this en-

Pl. 248–265

Pl. 250

Pl. 249

[112] Cf. *supra*, pp. 131–133.

[113] Plates *6*, *531*, and *608*.

Pl. 6, 531, 608

trance; also a double staircase with lions that have been destroyed. And within are pillars in the Northern style with ribbed cushion capitals. Parts of the relief décor bear relationships to the Kailāsanātha temple of Elūrā. Both the sculpture and the columns are covered with a layer of stucco (*chunam*), eggshell thin, which now shines like marble as a result of the influence of time. The back and side walls of the cave are magnificently decorated with reliefs, two of which have already been noted and discussed.[114]

Pl. 253 Plate *253* is the colossal Śiva Maheśvara, "Śiva in his manifestation as the Great Lord," a threefold image twenty-three feet high by nineteen and a half across. The head at the beholder's left is male, that at the right female (Plate
Pl. 255 *255*), while in the center is the visage of the world-supporting, transcendent,
Pl. 254 undifferentiated essence of the creative void (Plate *254*). The devotee is to think of the divine generative principle as manifest, left and right, in the complementary poles of the male and the female, the world-mothering principle residing in the latter; and in the former, in the aspect of anger, the force of destruction. Behind this image there is a niche, deep enough to harbor two men: it could not have been seen by the devotee. Moreover, the daylight from the entrance does not suffice here to light the cave; the place must have been illuminated by a multitude of little oil lamps. And the artists who fashioned the great threefold head must have worked by such a light.

At either side of the Śiva Maheśvara appears a reaffirmation of the male-
Pl. 256, 257 female polarity in two magnificent reliefs (Plates *256* and *257*). On the one hand
Pl. 258, 259 (Plate *258*) is the androgynous Śiva Ardhanārī and, on the other (Plate *259*), Pārvatī at the moment of her marriage to Siva.

11. Borobuḍur and the Architecture of Java

YAVADVĪPA, "the continent-island (*dvīpa*) abounding in barley (*yava*)," is blessed with gold mines as well as with grain, and so in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is said to be *suvarṇakāra-maṇḍita*, "adorned by goldsmiths." Its population is basically Malayo-Polynesian, but as early as the first or second centuries A.D. Indian settlements were established in the western part. Ptolemy (*c.* 130 A.D.) refers to Java as Jabadieu ("island of barley"), using its Hindu-Sanskrit designation, which may

[114] *Supra*, pp. 34, 86, 146, and 185n.

imply that in his time Java had already been overrun by Indian culture. Hindu colonization during the following centuries transferred to the island the names of many famous Indian sites: for instance, Madura (Madura), Dvāravatī (Dorovati), Sumeru (Semeru), Sarayu (Serayu), and Vāsuki (Besuki). By the close of the sixth century the Indianization of the "Island of Barley" was secure.

Our chief sources for the history of the Javanese are elaborate native poems about the royal dynasties, but there exist also archaeological remains. For in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the rulers of a Hindu kingdom in the western part of the island caused a number of inscriptions to be engraved on river stones, which to this day testify to their deeds. The earliest was found near Batavia and can be dated *c.* 450 A.D.; it announces a king with a Sanskrit name, Pūrṇavarman ("Completely Mail-clad"). The earliest self-dated inscription is in the center of the island. Composed in Sanskrit characters of a Pallava type, it relates of a king Sañjaya, who caused a liṅgam to be established, 732 A.D. Another inscription records the building of a Śiva temple by a Brāhman clan known as the Agastya family (*agastyagotra*), the model for their edifice having been derived from a Śiva sanctuary in the South of India. Agastya was the most popular saint of that Indian region and he became in Java the leading genius of the Hinduized civilization: worshiped as a divine being with the titles Bhatāra Guru (Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāraka*, "venerable") and Śiva Guru, he was even given precedence over Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Javanese princes of Hindu descent, furthermore, endowed Buddhist temples in India proper. We have inscriptions recording their donations from Nālandā in the ninth century and Nāgapatam in the tenth or eleventh.

Immigration from South India to Java continued over an extended period, the earliest arrivals having been merchants who settled in the western end of the island. But by the close of the seventh century a Hindu-Javanese civilization had been established in the center, and here the art forms introduced by the later immigrants appear in full development. They were of a much more sophisticated technique than anything that native Java was producing; nevertheless, the spiritual strength of the aboriginal population was great enough to contribute new impulses almost immediately. And this created a remarkable style, typical of Java, the first notable monuments of which are a series of small stone temples on the Dieng plateau, southwest of Semarang (Plates 474 and 475). Pl. 474, 475

Standing on a narrow ridge some 6,500 feet above sea level, these temples are a goal of pilgrimage. Their simple, clear contours, vigorous lines, sober ornamentation, and remarkable taste afford a good idea of what the early Javanese, following Hindu models, could achieve. Some of the forms resemble the temple depicted on the (Pallava) Descent of the Ganges at Māmallapuram. Ornaments are used

sparingly and simply. One feels in them, very strongly, the kinship with the sober Pallava style.

Shortly before the middle of the eighth century a colonial Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Sumatra (*suvarṇadvīpa*, "the island of gold"), with its capital at Śrīvijaya, near Palembang, began to extend its sway over the neighboring countries, apparently as a consequence of wealth gained through a favorable position on the commercial highway of the Malacca Straits, where the sea lanes between India and China passed. Its princes, the Śailendras of Śrīvijaya, gained footholds both on the Malay Peninsula and in Java, and about 750 the local Javanese king appears to have removed to the eastern extremity of his domain, leaving the western and middle portions to his mighty rivals. These were the most energetic propagators of Indian civilization in the archipelago. They soon were exerting considerable influence over the greater part of the Malay Peninsula as well as over Java and the islands eastward. Theirs, therefore, was the period in which Buddhism became predominant in Java, and which saw the rise of the "classical" Javanese art that culminated in the tremendous stūpa of Borobuḍur.

The first Javanese record of the Śailendra princes is an inscription of 778 A.D., registering the construction of a Buddhist shrine in the central part of the island. Their most magnificent monument immediately followed, likewise in the middle
Pl. 476–494 of the island; namely, Caṇḍi Borobuḍur (Plates 476–494). This is a Buddhist work of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., and in contrast to the much smaller Hindu temples of the Dieng area is rich, of bold conception, with grand and gorgeous decorations, and of an extraordinarily refined technique. The Śailendra style is completely free of Polynesian elements. It is intrinsically Indian, even though, in the new, very gifted environment, it was guided by a new inspiration. The impulses of the Gupta style, and of such subsequent mainland developments as are represented in the Pallava and Pāla, have become infused in it with a new life. Specifically, its basic conceptions and formulae, as well as the refined, well-controlled execution, point to the Pallava area more directly than to the North.

During those centuries the Mahāyāna attained in India its supreme development and in Java wiped out the Hīnayāna. Buddhism and Śivaism were the two official religions of the Śailendra period; the latter, apparently, being the creed of the masses, the former prevailing in the court. But since the court harbored the group in the best position to sponsor and erect important buildings, many more Buddhist than Śivaite monuments remain to us, in disproportion to the probable numbers of the adherents of the two creeds. In the middle of the ninth century, however, when the Śailendra dynasty suddenly collapsed, this circumstance abruptly changed.

What the vast Buddhist stūpa of Borobuḍur (Plate 476) was called in those ancient times we do not know; perhaps Dharmapuram, "The Castle of the Right Law." All the etymologies that have been proposed to explain the popular native designation, *Borobuḍur*, have been, for one reason or another, unsatisfactory. It is possible that the word means simply "many Buddhas." Pl. 476

The sanctuary is situated on an eminence in the Keḍu plain, commanding an extensive view of green rice fields and more distant towering conical volcanoes. "Architecturally," wrote Dr. Coomaraswamy, "it is unlike any other monument of the period. A rounded hill has been terraced and clothed with stone; the result is a truncated terraced pyramid supporting a relatively small central stūpa surrounded by seventy-two much smaller perforated stūpas arranged in three concentric circles; the surface of each has been turned into a network of stone, partly disclosing, within the dome, the form of a buddha. A stairway in the middle of each side of the pyramid leads directly to the upper platforms with the stūpas. The ground plan of the six lower terraces is square, with re-entrant corners, that of the three upper terraces is circular. . . . Each of the lower terraces is a perambulation gallery whose walls are long series of reliefs." [115]

"The higher we ascend, the wider rises our spiritual horizon," states the Dutch archaeologist, N. J. Krom, in his work describing the reliefs on the sculptured panels of the terraces. "At the foot of the monument we contemplate [in the sculptured reliefs] the misery caused by the wheel of life, and the unavoidable inevitable Law of Karma is brought before our eyes in impressive scenes. Following on this, we are shown how the Buddha preached the Law of Salvation, how in this last earthly existence he attained Buddhaship, for which task he qualified himself by many deeds of self-sacrifice through innumerable former existences. Next comes the story of the seeker after the highest Wisdom, the symbolic wanderings of Sudhana." [116]

Sudhana, this young hero to whose quest for Buddhahood the reliefs of the upper terraces are dedicated, is represented as the model Bodhisattva whom the pilgrim, perambulating and ascending Borobuḍur, should imitate. For in his quest for enlightenment, Sudhana could not address himself directly to the living, physical Buddha, since Śākyamuni in Sudhana's time—just as in our own—had already passed into nirvāṇa. There were, however, in the transcendental celestial sphere, Śākyamuni's spiritual counterparts: the Bodhisattva Maitreya, who is to be his next successor; [117] Mañjuśrī, that perfect blend of Bodhisattvaship and Buddha-

[115] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 204.

[116] N. J. Krom, *The Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Bārābuḍur, according to the Lalitavistara Text* (The Hague, 1926); see also, by the same author, *Bārābuḍur, Archaeological Description* (The Hague, 1927, 2 vols.).

[117] Cf. *supra*, pp. 190 and 292.

hood, wielding the sword of the discriminating knowledge that severs the knots of bondage, who carries the revealed book of the Transcendental Wisdom of the Other Shore; [118] and Samantabhadra, who will be the final Buddha and at present is "spreading enlightening wisdom around him in all directions (*samanta*), from his supernatural grace and compassion (*bhadra*)." The path of wisdom (*bodhi-carya*) by which Sudhana attained the qualities prerequisite for the achievements of his ultimate existence is the paradigm of the way to eternal wisdom most appropriate to our age, and so should be the pattern for the Mahāyānist pilgrim who has entered the bodhisattva-yāna and is practicing bodhicarya. For there is today no living Buddha to whom the candidate for illumination can turn, whom he can worship, by whom he can be taught, and from whom he can receive the prophecy that in times to come he will be His like. Having come to Borobuḍur, the pilgrim, ascending its graduated stages, can gain initiation to the highest goal by imitating Sudhana in his relentless quest for the ultimate truth. Like him, the pilgrim must seek contact with the supernatural spiritual Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who reside in spheres of eternal meditation, beyond the transformations of time. Therefore, having mentally identified his path with that of Sudhana while viewing the panels of this stage, the devotee must now mount higher, circumambulate the topmost square gallery and finally, reaching the circular upper terraces, symbolically enter the sphere of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of timeless meditation, the diamond (*vajra*) realm of the Adi Buddha Vajrasattva, "He whose essence is the adamantean bolt." [119]

The peculiar beauty of Borobuḍur is derived from the spirit that permeates and ennobles indefinably everything about it. It is the spirit of devotion, the Buddhist *bhakti*. Such loving care was lavished on every detail that all sorts of unimportant trifles have been animated by touches of a refined realism and affectionate humor. Furthermore, there is an extraordinary naturalness about the compositions of the reliefs. This freshness and this originality were achieved not through revolutionary changes, producing coinages of new forms, but through a novel application of the classical Buddhist vocabulary that was already of old standing on the Indian mainland. The motifs and patterns of Borobuḍur are distant yet clear echoes of those of the early Coḷa period and of the stūpas of contemporary Ceylon.

The incredible number of the reliefs and the painstaking manner in which all were executed would seem to indicate that a great multitude of skilled sculptors was employed. Conspicuous differences of style can be noted, even in the single sequence of the Buddha's life. Apparently the head architects portioned out the texts to be illustrated, and the artists who were to execute the panels, though re-

[118] Cf. *supra*, pp. 198–200.

[119] Cf. *supra*, pp. 194–197.

ceiving instructions concerning the chief points in the scenes that they were to render, were left entirely free with respect to detail. This would explain the frequent minor departures from the letter of the text. The Javanese sculptors, having their own craft traditions for the representation of the well-known Buddhist episodes, were governed by these when composing and not by the holy Sanskrit text.

The base of the stūpa has preserved inscriptions (erased elsewhere throughout the monument) for the guidance of the artists who were to have wrought its unfinished panels. These indicate what scenes and events were designed for the various portions of the vast circumference. Before the carving could be completed, however, and the notices erased, it became necessary to wall in this lowest story with stones and earth; for in the course of the construction it became apparent that the base was not going to withstand the prodigious pressure from above. To avoid a greater disaster, a broad retaining embankment was thrown up all around, and as a result, the mass of the stūpa assumed a much heavier aspect than was originally intended. The grace of the contours was half spoiled and a precious series of one hundred and sixty nearly finished panels was completely buried from view.

This lower basement was discovered and excavated in 1885. Its inscriptions—intended, obviously, not for visiting pilgrims but for the guidance of the sculptors—would not make sense to anyone unfamiliar with the text from which their key words were derived; the text, namely, of the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, which is a Mahāyāna work describing in orderly sequence the operation of karma, the law of cause and effect, in reincarnation, in heaven, and in hell.[120] The panels of the base illustrating this text deal with morality on the earthly plane, showing that every thought, act, and feeling yields a result in the form either of some happy circumstance or of some terrible mishap.

In surprising contrast to the reliefs of the upper galleries, the panels of the buried base contain scenes from common life, including many representations of murder, fighting, and the capture and killing of beasts (Plate 479). Such motifs *Pl. 479*
are avoided elsewhere on the stūpa as much as possible, even where the texts warrant or require them. Shown also—and particularly in the latter half of the basement series—are the pleasures of heaven and pains of hell. These, with the scenes of earthly life, supply a full panorama of saṁsāra, the hopeless cycle of birth and death. They present the good and evil deeds performed in the world as followed by heavenly reward and purgatorial punishment, unfolding thus the chain of *all* those forms of delusional existence from which Buddhism

[120] The parallel text in the Pāli, Hīnayāna, tradition is the *Cūlakammavibhanga* (*Majjhima Nikāya* 135).

brings release. The basement of the stūpa was to have represented in this way the temporal foundation from which the Gospel, represented in the higher galleries, took its start: but as a result of its burial the pilgrim worshiper was denied this elementary, introductory chapter of the full Mahāyāna message.

The main wall of the first gallery presents, in its upper row of panels, the Buddha legend, the story of the heroic savior who revealed the way of escape from the vortex of saṁsāra represented on the buried base. The lower panels in the same gallery (with which are connected both rows on the balustrade, as well as those on the balustrade of the second gallery) contain episodes from the *jātakas* (the earlier lives of the Buddha) and *avadānas* ("glorious acts," the Buddhist legends of saintly deeds), that is to say, scenes illustrating acts of faith, but in par-
Pl. 480, 481 ticular those that prepared Gautama Śākyamuni for his holy task (Plates 480 and 481 below).

The Buddha legend presented in this series is based on a docetic Mahāyāna work known as the *Lalitavistara:* "The Illusionary Display of the Playful Gesture of a Buddha's Biography." It is illustrated in one hundred and twenty panels, commencing with the glorious descent of the Buddha from the Tuṣita heaven and terminating with his first sermon in the Deer Park of Benares, his "Turning or Setting in Motion of the Wheel of the True Law" (*dharma-cakra-pravartana*). Whereas in the basement series many scenes were shown of slaughter and cruelty, depicting the sins of earthly life and the torture of sinners in the purgatories, the panels not only of the Buddha legend but also of the Buddha's former lives avoid strictly all cruel and sensational motifs, even where the texts abound in gruesome details; for the pilgrim circumambulating these higher galleries was not to be haunted any longer by disturbing visions of the world. Instead, he was to be gradually carried toward the lofty, pure sphere of the transcendental Buddhas, who are beyond strife and the pairs of opposites. We have noted the instance of
Pl. 482c the "Graveyard Vision in the Seraglio" (Plate 482, bottom panel).[121] A like decorum characterizes all the upper-gallery scenes. No passions were to be stirred in this adamantean sphere of crystalline serenity by reminiscences of the agonies that bind humanity to the lower, grosser, and more turbulent realms.

Pl. 482a In the panel at the top of this plate the Bodhisattva is seen descending from the Tuṣita heaven. According to the version of this episode supplied by the *Lalitavistara*, when the radiant Buddha-to-be had received his kingly consecration to the spiritual succession of the universal monarchy of Buddhahood, he dwelt, worthy of honor and adored, in the pleasant abode of the Tuṣita heaven, praised and

[121] *Supra*, pp. 138–139.

glorified by a hundred thousand gods. And when he was seated, beatified, in a great palace, which resounded with the music of a hundred thousand myriads of heavenly damsels and was filled with the perfume of fragrant flowers, one thousand million myriads of gods fixed their eyes upon him, and, as a result of the accumulation of his good deeds in countless former existences, there rose from the harmonious sounds of eighty-four thousand musical instruments the following inspiring stanza:

Now is the time come: let it not pass unused!

Whereupon, leaving that radiant palace, the Bodhisattva sat down in another palace, named Dharmoccaya, where he expounded the Law to the Tuṣita gods. And every one of the deities who share the state of the Bodhisattvas entered to hear. The Bodhisattvas of the ten directions of space came together and were a company of sixty-eight thousand myriads. And when all were sunk in pious meditation a voice was heard. "In twelve years," it proclaimed, "the Bodhisattva shall descend to a mother's womb."

Thereat the Anointed One settled upon the family of his coming human birth, after which he resorted to a third palace of the glorious Tuṣita heaven, where he placed himself upon the lion throne that had the name of Śrīgarbha ("Fortune Womb"). He was seen there adorned by the oceans of his ripened merits. And he addressed the blessed company of the gods.

"Most honorable ones, I shall go to India. And should I not acquire there the most high and perfect wisdom, it would ill become me and would show ingratitude."

The deities wept and, clasping the Bodhisattva's feet, said to him: "This dwelling, the Tuṣita heaven, O most noble one, when thou hast departed, will no longer shine."

But he again spoke to the company. "Behold, here is the Bodhisattva Maitreya, who will instruct you in the Blessed Law." And removing the tiara from his head he placed it on the head of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, with the words of promise: "O most noble one, thou shalt attain, after me, the most high and perfect wisdom." And when he had installed thus the Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita palace, he again addressed himself to the congregation of the gods.

"In what form," he asked, "shall I descend into the womb?"

"In human form," some answered. But there were others who replied: "As it is told in the holy books of the Brāhmans, there is a particular form in which the Bodhisattva must descend into the mother womb. And what is that form? It is the

mighty one of a splendid elephant, with six tusks, shining brightly as though enclosed in a golden net, and with a head made rosy and most beautiful by a pungent ichor oozing from his forehead." [132]

In the relief at Borobuḍur, the Bodhisattva is still in a human form. Having spoken from the lion throne in the sight of all the gods, nāgas, and yakṣas in the vast pavilion, he set forth with the Bodhisattvas, surrounded by one hundred thousand millions of myriads of gods, nāgas, and yakṣas, and descended from the beautiful Tuṣita abode. We behold him in the middle of the panel in dhyāna mudrā, the posture of meditation, seated in a double pavilion that is being carried down to the earth. The clouds beneath it indicate that the building is hovering in the air, as do likewise the figures of the gods at either side, bearing it in their hands. Both to left and to right escorting gods can be seen with umbrellas, banners, fans, flowers, and incense burners, while at the left are the apsarases with their musical instruments. We miss, however, the nāgas and yakṣas of the text; for the sculptors were not directly acquainted with the Sanskrit biography. Their assignment had been indicated to them by a key word inscribed on the wall where the relief was to go, and having thus been informed what event was to be illustrated, they rendered it according to their local Javanese tradition and, when the relief was finished, erased the directing word.

Pl. 482b In this particular panel, which is rendered in a low relief, the aim was rather picturesque than plastic values—in contrast to the panel immediately beneath it, where the Bodhisattva is seen bestowing his finger ring on the maiden Gopā, his bride-elect. The hovering attitude of the gods and the flutter of their banners and streamers give an impression of a swift motion downward through the air, while the bodies are of the subtle substance of vision. These are not solid, earth-bound creatures of gross matter, like those in the illustration of the lovely episode of the Bestowing of the Ring.

According to the legend of the latter event: When the Śākya relatives had warned the Buddha's earthly father, King Śuddhodana, that it was prophesied that his son the prince was to become either a Buddha, renouncing worldly life, or a Cakravartin, an omnipotent ruler of the world, it seemed meet and prudent to the royal father to bind his heir to the world by contracting a marriage, so that his throne should be not vacated but rendered great. And he looked around to see what maiden would be suitable for his heir. Each of the five hundred Śākya fathers then said to himself, "My daughter is suitable for the prince," but to each the king replied, "The prince, my son, is not easy to please. We must let him

[132] *Lalitavistara* 5. (In Sanskrit, ed. by S. Lefmann, Vol. I, Halle, 1902, p. 5, lines 6–19. Tr. in Krom, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 9–10.)

know and ask which is the maiden finding favor in his sight." They announced the matter to the prince, and he said to them, "You shall know my answer in seven days."

When the seventh day arrived, the maidens of the city of Kapilavastu gathered in the assembly hall where their prince was seated, to be looked upon by him and to receive magnificent gifts; and he distributed priceless ornaments to all. But they, unable to endure his majesty and radiance, hastened away as soon as possible, after they had received their beautiful gifts. Whereupon there entered into the presence of the Bodhisattva a fair Śākya maid named Gopā, and she, coming close to him, looked upon him without closing her eyes. By that time all the ornaments had been bestowed, and the maiden Gopā, therefore, spoke to the Bodhisattva with a merry look. "Prince," said she, "what have I done that thou shouldst despise me?" "I despise thee not," the Bodhisattva answered, "but thou comest last." And he removed a splendid ring worth many hundred thousands from his finger, which he handed to the maid.[123]

The panel shows a pavilion, in the middle apartment of which the Bodhisattva sits on a throne, holding the ring, and Gopā is before him, kneeling. At the right, behind the Bodhisattva, both within the pavilion and without, are the servants of the prince. Two horses stand in the right corner with a groom. In the left are two seated guards. And in a hall adjoining the pavilion are the Śākya maidens who withdrew, watching from a distance Gopā's encounter with the Bodhisattva: they perceive that she is the one chosen. The pavilion roof is decorated with pots of flowers. Peacocks are perching everywhere. A dove is flying from an upper corner. The scene is rendered with a lovely, gentle feeling for its youthful charm.

This same sweet human element is evident in Plate 481, which shows the *Pl. 481* familiar episode of Māyā, the Buddha's mother, proceeding to the Lumbinī grove. The queen is in a comfortable armchair with cushions, in a carriage drawn by two horses hung with bells, upon one of which the charioteer is riding. A number of men, some armed, walk before, who, to judge by their fine clothes, are Śākya nobles, while beside the carriage and just behind it are servants bearing leaf fans and umbrellas, some carrying swords. Finally there come the ladies in waiting of the queen.[124]

The contrast of this humanistic, comely art with the fundamental stylistic aims and achievements of India appears very vividly when the Borobuḍur scene of Sujātā presenting the Bodhisattva with the milk-rice (Plate 484) is compared *Pl. 484*

[123] *Lalitavistara* 12. (Ed. Lefmann, p. 142, lines 1–19. Cf. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–49.)

[124] Cf. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

with any of the Sāñcī reliefs or with the frescoes of Ajaṇṭā. In the Javanese panel the figures are set over and against each other and clearly distinguished from space. They do not seem to be emerging, as though precipitated, from an infinite background, but are placed before a backdrop. They are not formless stone becoming concentrated into form before our eyes.[125] Such a rational style seems familiar, and hence agreeable, to the Western eye, but is profoundly un-Indian.

Pl. 485 Plate 485 illustrates the episode that followed the meeting of the Bodhisattva with Sujātā. According to the *Lalitavistara*,[126] when he had partaken of the milk-rice presented to him by the maid, the Bodhisattva, on his way to the tree of enlightenment, thought to bathe in the river Nairañjanā. (Part of the lower portion of the relief is occupied by the water: the rocky bank rises steeply to the right.) And when he had paused, the Bodhisattva tossed into the river the golden bowl in which Sujātā had served him the rice and which she had refused to receive back.[127] It was seized by the nāgas of the river as an object of worship, but Indra, desiring the precious relic, assumed the form of Garuḍa, to attack the nāgas, and immediately dove into the watery realm. A truce was arranged. Then, while the future Buddha bathed, myriads of gods filled the water with sandalwood powder, ointments, and divine aloe, and threw divine flowers of various colors into the water to honor the Bodhisattva. The river Nairañjanā was filled with the perfume and flowers. And when the Bodhisattva had bathed in that sweet-smelling water, millions of gods scooped up the water and each carried it away to his own dwelling, to make a shrine for it and there adore it.

This episode was followed by the procession to the Bo Tree, the encounter with the demon Kāma-Māra, and the Bodhisattva's attainment of his goal.[128]

Pl. 488–489 The reliefs of the second gallery of Borobuḍur (Plates 488–489), comprising one hundred and twenty-eight panels, are based on the Mahāyāna sūtra known as the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and illustrate the tireless manner in which a candidate must strive for absolute wisdom. According to the legend, the text of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was revealed nine times, in different places, the first revelation having taken place in the kingdom of Magadhā, under the Bo Tree itself. At the opening of the text the principal figure is the Buddha Samantabhadra. He is succeeded by Mañjuśrī, who is the Bodhisattva particularly honored in this sūtra. The scene then shifts to the paradise of the devas, where the Buddha Śākyamuni is being welcomed to one of Indra's palaces on Mount Sumeru, and ten Bodhisattvas praise the Buddha's wisdom. Śākyamuni is next shown in the heaven of Yama, Lord of the Dead; next,

125 See the discussion, *supra*, pp. 213–226.

126 *Lalitavistara* 18. (Ed. Lefmann, p. 269, lines 9 ff.) Compare the rendition of the following scene on the stūpa of Amarāvatī, *supra*, pp. 76–77.

127 Cf. *supra*, p. 138.

128 The legend is recounted *supra*, pp. 175–177.

in the Tuṣita heaven, where his mother Māyā resides; and after that, in various other celestial realms, where gods confer with him and numerous Bodhisattvas give him praise. Finally, the scenes change to the Garden of Jeta, in Śrāvastī, where the Buddha Śākyamuni promulgated his doctrines while on earth. There, before a magnificent assemblage of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī bids farewell to Śākyamuni and embarks on a southward journey among mankind. He is approached for instruction by Śariputra and two monks, after which he proceeds to the "City of Happiness," where he meets the youth Sudhana, the human hero of the text, who is regarded as the model and archetype of the Mahāyāna Buddhist devotee.

Sudhana learns from Mañjuśrī of the wonderful deeds of the Lord Buddha and declares himself to be a candidate for illumination (*bodhi*). The Bodhisattva then leaves him and, traversing South India, proclaims the Buddha in one hundred and ten cities, while the convert, in search of further wisdom and the right teacher, begins a career of wandering that is to be almost endless. Sudhana visits thirty persons of various professions (laymen mostly) in different parts of the South, and these send him along, one to the other, without quenching his thirst for understanding. He visits in Magadhā each of the eight Rātrī-devatās (goddesses of the night), but not even these can satisfy his need. He meets many other instructors, among them Gopā, the wife of the Buddha, and the Buddha's mother, Māyā, in the celestial realms where she has been reborn, and by now he is beginning to feel partly successful in his quest; for with each change of teacher the scope of his knowledge has increased. With his zeal thus augmented, he survives a hundred austerities and comes finally into the presence of the Future Buddha Maitreya.

The entering of Sudhana into the presence of Maitreya concludes the relief series of the second gallery of Borobuḍur and opens that of the third (Plate 490). Maitreya is identifiable by the stūpa on the front of his headdress. He *Pl. 490* bids the questing candidate return to Mañjuśrī, telling him plainly that only that Bodhisattva can make his knowledge perfect. Yet Mañjuśrī sends him on to the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, who, considering him to be still unready for absolute wisdom, enjoins him to make a pilgrimage to various Buddhist sanctuaries. This will help him acquire the necessary devout state of mind, and when that has been won, he may put himself again under the guidance of Maitreya. In the end, Sudhana is judged worthy to go back to Samantabhadra and receive from him initiation to full and perfect bodhi.[129]

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* belonged originally to the Mādhyamika school of the Mahāyāna, but was later accepted by the Yogācāra because of the part played in it by

[129] Cf. Krom, *Bārābuḍur, Archaeological Description*, Vol. II, pp. 114–115.

Samantabhadra. Borobuḍur is a Yogācāra monument.[180] The long quest with its numerous teachers implies as many conquests of transcendental wisdom—a continuous pressing beyond known limits and beyond the candidate's own imperfections. Such a quest connotes, therefore, for the candidate, a continually in-
Pl. 491 creasing inner light.

In the fourth of the mounting galleries of Borobuḍur (Plate 491) the biography illustrated is that of the fifth-century philosopher-sage Āsaṅga, who is supposed to have received the Yogācāra creed directly from Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven, whither he had ascended by night. He questioned, first Maitreya, next Mañjuśrī, and finally Samantabhadra. Āsaṅga was the historical founder of the school. Its doctrines are not corroborated by the earlier Buddhist tradition, nor do they pretend to be; for, according to the teaching, the Yogācāra does not represent the Buddhism of the past, taught by the bygone Buddha Śākyamuni, but is a foreshadowing of that form of the Blessed Law which is to be revealed by Maitreya, the Buddha to Come. The principal wall of the fourth gallery of Borobuḍur, which is devoted to the history of Āsaṅga's reception of the new doctrine, prepares the pilgrim-devotee for his graduation from the pedagogical lessons of the narrative reliefs to the lofty, timeless realm of the Dhyāni Buddhas,
Pl. 492–494 who simply sit in the dome-shaped stūpas of the circular upper terraces. Plates 492–494 are examples of these immobile Buddhas. They are not earthly beings who have become enlightened, but transcendental saviors, whose subtle ethereal appearances are to be visualized by the inner eye of the devotee—wonderful forms full of a sublime composure; radiant; in solemn, peaceful, eternal meditation. They represent to the Buddhist the most subtle comprehensible manifestation of the spirit of the universe and simultaneously disclose to him an image of that perfect attitude which he may hope to attain himself, the attitude of the completely enlightened human spirit.

Such presences, appearing before man's concentrated vision, are revelations in human form of the perfection of knowledge. Enthroned above all the temporal models of salvation, above all the Buddhas of the past and of the future, they transcend the countless acts of compassion, self-renunciation, and supreme virtue of the historical saviors. Not influenced by or related to these, they nevertheless guard and guide them, uniting them in one universal mighty plan. Each sits facing in the direction traditionally ascribed to him, eyes closed, in his characterizing posture.

On the highest terrace, the central and supreme Buddha of Meditation is miss-

[180] Cf. *ib.*, pp. 325–326. For an exposition of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra philosophies, cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 518–534.

ing. This image, which has been stolen, might have told us much about the specific symbolism of Borobuḍur. In 1814, when the first Europeans explored the temple, there was already a crack, wide enough to enter, in the central stūpa of the uppermost terrace—and of course the natives had made their way in. A more careful examination in 1842 revealed that the whole floor of this culminating stūpa had at some period been renovated, and that it contained certain religious objects that were not relics, including an unfinished image of a Buddha that had been brought in from somewhere else. The original main image has never been found: and yet we know enough about Borobuḍur to be able to surmise what it must have been like.

The symbolism of Borobuḍur is closely related to that of the Mahāyāna Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet. There the sixth and supreme Dhyāni Buddha is Vajrasattva-Vajradhara. He may be represented either as one or as two separate personalities, and when the latter is the case, the two converse together, like Śiva and his Śakti, as twin symbols equal in virtue and power. Vajradhara ("The Wielder of the Adamantean Missile") is the president of the group of the Dhyāni Buddhas. Vajrasattva ("He whose Essence is the Adamantean Missile") is the Ādi Buddha. The two fundamentally are one and the same; for they are two aspects of the highest Buddha of the universe, the Supreme Being.[131]

At Borobuḍur an image of this culminating personification of realization originally stood in the bell-shaped stūpa above the five Dhyāni Buddhas, as a symbol simultaneously of the adamantean sphere and of the Buddhist doctrine that leads to it, the so-called Vajrayāna, "the Adamantean Vehicle." The Buddha Vajrasattva is known as Sarva-buddha-ādhipa, the Highest Protector of all the Buddhas; for he is the patron, helper, and protector who opens the eyes of the Buddhist devotee. He is called, also, Guhyapati, the Lord of the Mysteries. Moreover, the vow of the disciple consecrating himself to the secret disciplines of the Vajrayāna, which open the way to the Highest Wisdom, is termed the *vajrasattva*, "the essence of the adamantean missile." Therefore, the figure of the Buddha Vajrasattva, in the topmost bell-stūpa of Borobuḍur, personified, esoterically, the very vow that the pilgrim devotee who had attained this summit was now to formulate in his mind. Furthermore, the image symbolized the divine guidance that would conduct the one so dedicated on the adamantean way. And finally, the entire remainder of that way, which the pilgrim devotee had now to follow through years of ceaseless effort, was symbolized in Vajrasattva-Vajradhara. The Diamond Way of the Indestructible Vehicle (*vajrayāna*) would transport the candidate for enlightenment from the pinnacle of the majestic pedagogical

[131] Cf. *supra*, pp. 194–197.

shrine, which he had already attained, to perfect bodhi, which he would also attain.

Pl. 495 In Plate 495 is shown one of the temples of the greatest Hindu—as distinct from Buddhist—monument in Java, the magnificent Caṇḍi Loro Joṅgrang, at Prambanam, not far from Borobuḍur. It dates from the latter half of the ninth century A.D. For, as a result of a weakening of the Śailendras after 850, the native Javanese kings were able to return from eastern Java to the center of their island; and they took up their residence at Prambanam. Though, as before, the two religions flourished side by side, the emphasis of the court now turned from Buddhism to Hinduism, yet there was no break in the artistic tradition of the area. It continued on the grand lines inaugurated by the Śailendras; indeed, the exuberance of the art of the period seems due, in part, to an endeavor to rival Borobuḍur. The classic Indian style, however, shows signs in this period of having become acclimatized to the local spirit and conditions of Java. The bold vigor and exploding vitality of the new works foreshadow a radical aesthetic change, which in due time was to manifest itself in Javanese art in full force.

Caṇḍi Loro Joṅgrang is an apotheosis of Śivaism, as Borobuḍur of the Mahāyāna. It is a constellation of eight temples on a walled terrace, surrounded by smaller chapels and two outer walls. "The three largest of the inner temples," writes Dr. Coomaraswamy, "are dedicated respectively to Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu. The largest is the central temple of Siva; in principle it resembles the *prāngs* of Cambodia and the supposed original design of Borobuḍur, i.e., it consists of a temple occupying the summit of a steep truncated terraced pyramid, square in plan, with stairways in the middle of each of its three sides, leading respectively to the main entrance and to those of the side chapels. The temple itself, raised above the upper terrace by a richly decorated plinth, contains a standing image of Śiva. The terrace below is surrounded by an even more richly sculptured balustrade, the continuous series of reliefs on the inner side illustrating the earlier part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of which the continuation was probably to be found on the corresponding terrace of the now ruined Brahmā shrine at the right; the reliefs of the Viṣṇu temple illustrate the Kṛṣṇa cycle. The Prambanam reliefs are if anything superior to those of Borobuḍur, and certainly more dramatically conceived." [132] Plates 496–497 illustrate the Rape of Sītā and Rāma's killing of Bālin.[133] Both the architecture and the sculpture still are strongly inspired by Indian models; nevertheless, the way has been opened to the Polynesian jungle of gorgeous detail.

Pl. 496–497

Suddenly, in the year 915, this productive, brief period of Javanese Hindu art

[132] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[133] For the legends, cf. *supra*, pp. 215 and 227.

terminated when the central part of the island was abruptly deserted—we do not know whether as a result of political events, of plague, or of earthquake. A complete cessation of the flourishing life of the central provinces occurred and that part of the island seems to have remained deserted thereafter for centuries. The west still was under Sumatran control, and the native kings transferred their capital, once again, to the east.

The early remains of the next period of eastern Javanese culture date *c.* 977, and comprise a number of monuments of a character little different from those of middle Java: the temple of Gunung Gaṅsir, which was erected in the reign of King Sindok, Caṇḍi Sumber Nanas, Caṇḍi Sangariti, and the Belahan gateways. There is then a gap of some two hundred years in the architectural evidence, and when monuments again abound, in the thirteenth century, a new synthesis has already been achieved between Indian patterns and the native feeling. Thenceforward this art can be termed truly Javanese.[134]

The history of the critical interval opens at the beginning of the eleventh century, when a certain prince Erlaṅga (born 991 A.D.) came from the neighboring small island of Bali to the court of Java's king Dharmavaṁśa to marry his daughter. As the royal son-in-law, Erlaṅga was then probably charged with the administration of a province, like any Indian heir apparent or "young king" (*yuvarāja*). But in 1006 a disaster befell the royal house; for an enemy penetrated into the capital, the king was killed and the palace devastated. Few escaped, but among these was the heir apparent. Erlaṅga was compelled to roam for years in the forests and mountains, seeking shelter among the hermits, while the great kingdom of Dharmavaṁśa fell completely apart. Many petty rājas tore it asunder with their feuds. In exile, however, the vigorous young heir was able to begin, gradually, the work of restoring the unity of his shattered land. Doggedly progressing from smaller to greater victories, he realized his dream after thirty years and the Javanese kingdom was again whole—but for only a moment. For shortly after the completion of his Herculean task, Erlaṅga forsook his hard-won, jeweled lion throne to become a hermit. (Apparently the early experiences in the forest had impressed him.) He divided his kingdom between his two sons and, to invest this division with a certain inviolability, called upon a magically powerful hermit and saint, Bharāda, to solemnize it with a Tāntric rite.[135]

It is probable that Erlaṅga died in the solitude of his hermitage *c.* 1050 A.D.

[134] Simultaneously, similar processes of naturalization were taking place in Cambodia and Siam. Cf. *supra*, pp. 144–151, and *infra*, pp. 372–378.

[135] Erlaṅga's own account of these events, expressed with touching simplicity, is contained in his great charter, written in Sanskrit on one side and in Old Javanese on the other.

His ashes, enclosed in a stone casket, were buried under the pool of a holy watering place on the eastern slope of the Penanggungan mountain of eastern Java. Figures of Śrī and Lakṣmī were set up as waterspouts, the captured spring streaming into the pool from their stony breasts, and a portrait of the great king himself —Rake Halu Śri Lokeśvara Dharmavaṁśa Erlaṅgānantavikramottungadeva—in the shape of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, was installed in an arch above the perpetually rippling waters (Plate 498). Pl. 498

This great man was the only Balinese prince ever to govern the two islands, and his career gives us an inkling, not only of the disruptive forces that were breaking the continuity of the Indian tradition in Java during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, but also of the creative energies that were at work to reshape it. The architecture of Bali, Erlaṅga's native island, at that time was in its semi-primitive beginnings. Little Buddhist stūpas were made of clay dried in the sun. These contained circular seals bearing the confession of the Buddhist faith impressed upon them by a bronze stamp, and some of the sentences are Tāntric Buddhist mantras of the school of the Vajrayāna.[136] Apparently, Buddhism had reached the island shortly after its arrival in Java. Moreover, as elsewhere in the archipelago, Indian immigrants had introduced kingship with all its cultural consequences, just as ages before, in India itself, the Kṣatriya kings of the conquering Āryans had displaced the more ancient tribal order of the Dravidians. In Bali, as in Java,[137] the kings called themselves incarnations of the Hindu gods and were represented as such, usually as Rāmas, in the epics describing their feats; and the Hinduistic priests of both islands, fully adorned in imitation of the images of their god, had to receive Śiva into themselves. Reciting their mantras, ringing their bells, burning incense, and strewing flowers, they magically cleansed the temple courts from evil influences and consecrated ritual paraphernalia. The most important part of the Balinese religious services, however, the actual celebrations of the feasts through the offering of hundreds of colorful sacrificial gifts to the gods, was performed not by the Brāhmans of the ultimately alien Indian tradition, but by the local folk priests, who were the successors of the college heads of an older, native Polynesian cult.

This tropical Polynesian element is predominent and well documented in the wood-carved monuments of Bali. It is full of a naïve joy and of a demonic yet humorous terror, indulging in the riotous forms and fantastic decorations of a superb fancy. In Java too, with the native resurgence that followed the close of the Sumatran Śailendra period, the desertion of the central part of the island, and the

[136] Cf. *supra*, p. 311. [137] Cf. *supra*, p. 144.

turmoil of the period of Erlaṅga, the art became tropically rich and gorgeous; the Polynesian feeling and vision of life progressively overshadowed the Indian, and the style became "Balinese."

Text Plate *B12* displays a Gaṇeśa, dated 1239 A.D., from Kediri, in eastern *Pl. B12* Java. Many images of this zoomorphic son of Śiva have been found in Java; but whereas in the earlier examples his grotesque form is rendered in terms of a plausible, logical plastic language, in the later works the fantastic features are emphasized. We here see a Javanese development of the idea that when Vighneśvara, "The Lord of Obstacles," turns his back, disaster falls. This is an imaginative, really powerful rendition of a motif that is implicit in the concept of the god —and yet on the Indian mainland there has not yet been found any image of Gaṇeśa expressing this idea in a manner at once so ornamental and forceful. The monstrous factor has become decorative and playful. A fearsome mask has unfolded under a lavish décor, with the exuberance of tropical vegetation, and with an emphasis that is simultaneously graceful and triumphant.

The origin of this mask—this so-called Kīrttimukha—is Indian;[138] but in Javanese art the motif had a new burst of life. It appears repeatedly as a decorative element on the later temples (see Plate *506*) and in popular Javanese lore was *Pl. 506* called Banaspati, "The Spirit of the Woods." Kīrttimukha, that is to say, this Śivaite Indian demon, was regarded in Java as the lord and patron of the native jungle.

Plate *506* is a partial view of the temple ruins of Panataran, which comprise *Pl. 506* a group of votive buildings unrelated to each other, of various dates, ranging through the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries. A towering form surmounted by a liṅgam or jewel ornament originally crowned a pyramidal structure of roofs, uneven in number and called Meru, referring to the Indian mountain of the gods, Mount Sumeru. Such a tower was regarded as an earthly counterpart of the heavenly dwelling, to be used by the deities as a kind of hotel when they descend from their cosmic mountain home to grace with their blessed presences some temple feast. In these temple remains of Panataran the door-guardians and garland-bearers, who are of a humorous, grotesque character, have a luscious vitality in which a sensual animal quality and demonic fierceness have been perfectly blended. They are genii of tropical life, anthropomorphic manifestations of the irresistible embrace of the power of nature—which is enlivening, yet stifling and

[138] For the Indian legend of Kīrttimukha, cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 175–184. The tale is from the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Vol. II, Viṣṇukānda, Kārtikamāsa Mahātmya, Ch. 17), a work going back at least to the seventh century A.D.

devouring, all at once. A comparable experience and envisionment of the life-force is rendered in the myths of India proper, but not frequently in Indian art, except at Bādāmī, Elūrā, and certain centers in the South.

The Polynesian or native renaissance that culminated in this art took its start in Indonesia in the tenth century, in the period of the Balinese King Udāyana, the father of Erlaṅga. In Java, under its impulse, Kawi, the Javanese language, became the vehicle of a distinguished literature, and during the period that followed "The Continent-island full of Barley" became a tremendous force in the Indian seas. Javanese merchant fleets touched Africa and China; the Vaiṣṇava king, Jayabhaya (1135–1155 A.D.), conquered Sumatra, and for over two centuries Java enjoyed a golden age.[139] In the year 1220 the ruling king was unseated by an adventurer, Ken Arok, who married Queen Dedes (Plates *499–501*) [140] and
Pl. 499–501 assumed the throne under the name Rājasa. In 1227 he was assassinated by the son of his queen and a powerful new dynasty took over the government, ruling first from Siṅgasāri (1280–1292), then from Majapahit (1294–1478). This was the period in which native Javanese art came to its supreme expression in the temple complex of Panataran.

In the year 1389, following the death of King Rājasanāgara (Hayam Wuruk) of Majapahit, the realm was divided between his daughter and son and fell immediately into a state of civil war. Both the art and the civilization of the whole island abruptly declined. The kingdom was presently reunited, but its spiritual strength was gone. Majapahit, during the fifteenth century, lost all of its control overseas, in the archipelago, and even in Java itself. Volcanic eruptions, famine, and the steady progress of a gradual Muslim infiltration combined to put a term to its declining day.

For Islam had been establishing itself in the Indonesian archipelago since the end of the thirteenth century. Its first foothold had been on the north coast of Sumatra. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Malacca, a commercial harbor of first importance, became Muslim, and after 1425 most of the immigrants from India were Muslim. Portuguese accounts indicate that by 1498 all the towns along the Javanese coast professed Islam. The settlement and penetration, apparently, had been peaceful in the main; but it was none the less decisive. The local Muslim rulers of the various communities were simply ignoring the central,

[139] *Editor's note:* This period, it should also be noted, was that of the great Polynesian sea migrations across the Pacific as far as to Easter Island (cf. *supra*, p. 30) and perhaps even beyond. See Peter H. Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (New York, 1938.)

[140] Cf. *supra*, p. 144.

Polyneso-Indian king. And so in the Indies, as throughout India proper, the arts of Hinduism and the Mahāyāna withered and disappeared under the puritanical iconoclasm of Islam.

VIII

INDIAN SCULPTURE

1. The Rules of the Craft

IN INDIA the beauty of images is not intended for the aesthetic enjoyment of the secular beholder; it is a contribution to their magical force as "instruments" or "tools" (*yantra*). "The divinity draws near willingly," we read in the *Hayaśirṣa-pañcarātra*, an authoritative Vaiṣṇava text, "if images are beautiful" [1]—and what is meant here by "beautiful" is "highly decorated." The ornamentation facilitates the process of conjuring or inviting into the statue, as into a temporary residence, the divinity with whom the devotee, in meditation, is finally to become one. For, since the apparition of the benevolent aspect of the god is full of auspicious, dazzling charm, the representation, which is the vessel that is to contain his essence, must be dazzling too.

A statue without such beauty is a faulty instrument, as useless as a leaking pot: or worse, it may be dangerous; for it will offend the invited god, who should be treated as a venerated guest. An ugly place of residence can excite his wrath, and so create a situation beyond the control of the devotee; the image, in that case, becoming as dangerous as a powerhouse out of control. Only a very potent priest, an archmagician, can then appease the outraged god and redirect his superhuman energy to a human end.

An Indian image is, properly, an outward vessel corresponding precisely to the inner vision of the divinity, and this, in turn, is a personification of the fundamental nature of the devotee. There is an illuminating statement in the *Gandharva Tantra* concerning the act of worship. "After having controlled his breath through

[1] *abhirūpyāc ca bimbānām / devah sannidhyam icchati.*

Editor's note: I have not been able to obtain copies of the first two works cited in this chapter and so cannot supply precise references for the quotations.

prāṇāyāma,[2] the initiate [facing the image] should take up a handful of flowers. The goddess should never be invoked without a handful of flowers. The initiate, having controlled his breath, should then meditate on the supreme mistress in his heart; and beholding in his heart, by her grace, that image, the substance of which is consciousness, let him think of the identity of the image manifested within with the image without. Next, the effulgent energy of the consciousness within is to be conducted without by means of the mystic, magic seed-syllable denoting Wind [the life-breath of the organism], which is, namely, YANG [that is to say: the initiate must mutter the syllable YANG, which contains and evokes the force of the microcosmic wind-god who dwells within him]; and directing this, with the outgoing breath, along the nostrils, he will infuse it into the handful of flowers."

The usual offering, a handful of flowers (*puṣpāñjali*)—such as one presents to a guest in welcome—is here employed as a vehicle to convey the devotee's life-breath into an outside image. A figure of wood, clay, or stone is thus given life, and simultaneously its identity with the intrinsic nature of the devotee is stressed and established. For, according to the Indian idea, the life-breath (*prāṇa*), before being poured into the outer image, should already have conjured into form, within the mind and spirit of the devotee, an adequate vision of the god to be adored. Throughout the ensuing act of worship the two images—the inward and the outward—are therefore filled with the same life-breath, and at the conclusion of the period of worship this life-breath is taken back by the devotee through another breathing-rite, after which the outward image (*pratimā*), the "utensil of worship" (*yantra*), is again without life.

During the consecrating act the hand containing the flowers is to be held in the form of "the gesture of the tortoise" (*kūrma-mudrā*). Just as a tortoise contracts its head and limbs, hiding them within its shell, so the fingers are contracted and closed around the flowers that contain the force of the devotee's life-breath. "And when the hands have been lifted to the nostrils and breathed upon through the left nostril, with the mantra YANG, the initiate is to consider that, along with the breath, the divinity within has been brought out and placed in the flowers. Issuing with the breath, the divinity then enters into the flowers. Whereupon the initiate should establish the divinity in the image (*pratimā*) or sacred diagram (*yantra*) by touching it with those flowers." Simultaneously, he should project the essence of the inner image onto the outer by a process of visualization. "And so long as the work of establishing the goddess in the outer image or sacred di-

[2] A yogic breathing exercise; cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (New York and London, 1951), pp. 435, 584.

agram has not yet been accomplished, the initiate should continue to hold the flowers of meditation in his hand." If he does not, heavenly beings (*gandharvas*), alert to create mischief, may intrude invisibly and themselves pay worship to the divinity that is in the image or diagram touched by the flowers, whereupon the effect for the devotee of his own act of worship will be lost.

This passage shows very clearly why an Indian statue must conform strictly to the correct vision of the divinity as rendered in the orthodox tradition. The projection of the divine life-force from within the initiate to the figure facilitates the subsequent act of projecting a vision; and to make the latter possible, the fashioner of the image must render a faithful copy of the orthodox concept of the god. The statue otherwise would be useless for the purposes of worship. Essentially it is a utensil—a vessel designed to receive and to hold a charge of consciousness, projected from within by a meditating devotee. The form has to function technically, that is to say, in the actual crisis of a psychological transference.

The Indian artist always works, therefore, within a very strictly delineated tradition. As we read in a craft manual: "The artificer should understand the *Atharva-veda*, the thirty-two craft manuals (*śilpaśāstras*), and the Vedic mantras by which the deities are invoked. He should be one who wears the sacred thread [i.e., he should be a member of one of the upper, "twice-born" castes], a necklace of holy beads, and on his finger a ring of sacred kuśa-grass in the worship of god. He should be faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, and should have acquired, piously, a knowledge of various sciences. Only such a one is truly a craftsman. He must work, moreover, in solitude or with another artist present; never before a layman." [3] There is to be, in other words, no *bohème*—no exhibitionism of the creative process. The attitude of the artist fashioning images is to be the same as that of the devotee (*bhakta*) invoking and contemplating the forms of the same gods in daily worship. "The lineaments of images are determined," we learn from another text, "by the relationship that exists between adorer and adored"; [4] and this maxim holds for the artist as well as for any other worshiper, since he is simply a special type of initiated devotee.

The image sustains the presence of the god, the aspect through which he is made manifest before the inner vision of a fervent devotee longing to behold him. Hence, whether one is producing the inward vision of the god for oneself, or its external counterpart in brass or clay (as a yantra to guide a process of correct visualization) for others, the same devotional attitude is prerequisite. The night before commencing a new work, the image maker, following a ceremonial puri-

[3] *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra* 1.

[4] *Sukranītisāra* 4. 4. 320.

fication, is to pray, "O thou Lord of all gods, teach me in dreams how to carry out the whole of the work that I have in mind." [5] If in European art throughout the Middle Ages, and in later Catholic art from Giotto to Raphael, Rubens, and El Greco, nonindividualism was fundamental, so likewise in India: the orthodox sacred model was never to be employed as a vehicle for self-expression.[6]

"Let the imager establish images in temples by meditation on the deities who are the objects of his devotion," we read in the *Sukranītisāra*, "and for the successful achievement of this yoga the lineaments of the images are described in books, which are to be dwelt upon in detail. By no other means, not even by the direct or immediate vision of an actual object, is it possible to be so absorbed in contemplation as by this meditation in the making of images." [7]

The oral tradition of the craft, that is to say, which is transmitted from master to pupil, is supported by a body of written books, the *śilpaśāstras*, "textbooks (*śāstras*) of craftsmanship (*śilpa*)," some three hundred of which are still in existence. Most are preserved in unedited manuscripts, yet all are compilations more or less complete. Parallel chapters on various aspects of architecture, image-making, the construction of ponds, etc., exist, moreover, in the traditional Brāhmaṇical lore of the Purāṇas and in the Śivaite Āgamas. And since the *Matsya Purāṇa*, which likewise contains such material, dates from the middle of the fifth century A.D., it is probable that the main content of these Śilpaśāstras goes back at least to that epoch, even though much of what they present may have been added or altered in more recent times. The texts are very poorly preserved and are in a crude Sanskrit, distinguished by faulty grammar. One can only conclude that in spite of the stress laid in the Śilpaśāstras themselves on the Brāhman orthodoxy and Vedic learning that was to accompany the training of craftsmen, little was actually done to give them a decent standard of literary education and rhetorical grace.

In the great Brāhmanical Laws of Manu (*Manava Dharmaśāstra*) artisans and artists are assigned to a low caste. "Actors, singers, . . . and architects," we read, ". . . should not be invited to the ceremony of offerings for the dead." [8]

[5] *Agni Purāṇa* 43.

[6] The same type of yoga precedes the writing of a sacred book. Vālmīki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though thoroughly familiar with the story of Rāma, sought to realize it more completely before setting to work. Therefore, "seating himself with his face toward the east and sipping water according to rule, he applied himself to the yogic contemplation of his theme. By virtue of his yoga power, he then clearly saw before him Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sītā; as well as Daśaratha together with his wives, laughing, talking, acting, and moving, in his kingdom, as if in real life. He beheld, by yoga power, all that had come to pass and all that was to come to pass in the future, like a nelli fruit on the palm of his hand. And having truly seen all by virtue of his concentration, the generous sage began the setting down of the history of Rāma." (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa 3. 2–7.)

[7] *Sukranītisāra* 4. 4. 147–151.

[8] *Manava Dharmaśāstra* 3. 155, 163, 167.

This contrasts with the pattern above described and may indicate that, like the arts themselves, respect for the artist was a feature of the pre-Āryan, rather than of the Vedic-Brāhmanical tradition.

According to the most comprehensive Indian manual on architecture, sculpture, and the other crafts, the *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra*,[9] four types of craftsman are to be distinguished: (1) The Master Builder (*sthapati*), who is learned in all branches of Indian science; (2) The Surveyor (*sūtragrāhin*), the handler of the measuring line (*sūtra*); (3) The Designer (*vardhaki*); and (4) The Carpenter (*takṣaka*). Each is inferior to the one before. Viṣṇu is the tutelary god of the measuring rod, and Vāsuki, the king of serpents, of the measuring line, while Brahmā is the god of measurement. "From the supreme Śiva," we read, "the creator Brahmā emanates; likewise Indra. That He is the great architect of the universe is proclaimed by God Himself. It is He who as the architect of the universe re-creates the world." [10]

From Śiva's four faces, we are told, the ancestors of four great families of Indian architects were born: from his eastern face, the name of which is Viśvabhū ("progenitor of the universe"), Viśvakarman; from his southern face, the name of which is Viśvavid ("knower of the universe"), Maya; from his northern face, the name of which is Viśvastha ("resident in the universe"), Tvaṣṭar; and from his western face, the name of which is Viśvasraṣṭar ("creator of the universe"), Manu.[11] This systematization is not only an attempt to harmonize four separate mythical traditions concerning the history of craftsmanship, but also a symbolization of the intrinsic Indian relationship of craft to family. In India one is not free to *choose* to become an artist. The vocation is supposed to have been inherited from primordial times, from divine ancestral master craftsmen, and to be confined to certain families, according to caste. "That anyone but a śilpī should build temples, towns, seaports, ponds, or wells," we read, "would be comparable to the sin of murder." Moreover, the craftsman has to be trained from childhood. Commencing as his father's apprentice, he follows unquestioningly, and as a matter of course, the ancestral calling. And from these family traditions—which include all related learning—have stemmed the conservatism and anonymity that characterize all Indian works of art. There is never, in the Indian workshop, any sense of individual quest, vocation, or enterprise. The doors are closed, and the

[9] *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra*, translated by Prasanna Kumar Acharya in *Architecture of Mānasāra* (London, 1933). The work consists of seventy chapters: eight introductory chapters, thirty-two chapters on architectural matters, nineteen chapters on sculpture, and eleven chapters on cars, chariots, furniture, ornaments, and insignia.

[10] *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra* 2. 2–4.

[11] *Ib.* 2. 5–12. Since the *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra* belongs to the later, predominantly Śivaite period of Hinduism, the old archcarpenter and -architect Viśvakarman, "Master of All Crafts," has been assigned, in this work, only a secondary position.

craft is completely monopolized and governed by an almost miraculously skillful, stable guild.

Among the tasks of the Master Builder is that of laying out seaports, towns, and villages; and here again, nothing is to be left to chance. Not only the general plan, but every detail, must be designed to create appropriate (i.e., spiritually auspicious) conditions for the future inhabitants. Patterns for towns are of various kinds. For example, in Nepal, Kāṭhmaṇḍū is laid out on the lines of the sword of Mañjuśrī, the patron saint of the country, and so is long and narrow; Bhāṭgaoṅ was designed to resemble the conch of Viṣṇu and accordingly is oval; Patan imitates the wheel of the Buddha and is circular. A bow-shaped village (*kārmuka*) is said to be appropriate for members of the third caste (merchants and burghers); a swastika-shaped (*svastika*) for kings; a "four-faced" (*caturmukha*) for the fourth caste; and a so-called *daṇḍaka* type (named after the Daṇaka Forest, which is a resort of holy hermits) for anchorites and Brāhmans. Something named "the all-round auspicious" (*sarvatobhadra*) type is said to be generally suited both for householders and for hermits of all denominations. A lotus-shaped village (*padma*) is a familiar form.[12]

Hundreds of factors have to be considered in every building operation. For instance, the temple of Kālī should be constructed facing north and at a great distance from the village, in the direction of the dwellings of the undertakers and of the cremation ground. That of Śiva should be placed with its back to the village, in a suitable quarter. Likewise, the temple of Narasiṁha (the lion-man), a fierce aspect of Viṣṇu,[13] should face away from the village. Such temples are meant to ward off demons and disease. But Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī in their benevolent aspects should be allowed to radiate their powers throughout the village in the four directions. "An expert should construct the doors of Viṣṇu temples so that they face in the desirable directions. The temple of Viṣṇu is to face the village; that of Narasiṁha should turn its back to the village; but when Narasiṁha is associated with Lakṣmī their common temple should face the village." [14] A kind of communal spiritual hygiene, magical and psychological, is effected by these subtleties of the Master Builder's craft; hence the profound importance of a continuity of tradition; hence, too, the claim that anyone but a śilpi designing a temple, town, seaport, pond, or well would be guilty of a crime comparable to that of murder.

At every stage of his work a number of choices faces the builder, and he must know not only the whole range of the possibilities but also all the consequences of their application. The considerations are not primarily aesthetic. For example,

[12] *Ib.* 9. 16, 53–57, 114–131; also 52, 10. [13] Cf. *supra*, p. 294.

[14] *Ib.* 9. 255–289. Compare *supra*, pp. 276–277.

supporting pillars are of five classes: (1) those "Pleasing to Brahmā" (*brahmā-kānta*), (2) those "Pleasing to Viṣṇu" (*viṣṇu-kānta*), (3) those "Pleasing to Rudra" (*rudra-kānta*), (4) those "Pleasing to Śiva" (*śiva-kānta*), and (5) those "Pleasing to Skanda" (*skanda-kānta*).[15] Another set of five names refers directly to the shapes of the pillars: (1) *citra kaṇṭha karṇa* ("with variegated ears"), (2) *citra stambha* ("with variegated shaft"), (3) *padma-kānta* ("lotus-shaped"), (4) *kumbha-stambha* ("jug-shaped shaft"), and (5) *pālikā-stambha* ("blade-shaped shaft").[16] Or again, pillars are classified as of the following five kinds: (1) *liṅga-stambha* (liṅgams); (2) *dhvaja-stambha* (flag pillars)—both of these are Śivaite (the word *dhvaja* also means liṅgam); (3) *garuḍa-stambha* (Garuḍa pillars), which are Jaina; (4) *raṇa-stambha* (battle-pillars), to commemorate victories; and (5) *kīrtti-stambha* (triumphal pillars or "pillars of glory").

Three varieties of relief are employed: (1) high (*citrāṅga:* "with limbs fully visible"), (2) moderate (*ardhacitrāṅga:* "with limbs half visible"), and (3) low (*abhāsaṅga:* "where the limbs exist only in semblance or reflection, as in a mirror"). The best is high; it conduces to all good ends: to spiritual benefit, worldly success, sensuous enjoyment, and salvation. Moderate relief, which is fair, is suitable for enjoyment and salvation, while bas-relief is good only for secular ends, worldly success, and sensuous enjoyment.[17]

Besides the Śilpaśāstras, there is another category of Indian textbook from which some idea can be derived of the basic concepts of Indian art; these are the works on poetics, which summarize the rules for the writing of plays. They let us know what constitute the proper subjects of art according to the Indian conception, and some of their ideas apply to sculpture. They state, for example, that there are only four subjects that can be described in poetry: (1) a quality (e.g., the beauty of a girl, the attitude of a hero), (2) an event or action (e.g., the moonrise, the typical conduct of someone afflicted with grief, or in love), (3) a class, kind, or species (e.g., a brāhman, a king, a woman, a girl, an animal in one of its typical attitudes), and (4) an individual. However, according to the Hindu view, an "individual" is never of the human realm: no king, brāhman, man, or woman is looked upon as an individual or as susceptible of being represented as such. The term refers to the various individual manifestations of the gods; for example, Viṣṇu is an "individual" in his avatār of the Fish, or as Viṣṇu-of-the-three-strides, or as the boy Kṛṣṇa. An "individual" is a god bearing the characteristic weapons and ornaments of one or another of his manifestations, never a man or woman.

[15] *Ib.* 15. 19–23. Five orders existed, too, in the Greco-Roman tradition: Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite.

[16] Various texts give various names. The above are taken from *Mānāsara Śilpaśāstra* 15. 26–33.

[17] *Ib.*, 51. 14–16.

For in India the human being is expected always to act typically, according to the ideals of his caste, profession, sex, and age; in short, to be a type.[18] This accounts for the harmony, and even consonance, in the attitudes of the numerous actors of the crowded scenes so common in Indian sculpture (e.g. Plate *32*). Everybody *Pl. 32* is trained and expected to be anonymous in all his behavior: under the spell of the same situation, therefore, everyone should react in the same way. This principle is reflected in every aspect of Indian life and art.

2. Bhārhut

IN STRIKING CONTRAST to the preponderance of the profile in the reliefs both of the Near and of the Far East, in India the profile is intentionally avoided. Whenever it appears, it is at the edge of a composition, serving to close it in—as in the scene around the tree in Plate *32*, upper right, where three profiles are *Pl. 32b* at the left, one above the other, and one is at the right. They do not compose or represent planes, but are merely figures turning in the natural way of people seen from the side when they are sitting facing some middle point; in this case, a holy tree. One simply sees a group gathered around a focus, such as might be found *Pl. 32a* anywhere—sitting, for instance, around a fire. Another example of profiles closing borders occurs in the same Plate, upper left.

On the other hand, in the dance scene of Plate *36*, lower left, the musicians are *Pl. 36a* represented at various angles, from profile and three-quarter views to a fullface looking out of the picture into the space of the observer, as well as in a posture completely opposite to this, turning the back and facing—like the observer himself—directly into the picture.

In Indian art it was never necessary, as it was in the West (and in the West this development took place first in the art of the Baroque), to release forms from the surface in order to give them freedom in space. Complete freedom in space was always taken for granted as a naïvely accepted matter of course, since the living, blooming physicality of figures had in India never been forced away from their natural spatial character and fullness—as they had in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and China—into linear, purely optical, flat-surface apparitions.[19] Space, consequently, did not have to be rediscovered. Which is to say that Indian art had a

[18] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 151 ff. [19] Cf. *supra*, pp. 31–34.

beginning totally different from that of the Western development—and this explains the failure of the categories (the so-called "basic principles") of our system of art history to meet and comprehend the Indian facts. It is certain that anyone permanently condemned to our classical point of view will never contemplate these pictures with any real pleasure. He will be unable to experience their musicality. For all that we can do with such principles, if we insist on retaining them, is to apply them tentatively—and completely changed—after we have viewed the Indian works frankly and naïvely, without preconceptions, in an honest effort to comprehend their special traits.

Pl. 36c The right top panel of Plate 36 is particularly instructive in this context, since it is utterly contrary in pattern to all Near and Far Eastern relief. It shows the procession of King Prasenajit to a *punyaśālā*, a holy hall or place of worship for the laity. This theme might well have been thought to allow for an ample use of the profile; yet profiles have been conscientiously avoided. The king, in a chariot drawn by four horses and preceded by a mounted guard, drives to the worship of a Sacred Wheel. His procession files from right to left and ascends then to the background, to circumambulate the building clockwise, in a ceremonial manner, before entering; at the right one sees the van of the procession again descending to the foreground. Beneath the punyaśālā is the palace door of the Indian king. Three attendants are shown, one with a chowry, one with a parasol, and a third the king's charioteer. Just above the procession is the holy wheel, inscribed, "*bhagavato dhama cakam*": "The Blessed Wheel of the Law." It symbolizes the holy law of spiritual world government which the Buddha, after gaining enlightenment, set in motion through his first sermon in the Deer Park of Benares, and connotes the invisible presence of the Buddha himself. Standing worshipers are present, one of whom may be King Prasenajit himself, who was an early protector of the Buddhist community.

The relief immediately below that of the procession is inscribed, "*erapato naga raja bhagavato vandate*": "The Serpent King Erāpata pays homage to the Blessed One," and refers to a legend that appears in the *Dhammapada*.[20] According to this pious tale, there lived in the time of the Buddha Kaśyapa (the legendary Buddha immediately preceding the historical Śākyamuni) a serpent-king named Erāpata, who, through a curse, lost his natural power to appear in a human form. He was promised, however, that in a later period a Buddha might restore this faculty, and, in due course, when he chanced to be visiting the court of another kingly serpent, by the name of Sāgara, a yakṣa spoke to them of a certain inscription that could be read only after the birth of a Buddha and be ex-

[20] Buddhaghoṣa, *Dhammapada Commentary*, Book 14, Story 3: "Erakapatta nāgarājā."

plained by none except that Buddha himself. The two excited nāga-kings, therefore, took with them a girl of extraordinary beauty, as well as a number of other valuable presents, and, placing themselves beside the Ganges at a frequented spot, offered the girl and presents to anyone who could read the inscription; for this would signify that a Buddha had been born. Now the Brāhman Nārada was living at that time, and fearing that he might lose his reputation as a sage if he should fail to interpret the text, he went for the necessary instruction to the Buddha himself, who was at that time dwelling in the Deer Park at Benares. And when Nārada, shortly thereafter, came before the serpent-kings to read their cipher, he bared his right shoulder out of respect for the Buddha and bowed in the direction of the Buddha, although the Buddha was in the Deer Park far away. The girl and presents he politely refused. But the serpent, more interested in finding the Buddha than in hearing the explanation of the inscription, quickly betook himself to the Park, where he was freed of the curse.

In the relief Erāpata is approaching Śākyamuni, but the Buddha—as always in this early art—is to us invisible. The meeting is taking place among six acacia (*śirīṣa*) trees, which are a type of tree associated with the story, and they are faithfully rendered to make clear the meaning of the relief. The human form of the serpent-king is already emerging from the body of the snake, whose raised head shows five expanded hoods, which is the usual sign of a nāga in Indian art. The sculptor has made no attempt to achieve through perspective a unity of space; his picture is little more than an assemblage of symbols connoting the legend. Nor has he attempted to suggest a single moment of time: Erāpata appears twice, first emerging from his animal form, then kneeling before the holy seat, paying worship to the savior (to us invisible) who has freed him from the curse. Behind are three nāga attendants in human form, with serpent hoods.

The lowest relief on this face of the column shows a herd of wild elephants worshiping the Bo Tree. Two inscriptions appear, the shorter on the fence beneath the scene, the longer on the throne beneath the tree: "*bahu hathiko*" and "*bahu hathiko nigodha naḍode*": "Many elephants (*bahu hathiko*) and the banyan tree" (the meaning of the word *naḍode* is unknown).[21] Fragments of two human figures also are visible. Underneath, giant kneeling demons bear up the balustrade.

It is certainly not without significance that all the inscriptions on these reliefs are in the folk dialect, the dialect of the original doctrine of the Buddha; however, the spirit of the scenes is far from that of the teaching. For the world is always represented as smiling in these reliefs, and life as worth living, in spite of the fact

[21] Cf. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut* (London, 1879), p. 135.

that the doctrine of the Buddha opens with the First Great Noble Truth: "All life is sorrowful." The savior, when he set in motion the Wheel of the Law with his first sermon in the Deer Park of Benares, declared that the very process of sense perception was a kind of fever that ought to be cured; yet the art works ornamenting the earliest extant sanctuaries of the faith that he founded, while suffused with devotion and pious ecstasy, are innocently profane and inherently disposed to affirm, even to glorify, the values of terrestrial existence.

The art of Bhārhut (first century B.C.) is not realistic. On the contrary, with its graceful style it elevates everything to a sphere of happiness and youth, reiterating tirelessly the Indian ideal prototypes of the beautiful seductive woman and heroic handsome man. The females are heavy-breasted, with narrow waists, broad hips, and great thighs, while the males are magnificently broad-shouldered, with tense abdomens and mighty chests. All are superbly refined and free of primitive clumsiness, and yet they are the very types that were standard in the Stone Age; the symbolic fertile female body of primitive art—of the neolithic and paleolithic[22]—and the lionlike male. The Bhārhut figures are comparatively late, sophisticated forms; yet they render, through conventionalized proportions, ideals of gods and men received from a long tradition: fixed types that were standardized well before the period of this art and have remained dominant in the Indian tradition to the present day. But though conventionalized, the symbolic bodies are not geometrical at Bhārhut, as they were in the earlier period; they have been organically conceived as living growths. Whether great or small, slim or stout, elegant or rustic, the figures always conform to a fixed relationship of harmonious proportions, following a fundamental canon that in later periods deteriorated to a rigid iconometry. All the faces are of the same type, and their serenity is the result of the calmness of mind that invented them. And though conceived as organic forms, the physiques do not appear to have bones or muscles, but consist of an entirely uniform plastic mass; for they are subtle-bodies—primary growths or materializations of the spirit that builds all bodies—such as we frequently find in the monuments of Indian art.

Bhārhut is situated on the old highway that crossed North India from the ancient capital of Ujjain (known to the Greeks as Ozēnē) in the West to Aśoka's capital, Pāṭaliputra (the present Patna, Greek Palibothra),[23] in the East, and its stūpa dates from the late centuries B.C. The central elevation of the dome, flanked by the gates of the four quarters, represented symbolically the central position of the

[22] Cf. *supra*, pp. 68–72.
[23] Called Bardaotis by the Greek geographer Ptolemy.

cosmic mountain at the world axis, Mount Sumeru, which is flanked by the four peninsular continents and rises to the celestial realms of the gods. The dome of the stūpa is still pocked with niches that were meant for numberless lights. There are in one circle one hundred and twenty, each shaped to contain five lamps; which is to say that in one latitudinal belt there were six hundred lights. The entire dome could thus be covered with a net of illumination—symbolic and eloquent of the radiance of nirvāṇa. Moreover, each quarter of the stūpa was protected by its own distinctive variety of semidivine being, in accordance with a mythological concept of the peopling of the four slopes of the quadrangular cosmic mountain; for in the east are the celestial musicians, consorts of the apsarases, the gandharvas, with their king Dhṛtarāṣṭra; in the south the so-called kumbhāṇḍas (demons with testicles [*aṇḍa*] shaped like a jug [*kumbha*]) and their king Virūḍhaka; in the west the nāgas with their king Virūpākṣa; and in the north the yakṣas with Kuvera Vaiśravana. These popular gods or fairies are not of the Āryan stock, but survive from the old pre-Āryan tradition. Thus the Buddhists, already in the period B.C., had tapped ancient, native Indian, Dravidian and even pre-Dravidian mythological sources.

The railing ornamentation of Bhārhut (Plate *31*) was laid out along the wave *Pl. 31* of a lotus stalk running the whole length of the sculptured frieze—a motif that recurs at Bodhgayā and on the railings of many other Buddhist sanctuaries. Alternating with Jātaka scenes along this lotus wave are great fruits and jewels growing from the tendrils; also the goddess Lakṣmī, seated or standing on her lotus-throne, being sprinkled with the life-giving, fertilizing waters; for Lakṣmī, the patroness of prosperity and earthly wealth, is the goddess of the rice fields and of the jewels and precious stones and metals that abound in the earth. These fruits and jewels, and the figures of the pre-Buddhistic goddess, are treated as though they were no less important than the Jātaka scenes from the early lives of the Buddha. Man and action, as well as the episodes of the way to enlightenment, that is to say, are framed and supported by the force of life. They are all parts of one and the same vital process.

Owing to the growth of the monument, various styles and techniques are represented, all in a fully developed state and some almost swooning into preciosity; yet the protecting divinities of the gates and the figures of the railings seem all to have come from the same workshop. They exhibit the Bhārhut style at the peak of its perfection. The Jātaka scenes also are from one workshop; and the circular portraits of the donors match the protecting divinities. Some of the reliefs present the extraordinary phenomenon of a crowd as many as nine figures deep, and here

we have to recognize the influence of an art of carving figures in wood and of a primitive modeling in clay. Both crafts remain overwhelmingly powerful in India to the present day.

Indian art, from the beginning, was totally different in conception from anything known in Mesopotamia, Egypt, or Greece. In the West, as we have already noted,[24] art in its beginnings, and even at its height, was inseparably associated with archaic styles of writing derived from the pictographic hieroglyph, and so clung to alignments of figures in a kind of processional style that insisted on the profile. Though India was ever open to influences from the West, and always eagerly received them, its own outlook, as represented in its native styles—both in art and in life—was never destroyed. The Indian native aims and modes of representation always survived and in the end assimilated into a typically Indian pattern (conforming to patterns favored in the rituals and tasks of Indian daily life) whatever new devices chanced to arrive from outside. Assimilation requires time, however. Hence, occasionally, conspicuous evidence may appear of a recent
Pl. 18 and as yet unassimilated influence; for example, in the lion panels of Plate *18* which are directly derived from the conventional heraldic semi-Persian style of the Maurya period (as represented in the columns of Aśoka)[25] and are far less
Pl. 13 lively and inspired than the elephants of Plate *13*. The figures in the medallion
Pl. 31e shown in Plate *31e*, on the other hand, lack plastic value entirely. Hardly more than linear drawings scratched upon stone, they represent an almost primitive level of execution.

The force of the pre-Buddhistic, popular elements of Indian life in the development of Buddhism is evident not only in the joyful ornamentation of the great early stūpas, but equally in the Jātaka tales themselves, which were illustrated in many of the panels and were also recorded (*c.* 80 B.C.) in the fully orthodox written pages of the Ceylonese Pāli canon. One of the scenes on the section of coping
Pl. 31c shown in Plate *31* is the Bhārhut illustration of the Jātaka of the Cat and the Cock: the title of the fable being in the inscription above the relief: "*biḍāla jātaka kukuta jātaka.*"[26] Among the disciples of the Buddha, as we learn from the recitation of this fable in the Pāli text, there was a young monk who had not yet mastered his senses completely. He met an attractive woman, beautifully dressed, and asked the Buddha for permission to return to the world, whereupon the Enlightened One told him the fable of the Cock and the Cat.

[24] *Supra*, pp. 31–34.

[25] Cf. *supra*, pp. 231–232.

[26] *Jātaka* 383. In this inscription, through a mistake of the stonemason, *jātara* appears instead of *jātaka*, so that it reads *biḍāla jatara kukuta jātaka.* Under the tree in which the cock is sitting the sculptor has placed an ornamental bunch of such small bells as are worn by dancing girls, perhaps to indicate the seductive allure of the cat.

A wild cock, so runs this tale, had his nest in a tree. But a certain cat, eager for a meal, invited him down to marry her, with a charming verse:

Thou who art bright with feathery hues
And dost fly about with a broad comb,
Descend to me from the branch of thy tree,
For I long to be thy bride!

The cock, however—who, indeed, was the Buddha himself in an early incarnation, yet already on the way to enlightenment and aware of the bad end to which the senses lead—manfully resisted. That is the tale. Now we read the moral:

Wily women do likewise, when
They spy a man of noble mien;
Through gentle speech they try to reach;
As the cat the beautiful cock.

The young monk, impressed, remained in the Order of the Buddha.

Such tales, from the world's treasury not of sacred but of secular wisdom, could be represented in the reliefs of this holy monument of the first century B.C. because they had already been incorporated in the Buddhist tradition as accounts of the earlier incarnations of the Savior. By this clever device the wit of the popular tradition was brought to the support of the new teaching and simultaneously given a very charming new turn. The epigrammatic style of the sculpture befits the epigram of the fable; both are pedagogically incisive in the rendition of a timeless situation: the way of the world.

The medallion in the upper left of Plate *31* illustrates another amusing fable, that of the Antelope in the Wilderness (*kuruṅga-miga-jātaka*),[27] which has the moral that faithful friends, through mutual aid, can rescue each other from destruction. The Bodhisattva is in the title role. In the relief the forest scenery is swiftly indicated, as in the stage directions of a play, stating simply, "Wood and lake"; for at the foot of a big tree we see a pond with fish, and in the background a few smaller trees to indicate the plural: "This is a forest." We see also the actors of the play: the antelope, who is the title hero, and his two friends, a tortoise, who inhabits the watery realm, and a woodpecker, who lives in the air. Finally, there is the villain, man the hunter, armed with bow and arrows. *Pl. 31a*

This hunter is the rude intruder who breaks into the forest idyl; for he has laid a trap, and the antelope, inadvertently stepping into it, has been caught by the right hind leg. Friendship, through unselfish mutual help, is to give strength to the

[27] *Jātaka 206.*

weak animals, however, and to result in the rescue of the trapped antelope from the wily snares of the common foe. According to the Jātaka, the tortoise with her tiny teeth gnawed patiently through the rope of the trap even though her gums bled from the prolonged labor, while the woodpecker, which is a bird of ill omen, flew across the path of the huntsman as he drew near to inspect his lines. When he spied the bird of ill luck the hunter returned superstitiously to his home, coming back only after the task of the tortoise had been concluded and the antelope had fled. The poor tortoise, however, was so fatigued that she could not escape into her pond and so she was caught. The man picked her up and put her into his bag.

But the bag was hung on the low branch of a tree when the antelope, reappearing, presented herself as an easy target. She lured the hunter from her friend by alternately loping away and pausing for him to catch up: seemingly never too far off, she thus drew him in a wide circle. Then, suddenly dashing back to the tree, she ripped the bag from the branch with her horns; out crawled the tortoise, to vanish into the pond, and the hunter, panting, arrived too late. Thus, once again, a friend had been rescued by a faithful friend.

The relief does not really tell the tale. Singling out only its most significant episodes, it merely reminds one of the fable by presenting the actors in telling attitudes. One has to know the plot to read this hieroglyph and enjoy its details. Nor has any attempt been made to create a sense of real space, there being no illusion whatsoever of perspective. The pond, the trap, and the tortoise are seen from above; the antelope and the woodpecker in profile; the huntsman is shown from before: each at the angle that best conveys his outstanding features. Moreover, the sizes are far from representing real dimensions: each is of the magnitude most apt to catch the eye and be quickly understood. There is consequently no unity of space. And there is no unity of time; for the woodpecker appears twice. He is seen first conversing with his friends and then flying before the hunter to turn him off, no single moment having been selected for the topic of the relief. The stage props and the actors are present in significant relationships that link them together, about as they might appear in the mind of somebody on the point of telling the story, recalling its details. At such a moment, things that will unfold in sequence during the narrative are present simultaneously in the memory; in a state of sheer being, as it were, beyond time.

Compare this amusing Jātaka with the fable of La Fontaine, *Le Corbeau, la gazelle, la tortuë et le rat.*

La gazelle, le rat, le corbeau, la tortuë,
Vivoient ensemble unis; douce societé.

Le choix d'une demeure aux humains inconnuë
Assuroit leur felicité.
Mais quoi! l'homme découvre enfin toutes retraites.
Soyez au milieu des deserts,
Au fond des eaux, au haut des airs,
Vous n'éviterez point ses embûches secretes.[28]

In the version of La Fontaine the tortoise was caught by the hunter and rescued by the antelope; but the antelope had not previously been rescued by the tortoise, for the antelope trap was destroyed by the rat Rongemaille. Thus the motif of mutual unselfish aid was watered away. The tortoise did not seem to La Fontaine capable of shattering the trap, but the rat was obviously no fit prey for a hunter, and so, by adding the rodent to his Indian story the Frenchman rationally emptied it of a good portion of its sense.

In the second scene on the section of coping we have the tale of one of the earlier human incarnations of the Buddha, when he was the boy Sujāta, "The Well-born." [29] His grandfather having died, this boy observed that his father was lost in unconsolable grief. So he went to a place outside the town where there was a dead ox and, pretending to feed the corpse with grass and water, talked with it. The people told the father that his son had gone crazy, and the man, coming, rebuked him. Sujāta replied: "The ox still is here and whole, but the body of grandfather has turned to ashes. Do you expect grandfather to return to life? Or what is the meaning of your persistence in grief?" The father, immediately illuminated, ceased mourning. "I now realize," he declared, "that everything that has form and belongs to the tangible realm must decay and disappear. I shall no longer grieve. This, truly, is a son, who releases his father from sorrow." *Pl. 31c*

The relief reminds the visiting pilgrim that the Buddha-in-the-making, the Bodhisattva, even in the early incarnations of his career, was imbued with the basic truth of his true doctrine, which is that all the beings and objects to which we cling are unsubstantial. *Sarvam utpannam bhaṅguram*, runs the lesson of the fable: "Everything that has come into existence will disintegrate and disappear."

At the lower left of Plate *31* is the Bhārhut version of the dream of Queen Māyā, the mother of the Buddha, at the moment of her conception of the savior. It is a medallion on the interior of the eastern railing, bearing the inscription, "*bhagavato rūkdanta*": "The Buddha as the sounding elephant." [30] According to the traditional legend shared by the Buddhists and the Jainas, the life-monad that is about *Pl. 31d*

[28] La Fontaine, *Fables*, XII, 15.

[29] *Jātaka* 352. The title is inscribed on the relief, on the roof beam, upper left: *Sujāto-gahuta-jātaka*.

[30] Counterparts of this relief occur at Sāñcī, Amarāvatī, Sārnāth, Ajaṇṭā (twice), Pagān, and Borobuḍur.

to enter upon its final birth as a teacher and savior of gods and men—at the close of which blessed lifetime it will attain extinction—has already been completely purified through many heroic careers of the highest virtue. Therefore, instead of rushing blindly into the garb of an embryo under the impulse of fear and desire, it chooses deliberately the parents and surroundings of its ultimate existence in the round-of-rebirth.[31] And when the queen who is to become the mother is about to conceive, she has a series of auspicious dreams in which, among other symbols, white elephants play a prominent role. About three months after conception the germ in the womb is joined by the supreme life-monad, which comes down from the celestial world of the Happy Gods, the Tuṣita heaven, where it has been spending its penultimate existence. Invisibly, its subtle matter enters the womb of the august mother, and she visualizes the process in the image of a marvelous white elephant, triumphantly trumpeting, descending to her from on high.

In the Bhārhut relief Queen Māyā is seen from above, but the elephant from the side, as are also the servants fanning the dreamer and watching her sleep; likewise the articles of furniture that indicate the royal bedchamber. The elements of the scene have been assembled, but they have not been co-ordinated in consistent perspective from a definite point of view; they are shown simply in such a way as to be readily recognized and interpreted. Furthermore, the carving is very flat. The eyes, hair, ornaments, and garments have been rendered by a mere linear cutting, in a simple scratch-work style. And yet this primitive style is replete with an atmosphere that conveys the secret of the mysterious event. The idyllic intimacy of the bedroom and the calm delight of the auspicious dream have been expressed in a most direct and even charming way.

The medallion next to this is another relief in the same primitive manner. It is a
Pl. 31c reference to a well-known Buddhist legend that tells of an incredibly wealthy merchant of Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala, whose name was Anāthapiṇḍāda ("Who feeds widows and orphans with gifts of rice"). He desired to bestow on the Buddha and his community of monks a garden outside the town, as a hermitage and site for a monastery, and in his search discovered a magnificent park. But the prince who owned the land, and whose name was Jeta, refused to sell, and he expressed his refusal by imposing an impossible condition: Anāthapiṇḍāda, to obtain this beautiful garden, would have to cover every bit of the ground with coins of gold. The rich merchant accepted the offer, fulfilled the condition, and built in the garden the celebrated Jetavana cloister.

In the relief, the ground is shown covered with square gold coins brought in by oxcarts. The last of the carts is being unloaded. Its oxen stand unyoked. In the

[31] Cf. *supra*, pp. 304–306.

foreground is the donor supervising his employees in the fulfillment of the contract, and he is again represented, at a later turn of the legend, at the solemn moment of his bestowal of his gift on the Buddha, pouring water from a golden pitcher on the invisible hands of the invisible recipient of the donation (the Enlightened One not being depicted in this early Buddhist art).[32] By this rite Varuṇa, the Vedic god of water, was invoked to bear witness to the gift, which was the usual Indian ceremony at the moment of consummating contracts, gifts, and solemn pledges. And we see Prince Jeta, meanwhile, followed by five attendants, entering the garden at the upper left. In amazement at what has been done, he lifts his left hand to his mouth.

Four trees represent the scenery of the garden, the one within a brick enclosure being a holy tree through which the essence of enlightenment is revered. The buildings with the tunnel-vault roofs represent a later stage in the history; for they are the halls of the monastery that was erected when the donation was completed. One is marked *Gandhakuti*, the other *Kosambihuti*. It is recorded, in the early Pāli *Nidānakathā*, that Anāthapiṇḍāda built Gandhakuti. The history of the fenced-in tree we learn from the Burmese Buddha legend. There it is recounted that a gardener gave the Enlightened One a large mango fruit, which he ate, and that Ānanda then planted the stone on the Buddha's command. The Blessed One stroked the ground, and immediately a large mango tree shot up laden with fruit and blossoms. And the king thereupon appointed for it a special guardian.

The relief is distinguished by very lively attitudes and a delicate, though rather flat, carving. The chisel was used as a pencil, scratching minute lines everywhere in a kind of scribbling hand. Very different from the fine sculpture of the pillar figures, this relief is certainly from another workshop. It should be noted also that in the composition the absence of the Buddha has not been given point. Whereas, somewhat later, at Amarāvatī, the invisibility of the Extinct One is to be used as an element of eloquent contrast, emphasizing the mystery of transcendence, here the Buddha is simply missing, as a mere matter of convention. The inscription reads, "*jetavana anādhapeḍiko deti koṭisanthatena keṭā*": "Anāthapiṇḍiko presents Jetavana to the Buddha, having become its purchaser for a layer of koṭis." [33]

At the lower right of Plate 32 is the Bhārhut version of the Buddha's return from the Trayastriṁśat heaven, after having given instructions to his mother. This, like *Pl. 32b*

[32] According to the convention, since a Buddha is beyond name and form, he is not to be represented. Cf. *supra*, pp. 60–62. (Anāthapiṇḍiko = variant.)

[33] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

the other reliefs on this page, represents a different style from those we have just discussed. It is full of an intense and solemn realism, yet lacks the grace and
Pl. 36a harmony of the dancing damsels of Plate *36a*. We have viewed the version of this same event at Sāñcī.[34] The reader will recall from that discussion that in order to give his enlightening message to the gods and to teach his mother, who had passed away shortly following his birth and been reborn among the gods in the Trayastriṁśat heaven, the Buddha, after gaining enlightenment and preaching his doctrine among men, ascended, through his sheerly spiritual, superhuman power, to the celestial sphere. We here see him three months later, returning to the earth. The gods, soaring in the sky, are attending his departure, while the Buddhist community on earth, at the seat beneath the holy tree, awaits his coming. He is stepping down the staircase but cannot be seen: for he is beyond the traits of men, of gods, of demons, and of every other class of being, having gone beyond the universal law that gives to creatures the masks of their forms and compels them to range without cease through meaningless cycles of rebirth. Only the footprints of the Blessed One—marked with the solar symbol of the wheel—betray the presence of him who has attained nirvāṇa. The impress of the soles of the being who is a nonbeing—in whom all limiting characteristics are extinct—appears on the topmost and the lowest rungs, connoting his descent the entire length of the ladder. Footprints might have been shown, indeed, on every rung; for no one moment of the passage is rendered. The subject of the relief is the whole progress of the savior from the Trayastriṁśat heaven to the earth. His march through space proceeds while time flows on. We are watching the Buddha as he comes invisibly down the staircase, from the upper border of the relief to the lower; and the pious community at the bottom is watching too. Thus, no single particular moment, but time itself, flowing on, is an intrinsic factor in this dynamic composition.

Pl. 32a The lower left panel of Plate *32* is an Adoration of the Holy Seat of the Buddha.[35] The stone chair is covered with a precious carpet and surmounted by an umbrella of regal power denoting the spiritual world government of the teacher of gods and men. The Enlightened One is invisible, but again his presence is betrayed by the prints of the soles of his feet; and again these are marked with the symbol of the holy wheel: the sign of the sun, which is the light of the world. A pious emotion is depicted on the faces and through the attitudes of the worshipers. They compose a kind of chorus and no attempt has been made to differentiate them: their features are very much alike. And though enclosed by the frame of the

[34] Cf. *supra*, p. 240; Sāñcī, northern gate, right
Pl. 8 jamb, upper outside panel; Plate *8*.

[35] West gate, under *suddhamma deva-sabhā bhagavato cūḍā maha:* Veneration of the footprints of the Buddha; inscription: "*mahāsāmāyikayam arahaguto devaputo dhakato bhagavato sisani paṭisandhı.*" (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 137.)

relief, they are intended to be seen as figures in the round. As though on a stage, facing the onlooker, they invite him to partake of their rapture and hence are addressing themselves to a sphere outside the field of the composition. They betoken in this attitude a didactic tendency and naïve realism. And once again we note that the posture in profile, which is one of the main devices of classical Western art, here plays only a very slight role.

The anonymity of the figures is the same as that of the group in the panel at the upper right, where the lay community pays worship to the seat of enlightenment beneath the holy sāl tree of the Buddha Viśvabhū while the gods participate from on high. No individuals, no personalities, stand out from either the earthly cluster or the representatives of heaven: there is only a dual company united by one emotion. For the idea of individualizing the participants in an assembly such as this (as, for example, in the *Last Supper* of Leonardo da Vinci) never developed in the Indian consciousness. It is absent totally from the works of the earlier periods and only to some extent present in those of the later. One might say that in this joyous art, anonymity, as well as style, was a faculty of nature. Pl. 32b

3. *The Buddhist Art of Mathurā, Gandhāra, Amarāvatī, and Bodhgayā*

ABOUT the beginning of the Christian era Buddhist art was expanding in a threefold current. In north central India, the style of Mathurā appeared, as a sequel to that of the stūpas of Bhārhut and Sāñcī, and it was flanked by two other traditions, following parallel courses: in the northwestern provinces, that of the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra; and to the southeast, that of the art of Amarāvatī.

The fullness of human forms and the traditional marks of feminine beauty were displayed in Mathurā in a spirit of vigorous naturalism, often with even greater emphasis than in the reliefs of the stūpa railings (Plates 74–76). A rounded contour of the faces and a particular triangular smile are the characteristic tokens of this joyous style. Pl. 74–76

During the period of the Mongoloid Kuṣāna kings, however (first and second centuries A.D.),[36] the workshops of this productive city were touched by two strains of external influence: in the first place a Mongolian, which is conspicuous in the royal portrait-statues, and in the second, a Greco-Roman, stemming from Gan-

[36] Cf. *supra*, pp. 7–8.

Pl. 61 dhāra. The first is evident in Plate *61*, which is a portrait executed, in the second century A.D., of the Buddhist emperor Kaniṣka. It is a great pity that the head is missing. It would have been a striking document of the valor and kingly virtue of the Kuṣāna dynasty at the climax of its career. The bold attitude and the magnificent, sober realism are completely different both from Hellenistic impressionism and from Hindu sensitivity. This monument reveals how the Mongoloid invaders from the north, out of their barbaric juvenility, brought forth an art expression of their own. And it may be taken as symbolic of the role played by this great race in the history, not only of India, but of the Near East, merging the elements of various civilizations. In India the Kuṣānas welded a number of strains into preliminary patterns, which, filtered and transformed then through the genius of the Gupta period, were destined to inspire enduring monuments of Buddhist art throughout Indonesia and the Far East.

Pl. 59 Plate *59*, also headless, is a statue of King Vima Kadphises. More than life-size, this work was executed, according to the inscription, in the year *6* of the Kaniṣka era (*c.* 150 A.D.), as a posthumous token of honor. Its inscription gives only the monarch's name, in contradistinction to that of the Kaniṣka portrait, which was executed during its subject's lifetime and announces all his titles. King Vima, wearing big, soft riding boots, sits royally upon his lion throne.

Pl. 60 Plate *60* shows another such monarch. His name is unknown.

These, then, were the young and vigorous emperors under whose patronage the arts both of Mathurā and of Gandhāra came to flower.

The craftsmen of Mathurā were in contact very early with those of Gandhāra, and for a time the Alexandrian influence nearly overpowered the local indigenous tradition. Images betraying this influence, however, tend to misrepresent the true and real achievement of the school of Mathurā, which outlived in time and surpassed in geographical extent the period and reach of the Hellenistic wave.
Pl. 71, B6 As may be seen in Plate *71* and Text Plate *B6*, left, the lively attitude of the Mathurā Buddhas is remarkably different from anything evident in the Gandhāra
Pl. 62–67 Buddha type (Plates *62–67*). The Hellenistic figures are usually represented in attitudes of repose, as though exhibiting their illusory semblances in serene aloofness, much like Hindu gods. At Mathurā, on the other hand, the Buddha is the living teacher of gods and men. Bent slightly forward, with a vivid gesture of his uplifted hand, he animatedly addresses the observer. His regard is not drawn inward to the essence of his transcendental wisdom of enlightenment and extinction, but with his beaming face he almost reaches beyond the frame or plane of the relief into the space in which the observer stands. Through this teaching attitude he participates in the earthly atmosphere round about, and we recognize in it a re-

lationship to the attitudes of the participation rendered in some of the Bhārhut reliefs; for example, in that, just considered, of Plate *32b*. This is a posture comporting with the lively realism of all the Kuṣāna-Mathurā masterworks, but it was completely dropped from the later Buddhist tradition of the Gupta, Pāla, and colonial schools, where the idea of the Buddha's divine aloofness (*lokottara*) prevailed. *Pl. 32b*

In art monuments, as in literary, significant but one-sidedly representative documents can suddenly illuminate the general dark, representing developments that have been otherwise swallowed by time and thus concealed. They stand, rich in themselves and full of information, yet without visible connections, and so, in part overshadowed by the surrounding dark, they float, with their constituents uncertainly dated, at a somewhat enigmatical point of time. The stūpas of Sāñcī and Bhārhut are all that we have, for example, to testify to a development of at least two centuries; for we know that already in the year of the Buddha's death, 483 B.C., his ashes were installed in seven stūpas. There must have been many stūpas in Northern India, both to the Buddha and to the great kings; but all examples earlier than those of Bhārhut and Sāñcī have disappeared. Moreover, these remaining stūpas testify to an already completely developed Buddhist literary tradition, incorporating Jātaka motifs in a canonical dogma; for in these great monuments the mutely eloquent dome, the reliquary of primitive Buddhism, has already become embedded in a setting of fully developed sculptured legend.

Similarly, we find, over a thousand miles away, in the voluminous texts of the Pāli canon, that the ancient formulae and terms stemming from the Buddha's time have already become incorporated in a canonical literary tradition of copious extent. We know nothing of how, when, or where the various phases of this development took place; for all that we have as evidence is this local precipitation, which came suddenly to light in a burst, *c.* 80 B.C., after a hidden history of some four centuries—in the remote missionized island of Ceylon; not on the primitive soil of the Buddhist doctrine. Bhārhut and Sāñcī, like the Pāli canon, are isolated symptoms of a history that has been all but completely lost.

So, too, are the vivid Buddhas of Mathurā; likewise the more numerous Buddhas of Gandhāra. The whole problem of the origin not only of the Buddha image but also of the Mahāyāna is enigmatically epitomized in the sudden emergence of these two constellations of related yet very different Buddha forms.

The art of Bhārhut and Sāñcī, with its nonrepresentation of the savior, is Hīnayāna. The pertinent text for this tradition is that of the Ceylonese *Sutta Nipāta:* "For him who [like the sun] has set, there is nothing any more with

which he can be compared." [37] There is nothing any more by means of which he can be represented: his footprint, like the twilight, only gives evidence of a vanished sun. To conclude, however, from the sudden appearance of a Hellenistic Buddha type in the art of Gandhāra that therefore the Greeks created, or even inspired, the Buddha image, which thereafter spread over all India, is simply absurd.[38]

First one has to explain why the Buddha image was permitted, canonically, to originate precisely at Gandhāra. The Buddhist community must have required it for dogmatic reasons; just as at Sāñcī and Bhārhut they forbade it. For, naturally, the Indians could have depicted the Buddha, just as they were already depicting anything they wanted: men, women, gods, goddesses, plants, birds, animals, and fish. In the context of an Indian religion the mere fact that Greeks might have taken the depiction of the Highest Being for granted would not have dissolved the orthodox restrictions. Therefore, when suddenly we find that the completely Extinguished One has become visible in the frame of the illusory world, rendered so by illusory means, a new fundamental teaching, or at least a new conception of the fundamental teaching, must be sought.

And we know precisely what the new conception was: it was the Mahāyāna, which is documented in the very period of the Gandhāra monuments by the Prajñāpāramitā texts.[39] In these we are told that just as there never has been any world, so, also, there never was a historical Buddha to redeem it. The Buddha and the world are equally void; *śūnyam:* "empty, without being." From the transcendental standpoint of the released consciousness they are on one and the same plane of illusoriness; and this transcendental standpoint, moreover, is the true one. The illusory historical Buddha, who through bodhi entered into nirvāṇa yet until his parinirvāṇa continued to live for the eyes of the world, may consequently be represented as though alive in the illusory world.

This is why, during the early centuries A.D., instead of the mysteriously instructive mode of rendition that had been employed at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, one comprehensible to all (to the unreleased, even to the unconverted) suddenly came into being.

The chief city of Gandhāra, Taxila (Sanskrit *Takṣa-śilā,* "the rock of Takṣa"), was founded, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa,* by Takṣa, the son of Bharata,[40] and

[37] *Sutta Nipāta* 5. 7. 8.

[38] *Editor's note:* This theory was propounded by the French art historian Alfred Foucher, in *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* (École française d'Extrême-Orient: Publications, 5–6; Paris, 1905–18, 2 vols.). It was quickly adopted by a number of Occidental scholars and in some academic circles is still taken for granted.

[39] Cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India,* pp. 482 ff.

[40] *Rāmāyaṇa* 7. 101. 10–16.

was conquered, according to the *Mahābhārata*, by Janamejaya, the son of Parīkṣit.[41] In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Taxila is described as the twin city of Puṣkālavatī, the ancient capital of Gandhāra (Peshawar),[42] which Takṣa is said to have founded at the same time; while in the *Jātaka* it is frequently referred to as a great center of learning, famous particularly for its medical school. Alexander the Great found an ally against King Porus in the local rāja when he reached Taxila in 316 B.C., but within twenty years of his conquest of the Indus Valley the supremacy of the Macedonians in that area was terminated by the rise of the native Maurya empire, founded by Candragupta. Taxila revolted against Candragupta's son, King Bindusāra Maurya, and was immediately brought to submission by the crown prince Aśoka, who then ruled the city as viceroy, on his father's behalf. Aśoka later imprisoned his own son, Kunāla, in Taxila, and as a consequence of a court intrigue the youth was blinded there while in his bonds.[43]

After the Mauryas, however, came the Bactrian Greeks. By 250 B.C. these colonial governors of a rich but remote Hellenistic province had become independent of the Seleucid Empire, which, under Diodotos, at that time covered Persia and Syria. About 190 B.C. Demetrius I of Bactria entered and conquered the Indus country, and for the rest of the second century B.C. this area remained under Greek rule. The mightiest of the later Greek kings was the famous Buddhist convert Menander (Milinda), *c.* 150 B.C.[44]

The province lay between Northwestern India and that Hellenistic Persian realm where a tragedy of Euripides was enacted when the news of the defeat at Carrhae of the Roman general Crassus arrived in court simultaneously with his severed head. Although few, the proud Greek rulers and their luxurious courts were important and powerful enough to exert an enduring influence on Oriental art; for in all periods of despotism, princes, squandering riches amassed through conquests and heavy taxes, have been decisive in the history of art, as patrons and customers ordering certain types and so determining trends. The Bactrians caused their Greek workmen (or else native pupils of Greek craftsmen, skilled in their style) to strike coins of a Hellenistic character. A silver relief discovered at Taxila, showing Dionysos with the wine cup (Text Plate *B13b*), is of a purely Hellenistic brand. Moreover, numerous smaller objects introduced by commerce traveled far into India, and gold coins—first those of the Hellenistic Greeks, then those of the Romans—paid for the considerable, steady flow of Indian spices and *Pl. B13b*

[41] *Māhābhārata*, Adiparva 3. 170–172.

[42] *Ib.*, verse 12. For other notices of Takṣaśilā in the ancient Indian writings, cf. V. S. Sukthankar, "A Selection of Literary References to Ṭaxila," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914–15, Part II, pp. 36–41.

[43] Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 494–504.

[44] *Ib.*, pp. 504–506.

other Oriental commodities that were shipped to both the Alexandrian and the Roman capitals. Such alien currencies, bearing classical reliefs, penetrated deep into India and had their influence.

Before the opening of the first century B.C., however, the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and the Indus were overpowered, first by the Parthians, then by the Śaka — a warlike people of Scythian extraction that were being driven southward and westward by an advancing Mongolian tribe. Parthian and Śaka kingdoms spread over Northwestern India as far as to the Jumna, and the whole country was divided among governing satraps, in the Persian fashion, until late in the first century A.D., when the Mongolians themselves arrived, pressed in the rear by the Huns. The new invaders (they are called the Yueh-chi in the annals of Chinese historiographers, but in India the Kuṣānas) first settled briefly in Bactria and the valley of the Oxus, then penetrated into the Indus country and overthrew the satraps. Their empire attained its height during the second half of the second century, under Kaniṣka, whose portrait we have seen; at which time it comprised Afghanistan and Turkistan, as well as North India as far as to the borders of Bengal. The great period of the early Mahāyāna Prajñāpāramitā texts and of the Buddha images of Mathurā and Gandhāra was that of these Mongolian monarchs, who had made the satraps of Parthian and Scythian blood their tributaries.

Throughout these turbulent times the country around Taxila was a region of transshipment, a vast trading post through which all kinds of goods and people poured from numerous civilizations near and far. The travels of Apollonius of Tyana, for instance, fanciful and incredible though they may seem, contain in their account of the city of Taxila several particulars that tally well with recent discoveries made on the site.[45] Apparently this Neo-Pythagorean Greek philosopher actually visited the remote Oriental capital — possibly in the year 44 A.D. And there were undoubtedly many other visitors, perhaps even residents, from the West. Among the numerous Occidental antiquities that have been found in the ruins is a bronze statuette of Horus-Harpocrates, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and with his right hand raised to his lips as if to impose silence, in the usual attitude of this popular child-god of late Egyptian art (Text

Pl. B13a Plate *B13a*).

Pl. 62b Plate *62b* shows an excellent Gandhāra image of the Buddha seated on the lion throne, exhibiting clearly the impact of the Hellenistic-Roman tradition. The beauty of the Apollo- or Hermes-like face has been reduced, to some extent, to the regularity of an impressive mask; nevertheless, it has preserved the wakefulness

[45] See Charles P. Eells, *Life and Times of Apollonius of Tyana* (Stanford University Publications: University Series: Language and Literature, Vol. II, No. I; Palo Alto, 1923), Book II.

and intentness of the visage of a Western god or hero. The cross-legged posture of the seated yogī-teacher, familiar to the Hindu, but a rather queer and uncongenial theme for an artist of the West, has been adroitly handled through an effective arrangement of the robe. One observes that the logic of this drapery still is that of the classical style. Understood as affording an opportunity for a vivid interplay of light and shade, the folds have been so handled as to produce a supremely dazzling effect. They emphasize the majesty and serenity of the harmonious head, whose features, moreover, catch and hold the onlooker instead of receding into the peace of inner concentration. The pronounced articulations of the neck and head, as well as of the upper hem of the garment, also betray the Hellenistic hand. And finally, the protuberance at the top of the cranium (which is an indispensable bodily feature of the Buddhist savior, but must have been shocking to artists trained according to the Hellenic ideal of beauty) has been skillfully veiled and obscured by the manner in which the hair has been arranged in a kind of tuft. This figure must have been fashioned for Buddhist customers who had a Hellenistic taste.

Among the local Northwest Indian craftsmen, however, the artistic intentions of the Occidental style seem to have remained largely uncomprehended. Its refined realism—a kind of vivid, sensational impressionism based on a lively interplay of light and shade—was not grasped by them in its aesthetic sense. Its curves of drapery, designed to give a dramatic modeling to the form through bold shadows and flashes, was soon changed into a kind of ornament expressing an inward attitude of calm aloofness and serene concentration (Plate 66). Impressionistic modeling then became a vehicle for the rendition of an expressive psychology, serving to suggest the mental attitude of the saint steeped in the bliss of the calm of extinction (*nirvāṇa*). Hellenistic linear elements, which had been designed to unite the figure with its environs through a common web of light and shadow, henceforth were employed to isolate the apparition and imbue it with a lofty strangeness; while not only the drapery, but every other realistic feature, was transformed into an eloquent ornamentation. Weight, posture, and the substance of the figure became, as it were, a musical accompaniment to the composed attitude, underlining or inflecting its message; so that instead of a sensual, impressionistic art, there developed an intrinsically spiritual style tending to dematerialize the stone—dissolving its substantiality into a ghostlike phantasmagoria. Appearance was transmuted into apparition. No bodily being, only an essence that has become silently manifest, is what is seen in these later Gandhāran forms. *Pl. 66*

Gandhāran art, that is to say, was far from being a misunderstanding of the

Hellenistic as a result of the clumsy, inept hands and minds of non-European craftsmen. Rather, it marked the intuitive beginning of a new style, aiming at an expression of the inner meaning of the Buddha figure from the point of view of a genuine Buddhist introversion. The dashing, idealized portrait of the spiritual hero-conqueror, facing triumphantly the world at his feet, was turned into the adequate reflex of an introspective intuition of enlightenment and of the peace which passeth understanding, the peace that accompanies the knowledge that annihilates temporal bondage. For there is no pretext in these statues of an actual human body, sitting or standing in real space, among objects. On the contrary, what has become visible is the figuration of a spiritual attitude, which is present more for the intuitive eye of the spirit than for the fleshly organ of the physical mind.

The Buddha is not to be regarded as an exceptional individual, even though in each great age of the world no more than one, two, or three Buddhas are made manifest, and in some ages not even one. The Buddha represents, rather, the perfect type or state of being that is to be achieved by all creatures in the long course of transmigration, through their practice of the highest virtues of self-renunciation. At the outset, the Hellenistic Buddha was distinguished far too much by the traits of a singular, outstanding personality. Only gradually, as a result of the work of native Indian artists, was he imbued with the sublime quality of anonymity. No longer a sovereign individual, he became at last the personification of a pure essence, the reflex of a sheer state beyond the world of sense. And this wondrous transformation was the real achievement of the local craftsmen of Gandhāra: the positive aspect of the changes that they wrought on the Occidental patterns derived from the Greeks.

This can appear as a diminution and lack of mastery only to one who insists, really blindly, on the classical standards of Western art as founded in the Hellenistic-Roman tradition. The well-known, academically celebrated Occidental aims of impressionistic virtuosity and of a dramatic play of light and shade, as well as the philosophy of humanity that underlies these, meant nothing to the Gandhāran workmen of Indian extraction. However, the spiritual energy of the Buddhist doctrine had so increased in force during the centuries following the building of Bhārhut that they could now transmute the foreign pattern into a spiritual symbol capable of rendering the highest Oriental truth of sovereign release and freedom. Their tentative transformations of the Occidental ideal portrait mark the beginnings of that classical Buddhist iconography which was destined to be brought to its supreme statement in the art of the Gupta period, and thereafter to cover the whole of Eastern Asia with sublime masterpieces of symbolic form.

The first effect of the Gandhāran achievement was to disengage the Buddha figure from the traditional patterns derived from the archaic yakṣa and nāga models. It may well be that the Gandhāran standing Buddha was directly influenced—or even inspired—by such Hellenistic formulae as that typified in the standing *Sophocles* of the Lateran Museum (Text Plate *B14a*); however, the seated Buddha can have come only from an Indian source. It was based, as we have seen,[46] on the seated nāga. Yet even here, no less than in the standing figure, one can observe the influence of the Occident. By temporarily imbuing the concept of the Buddha with the strong personal character of a victorious spiritual individual, Gandhāran art absorbed and transformed the archaic naturalistic realism of the demonic gods who had for ages personified in traditional India the superhuman powers of nature. The cosmic savior was humanized in the manner of a semidivine Greek hero, or of those Hellenistic divinities that had been completely anthropomorphized since the classic period. He was thus rescued from the spell of nature, from the elfin, goblinlike attitude of the yakṣa, and from the blissful unconsciousness of the nāga-spirits of the waters; and his image, in consequence, gained an expressive, energetic spirituality. *Pl. B14a*

The realistic character of the Gandhāran image, however—its avowed individualism, as the ideal portrait of an impressive personality—was ultimately unacceptable. It was far too Western to express the main content of the Indian view. The figure of the One-who-was-nothing-any-more had to be purged of every mark of individuality—as the Buddha himself had been purged of individuality when he transcended the realm of bondage, in which all beings are tied to specific acts and specific rewards (*karma*). The Buddha essence, which is transcendental, is neither expressed in any word nor rendered by any form. Therefore, an image of the Buddha can denote properly only a mental or a spiritual attitude. It must be a reflection, mirrorlike, of the peace of the state-of-being of one steeped in complete aloofness, utter serenity, and supreme bliss, its function being that of a hieroglyph or symbol of a suprahuman, supradivine condition. Its function is to furnish support for the visualization, in inner meditation, of the substance or concept of Buddhahood; the state to be achieved; the real essence, which underlies all the states-of-being, not only of ourselves but of everything, and which nevertheless is shrouded in the veil of general nescience. No "real," earthly or even divine being, visible to the eyes and refracting rays of physical light, is reproduced in these figures. In essence, the Buddha image, like the Buddha himself, is an illusory reflex of the pure substance of immortal consciousness, shining from beyond the categories of all sense perceptions and mental ideas.

[46] *Supra*, pp. 56–67.

It is perfectly clear, therefore, why the Hellenistic spirit never made, or could have made, any real or lasting impression on Indian art. The temperaments and philosophies of the two civilizations were radically different. The Greek style, in this border province of its influence, furthermore, was overlaid by the vigorous barbaric styles of the Kuṣānas and other youthfully crude invaders. Under these influences its impressionistic play of highlight and shadow gave way to a monumental realism, which gloried in bold simplifications, stressing the plastic bulk of the figures and tending to present formal assemblages of puppetlike actors posed in significant dramatic poses.

Pl. 67 Plate 67, for example, is heavy and lifeless, devoid on the one hand of real vigor and expressivity and on the other of the sweetness and inner musicality of those later Indian pieces in which the tangible appearance of the savior has been turned into the symbolic outline of a spiritual state. Here the drapery clings to the Western figure without achieving its intention; and though there is a tendency of the form to enter and vanish into itself, as it were in silent self-effacement, this hint of the process of losing weight and corporeality, which takes its start in Gandhāra but is to find its fulfillment only in the Gupta period, in India proper, is not yet adequate to the symbol to be rendered. Such works are neither West nor East—and such works abound (let it be admitted) in Gandhāran art.

The leading spokesmen of a recent school of French, English, and German archaeologists overrated grossly this Greco-Buddhist period. Noting the wide diffusion throughout Asia of some of its Hellenistic motifs and failing to consider the transfiguration they had undergone, they jumped too fast and eagerly to a number of grotesquely complacent conclusions.[47]

A few fine Gandhāran pieces have survived, which represent partly the best of the Hellenistic and Roman provincial tradition and partly a remarkably successful creative attempt to render in the patterns of this alien art the totally different atmosphere, symbols, and figures of the Buddhist world. Most of the Gandhāran pieces in our museums, on the other hand, were never intended to be masterworks, or triumphs of individual creative achievement. They were mass-produced in unpretentious skilled workshops, operating on a large scale and with as much speed as possible, to provide numerous and extensive monasteries, stūpas, and other buildings with a lavish mantle of friezes, panels, statues, and sculptured ornaments. For the Kuṣāna monarchs and many other princely donors expended in a lavish way the riches they had amassed by conquest. Buildings rose and expanded,

[47] Cf. Sir John H. Marshall, "The Monuments of Ancient India," in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (Cambridge, England, 1922), Ch. XXVI; J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon, and Java* (Oxford, 1936); and A. Foucher, *op. cit.*

and had to be covered with décor. Thus in this remote border-realm, this art of the Hellenistic-Roman civilization, materially proliferating but insignificant in detail, thrived on royal patronage as a lush by-product of imperial expansion. It is comparable in quality to the figures of athletes and giants, caryatids, attractive nymphs, and allegorical nudes that we find everywhere today, throughout the Western world, in hotel lobbies, clubs, official buildings, banks, sport centers, and bars, which derive their belated, and usually all too conventional, charm from the real achievements not of today but of the Renaissance and Baroque.

The main value of this mass production was rather iconographical than aesthetic. Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and scenes from the Buddha legend received a new stamp—which lasted. Coined for the Hellenistic-Roman assembly line of the borderland, they invaded India proper and thence migrated into the colonies of Buddhist art in Java, Burma, Cambodia, and Siam. And along the trade routes through Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan, flourishing in the Indian settlements and Buddhist monasteries that marked these dangerous highways, they penetrated into China and thence reached Japan. But already in the period of Kaniṣka the power of the plastic rendering was on the wane. The influence of the style lingered for a little time, but with the destruction of the monasteries in the second half of the fifth century by the Ephthalite or White Huns, who, after breaking the power of Persia, swarmed across India under Mihirakula, its force was extinguished. Hsüan Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited Taxila in 630, found the province dependent on Kashmir; most of its Buddhist monasteries were in ruins; and he was told that they had been destroyed by a cruel king of the Huns.

Some of the Gandhāra works were purely Greek. Two of the figures in Text Plate *B13* have already been noted.[48] At the upper right is a curious Athene, or perhaps a Yavanī, an amazonlike Greek girl in the bodyguard of a Gandhāran king. And below is a Corinthian capital with a seated Buddha—a good example of the mixture of elements and traditions.

Pl. B13c

Pl. B13d

Plate *65*, the Gandhāran image of the Bodhisattva starving himself to death, is perhaps the most incongruous example of the mixture of India and Greece. Here a thoroughly un-Greek theme has been rendered in an equally un-Indian style. According to the version of the legend in the Ceylonese *Mahā-saccaka-sutta*,[49] the Buddha was once describing his early austerities to his monks. "Then striving," he said, "after the good, and searching for the supreme state of peace, I gradually made my way to the land of the Magadhā and proceeded to Uruvelā, where I saw a delightful city with a pleasant grove, a river flowing delightfully with clear water

Pl. 65

[48] *Supra*, pp. 341–342.

[49] *Majjhima Nikāya* I. 240–247. The passage is here greatly abridged.

and good fords, and round about a place for seeking alms. 'This surely,' thought I, 'is a fit place for the striving of a highborn one.' Then I sat down there and thought: 'What if I should now set my jaw, press my tongue to my palate, and restrain, crush, and burn out my mind with my mind?' I did so and sweat flowed from my armpits. I undertook resolute effort; unconfused mindfulness was established; but my body was unquiet and uncalmed, even through the painful striving that was crushing me: such painful feeling as arose did not subdue the mind. Then I thought: 'What if I now should practice trance without breathing?' So I restrained my inhaling and exhaling through mouth and nose. When I did so, there was a violent sound of wind issuing from my ears and violent winds disturbed my head. Again, three times, I practiced the holding of the breath, and the pains were as though a strap were being twisted about my head, next as though a butcher were cutting my body with a sharp knife, and then as though two men were holding each other over a bed of coals. Such painful feelings as arose, however, did not overpower my mind.

"Some divinities, seeing me, said, 'The ascetic Gautama is dead'; others said, 'He is not dead, but is dying'; still others said, 'He is neither dead nor dying; such is the behavior of an accomplished saint.' Then I thought, 'What if I should take food only in small quantities, only as much as my hollowed palm would hold?' My body became extremely thin. The impress where I sat was like a camel's footprint, from the little food. And as the beams of an old shed stick out, so did my ribs. And as, in a deep well, the deep, low-lying sparkling water is seen, so, in my eye sockets, was seen the deep, low-lying sparkle of my eyes. When I thought to touch the skin of my stomach, I would actually take hold of my spine, and when I thought to touch my spine, I would actually take hold of the skin of my stomach—so closely did the skin of my stomach cling to my spine, from the little food. Then I thought, 'Those ascetics and brāhmans in the past who suffered keen, severe pains at the most did not suffer more than this. Yet through this severe mortification I am not attaining superhuman, truly noble knowledge and insight. Perhaps there is another way to enlightenment.'

"Then I remembered a time when I was seated, as a youth, at home. I was seated in the cool shade of a rose-apple tree and without sensual desires, without evil ideas, I attained and abode in the first trance of joy and pleasure arising from seclusion and combined with reasoning and investigation. Then there arose in me the consciousness that this was the way to enlightenment, and I thought, 'Why should I fear the happy state that is without sensual desires and without evil ideas?' And I thought, 'I do not fear that happy state which is without sensual desires and without evil ideas.' And then I thought, 'It is not easy to gain that happy

state while my body is emaciated. What if I now should take solid food, rice, and sour milk?'

"Now at that time five mendicant ascetics were attending me, thinking, 'When the ascetic Gautama gains the true doctrine he will communicate it to us.' But when I took food they left me in disgust, saying, 'The ascetic Gautama lives in abundance, he has given up his striving.' "

The Bodhisattva at the end of his fast is the subject of this Gandhāran image. For a telling comparison, one may turn to the South Indian bronze of Kālī at the conclusion of her fast that was discussed *supra*, pp. 116–120 (Plate 422). *Pl. 422*

In Plate 37 we have one of the few reliefs remaining from the ruined stūpa of *Pl. 37* Jaggayyapeṭa (about thirty miles northwest of Amarāvatī), which will serve to contrast the native Indian forms with the alien influences of Alexandrian Gandhāra and the Mongoloid Kuṣānas. Thanks to the remoteness from Gandhāra of this site in Kaliṅga, on the southwestern shore of the Bay of Bengal, the masterful style, without plasticity, is purely Hindu and shows no Hellenistic influence whatsoever. The stūpa of Jaggayyapeṭa dates from the first century B.C., and so was about contemporary with Bhārhut. The subject of this precious panel is the Cakravartin, the Ruler of the World, with his "Seven Jewels": the wheel, the wife, the horse, the gem, the minister, the general, and the elephant.[50] Its clarity and grace foreshadow the art of Amarāvatī and, like the contemporary Indian works at Bhārhut, it is the product of a spirit in static repose, completely innocent of the magnificent dynamism of the post-Kuṣāna periods of Indian art.

Amarāvatī dates from the second century A.D., that is to say, some two hundred years later than the stūpa of Jaggayyapeṭa. Fragments of an old beam survive, however, from an early railing, showing winged animals led and escorted by men, conventionalized in a way that betrays the influence of the archaic Mesopotamian style (Plate 38). Certain other reliefs, which are flat, with a clean and *Pl. 38a, b, d* neat design, evidently derive from the tradition that previously had produced the decorations of Jaggayyapeṭa (Plate 38, center). The majority of the works for *Pl. 38c* which Amarāvatī earned its fame, however, show a skillful perspectivism, curtailing and foreshortening, for the purpose of creating an illusion of space. In its prime, this stūpa was a shimmering filigree of railings and walls. The chisel had mastered the whole surface and had thrown over the entire structure a glittering net. Its sculptural casing slabs and great railing were fashioned in the latter half of the second century. Arranged in two tiers, the slabs formed a sort of wainscot around the stūpa drum, which had a diameter of fifty-four yards. The railing,

[50] For a discussion of the idea of the Cakravartin, cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 130–131.

moreover, provided for the sculptors a surface area of nearly seventeen thousand square feet.

Pl. 95a At the upper left of Plate 95 is a tondo (a relief of circular shape) from a post of the outer railing of the stūpa, dating from the middle of the second century A.D. It shows nāgas at the stūpa of Rāmagrāma worshiping the relics of the Buddha, the relics being in the little stūpa placed on a throne in the center. A giant nāga-king, conspicuous because of his halo of raised serpent hoods, stands in an attitude of reverence behind the relics, while around him others, with their beautiful wives, in various attitudes of enthusiastic worship, pay homage to the tangible symbol of final release from the bondage of the cycle of rebirths. Frontal positions prevail over the profile. As much as possible of the mass of the stone has been transformed into a joyful welter of limbs and bodies, and the multitude is anonymous: no individuals stand out with specific expressions of their own temperaments, no personalities. What we see, rather, is a whole species, a class of superhuman beings, giving rein to its emotion in a single chorus.

Pl. 97 Plate 97 is another votive stone slab showing nāgas worshiping a stūpa. They are clustering about it in various attitudes. The terrace of the monument is surmounted by a forest of parasols, which have been set there as votive gifts. Nāgas in serpent form, triumphant with expanded hoods, gird the dome and guard its drum-shaped base, while others, in human form, surmounted by their snake-hood shields, stand joyfully at either side, with their female companions paying obeisance in ecstatic attitudes. Still other nāgas, with like gestures, fly in mid-air.

In these reliefs the static mood of Jaggayyapeṭa and Bhārhut has given place to a graceful, triumphant dynamism, rendered in a supremely fluent handwriting, in a
Pl. 94 kind of miniature style. Consider again Plate 94, where the Buddha crosses the Nairañjanā, having abandoned those practices of bodily mortification which, as
Pl. 65 rendered in the Gandhāran image of Plate 65, had brought him to the brink of death. With a wholesome ascetic diet of vegetables and milk-rice, he has strengthened his bodily frame for the spiritual pursuit of enlightenment, and now, walking nimbly, like a cloud, he crosses the river's swirling waters to the other shore, where stands the tree under which he is to achieve his goal.

More than one style can be identified among the remains of Amarāvatī: on the one hand, as above, that of the invisible Buddha in a graceful, sensitive line; on the other, various works following the lustier, coarser, more naturalistic tradi-
Pl. 92b tions derived from the North. In the bottom panel of Plate 92b, illustrating the Great Departure of the Bodhisattva from his palace, wife, and son, we behold him on his steed Kaṇṭhaka, conducted by his faithful charioteer. Divinities of the earth support the hoofs of the horse while those above carry the parasol of the spiritual

kingship of the universe, attending the Bodhisattva on his way to the solitude of the forest and the anonymous existence of the mendicant ascetic. The relief is on the inner side of a railing-pillar. A broad and vigorous style, though a bit simple and clumsy, full of energy in its rendition of the movements and expressive faces of the figures, carries the impress of the Kuṣāna influence on the Northern art—and the Blessed One, in accordance with the new Mathurā-Gandhāra manner of representation, is visible in his bodily form.

Above this is another relief in the Northern style, the Temptation scene, and above that, the Buddha expounds the doctrine for the first time, turning the Wheel of the Law in the Deer Park of Benares. In the scene of the Temptation, the Bodhisattva on his throne, supported by divinities of the earth and seated in the attitude of the teacher, visibly confronts the onlooker. Though surrounded by the alluring figures of the seven daughters of the tempter striving in vain to attract his attention to their enticing attitudes, he is not aware of them. The triumphant calm of him who has realized the truth contrasts with the graceful, undulating blandishments and coy looks of the women, who represent sheer life and its enjoyment. A manly, straightforward, simple style has here been employed to convey directly what there is to say. However, the simplicity is deceptive: for it derives from a far richer, more sophisticated style than that of this relief, going back, ultimately, to Hellenism and its masterworks. Those earlier achievements have been filtered to Amarāvatī through the juvenile barbarism of the Kuṣāna-Mathurā sphere.

The scene shown in the medallion of Plate 86 is from the popular story of the Buddha subduing a mad elephant. According to the legend, the Enlightened One, accompanied by his monks, was passing through a narrow street crowded with people, when a mad elephant rushed against him, let loose by the Buddha's envious cousin Devadatta, who, like a shadow, had been following him through every portion of his career, attempting repeatedly to murder him—and sometimes succeeding.[51] In this relief the animal is depicted twice: first, in his fierce onrush; next, stopped suddenly by the magic soul-force of the Enlightened One, stooping in obeisance before the Buddha's feet in meek self-humiliation. The crowd gives way, aghast, along the houses. The keepers try to seize their infuriated charge and someone rushes forward to capture it as it bows before the conquering calm of the holy sage. Astonished and admiring, onlookers peer from windows. But the Buddha, amidst this welter of dramatic action, stands in a posture of utter composure, emanating sovereign peace from his motionless attitude, without even a striking gesture of his hands—in marked contrast to the doubly antagonistic movement of Pl 86b

[51] Cf. *supra*, pp. 242–243.

the huge animal and the tumultuous upheaval of bodies and gestures that rises from the border and subsides at his feet. The Enlightened One's perfect calm anticipates the subsidence of the imperiling onrush; for his insight and timeless serenity beheld the wave already broken even when it was mounting and gathering strength to engulf and crush him.

Pl. 99 Plate 99 is a view of the stūpa at Bodhgayā, the greatest Buddhist center in contemporary India. Tradition assigns the founding of this shrine to Aśoka and parts of the present structure date from as early as *c.* 100–50 B.C. Its stone railing, fencing the great rectangle in the midst of which stands the temple, is from the period B.C. Numerous alterations have been effected, however, during the passage of the centuries, and elements can be identified from practically every period of Buddhist art.[52] From the seventh to tenth centuries A.D. the temple contained a famous statue of Śākyamuni that was regarded as the authentic portrait-image of the master in the posture of Calling the Earth to Witness (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). According to a local legend, it was begun by divine beings and finished by human workmen; the descriptions suggest, however, that it must have been a work in the Gandhāra style of a comparatively early date. In Hsüan Tsang's time (the period of King Harṣa's reign, 606–648 A.D.) it was standing in a dark chamber and could be seen properly only with the help of a mirror held to reflect the sun's rays upon it. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, after having been in ruins for over nine hundred years, this monument on the site of the Buddha's teaching was restored by Ceylonese Buddhists with the financial assistance of the Buddhists of Japan.

4. Hindu Sculpture

THE religion of the early Āryan invaders of India had no iconography, no images, no temple worship of its own; and the later ascetic sects of the period of the Upaniṣads, interested only in liberation from the realm of name-and-form, with their cells or life centers of hermits, monks, and teachers, could not tell craftsmen how to represent the figures of their saviors: those ideal beings—Buddhas, Jinas, and Tīrthaṅkaras—that lead mankind to the ineffable goal of release from the senses. The Indian lay folk, therefore, in their munificence, and the

[52] Cf. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham, *Mahābodhi, or The Great Buddhist Temple under The Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (London, 1892).

craftsmen with their skills, were left largely to themselves in the development, from ancient, widespread patterns of demonic superhuman beings, of the forms that should represent both the Āryan Brāhman divinities and the ascetic saviors of the cults of release.

Text Plate *B6b* shows a giant yakṣa from Patna, dating from the earliest period of monumental Indian stone sculpture. It is a work in polished Chunār sandstone, and its model was derived from the pre-Āryan sphere. It is a kind of primitive idol. The archaic stiffness of a wooden or stone post has been transformed, however, into an impressive piece of art. This is a guardian of earthly prosperity and wealth, in magnificent, static repose. *Pl. B6b*

Such demonic, divine protectors, inherited from primordial times and rendered visible in works of wood and stone by a supremely proficient guild of Indian artist-craftsmen, supplied the models, or basic sculptural themes, from which the whole magnificent tradition of Hindu sculpture took its initial inspiration. Śiva, in his positive aspect, as a giant demon-god of the life-force, associated with the pre-Āryan symbol of the liṅgam, was commonly made to resemble a yakṣa. In the giant sevenfold Śiva of Parel (Text Plate *B16*), for example, the heroic traits of an athletic earth-demon are preserved in all of the exfoliating forms—even though in this work of the Gupta period every trace of archaic realism has been left far behind.[53] *Pl. B16*

And nāgas too were patrons of life. As the pre-Āryan demons of moisture, they were guardians of the fertility and life-sap of the nourishing soil. Fa Hsien speaks of a shrine erected by the Buddhists of Saṅkīsa to a nāga because that deity, who bestowed prosperity, had given the monks security and peace. Hsüan Tsang does not mention any specific nāga cult in India, but terms the nāga "the assiduous guardian of the relics of the Holy One." We have already seen [54] how the earliest images of the Buddha and of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha were based on the pattern of the nāga-king. These, however, were not the only figures of this type in Indian art; for certain statues of the Hindu creator and world protector, Viṣṇu, closely adhere to the traditional nāga form. See, for example, Plates *122* and *127*. Such works were inspired, on the one hand, by the particular concept of Viṣṇu's identity with his serpent vehicle Śeṣa, but, on the other, by the more general folk belief in the serpent as a demonic being with a peculiar relationship to the human sphere and to human destiny. *Pl. 122, 127*

[53] *Editor's note:* For a discussion of this colossal piece, see Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (New York and London, 1946), pp. 132–136, where it is interpreted as a particularly graphic example of an aesthetic effect, peculiar to Indian art, which Dr. Zimmer has termed, "the phenomenon of the growing or expanding form." For Śiva as a yakṣa, see Coomaraswamy, *History*, fig. 66.

[54] Cf. *supra*, pp. 56–57.

For the nāga, as the superhuman being closest to man, assumes human shape at will and frequently seeks human company. Snake girls and queens have become the mistresses and queen-consorts of kings and are reckoned among the ancestors of numerous princely lines. Furthermore, the more esoteric and lofty later form of Buddhism known as the Mahāyāna is supposed to have been revealed by the Buddha, during his lifetime, only to the serpents, since the men of that age were unable to grasp its ineffable ideas. It was more than half a millennium later, when the world had been prepared for the message by the preliminary disciplines of early Buddhism, before the serpent doctrine was at last transferred by its guardians to the monk Nāgārjuna, and so to man. *Nāga*, as an honorific title for superhuman beings, is applied sometimes to the Buddha himself in the early Buddhist texts, but since the word may denote either snake or elephant,[55] we cannot be certain of the precise connotation of the epithet in this context. In any case, the nāga—like the Serpent in the Garden of Eden—is a being intimately associated with the mystery of man's ensnarement and release through knowledge. In the Judeo-Christian sphere this association has been interpreted only negatively; but in India, where enlightenment is understood and experienced as a transcendence of the pairs-of-opposites, the ambivalence of the serpent power is continually held in mind.

The prominence in early Buddhist art of the nāga and the yakṣa may or may not have had some influence on their adoption as appropriate forms for the divine saviors of the Hindu tradition. In any case, the sublimating influence of the Buddhist transformation of these demonic earthy protectors certainly contributed to the stylistic development of the Hindu renditions of the great gods. Gandhāra, through its evolution of a humanized Buddha image, contributed the elegance, personality, and triumphant spiritual consciousness of a Hellenistic Apollo to the Indian concept of the savior. This development helped to personalize, and finally to spiritualize, the elementary natures of the nāga and the yakṣa, attenuating their superhuman life-forces, refining them, and preparing them to express the idea of a superhuman humanity. During the Gupta period this refinement was communicated to images of the Hindu cult.

With the diminishment of the Kuṣāna power in the third century A.D., there had followed, in the Ganges region, a period of contending empires without decisive victory, until the supremacy of the Guptas was finally established by Candragupta I,[56] who ruled in or near Pāṭaliputra (Patna) and wedded, *c.* 308, a princess of the powerful Licchavi dynasty (a family probably of Tibetan pro-

[55] Cf. *supra*, pp. 161–162.

[56] Not to be confused with Candragupta Maurya (*c.* 321–297 B.C.), founder of the Maurya dynasty.

venience) of Vaiśālī.[57] In the years 319–320 Candragupta I extended his dominions westward to Allahabad (Prayāg) and from 326 to 375 (or perhaps 330 to 380) his son, Samudragupta I, pressed the empire to the Sutlaj, while making conquests also in the South. The true founder of the Gupta Empire was this Samudragupta. His immense domain extended, finally, from the mouth of the Ganges in the east to the Jumna and Chambal rivers in the west and from the Himālayas in the north to the Narbadā River in the south; with numerous additional principalities in the position of vassal states. His diplomatic relationships reached from the Oxus to Ceylon.

Samudragupta's son, Candragupta II, 375–411 (or 380–413), expanded the Gupta Empire still further, dispossessing the last of the Śaka rulers of Surāṣṭra (the so-called "Western Satraps" in Kathiawar) and annexing both Mālwā and Ujjain. This king is the legendary Vikramāditya of the great poet and playwright Kālidāsa. Coming into possession of the western coast, he brought his empire into touch with the trade to Alexandria and, simultaneously, maintained close relationship with China by way of the caravan routes, over which there passed a continuous traffic, not only of goods, but of Buddhist pilgrims. From 357 to 571 India sent, from various kingdoms, ten diplomatic missions to China. Fa Hsien arrived in India in 399 and was the first Chinese pilgrim to write an account of his voyage; Ī-tsing (*c.* 675), who was one of the last, enumerates sixty important Chinese monks who in his day had visited India in the name of the Buddhist Dharma. And comparably, from India to China there journeyed, in the name of the Dharma, Kumārajīva (383), Bodhidharma (520) and Paramārtha (548). Commercial traffic with the Far East was carried on, furthermore, not only overland but by sea, the ships passing, on the way, Further India and Indonesia, both of which regions had already been settled by Indian emigrants. A crown prince of Kashmir, Guṇavarman, who in 431 visited Nanking, was (according to Chinese sources) the converter of Java to the Buddhist faith.[58] And finally it should be noted that in the years 336, 361, and 530, Indian missions were sent to Rome; for after the time of Candragupta II, Barygaza and the other western ports were held at the disposal of the Empire of the Caesars. Roman coins in India served as patterns for those of the Guptas. Greek mathematics and astronomy were introduced. The Indian astronomers Āryabhata and Brahmagupta, who were born, respectively, 476 and 598, are expressions of this influence from the West.

A searing gash was cut in this flourishing civilization in the second half of the

[57] Cf. Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 265 ff., and "Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, III (1914–15), 1–28.

[58] Cf. George Coedès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indonésie* (Paris, 1948), p. 95.

fifth century A.D., when the White Huns and their central Asiatic allies invaded the Indian Northwest. In 465 they took Kabul and occupied Gandhāra; 480 to 528 was the period of their sway; 528, however, saw them defeated in India by the Gupta monarch Bālāditya with a confederacy of Hindu kings; and during the decade 560–570 Khosrau Anushirvan of Persia harried and finally annihilated them decisively in the north. In 625 (or 626), Pulakeśin II, a Cāḷukya king in Western India, sent a mission to Khosrau Parvez, the grandson of this Persian King of Kings, and his responding mission is represented in one of the frescoes of
Pl. 172 Ajaṇṭā (Plate 172).

With its rich mixture of peoples, commercial influences, victories, and disasters, this great period was a brilliantly fruitful one for Indian art. We have viewed many of its masterpieces and have observed its influences in the periods that followed, not only in India, but in Further India, Indonesia, and Indo-China. In conclusion, we may now trace the gradual decline of its force through a period of more than a thousand years, the ossification, devitalization, and flamboyant dissipation of its motifs, and the return to view—slowly, yet steadily and surely—of an archaic, even primitive clumsiness and fearsome force, which had been preserved from time immemorial in the idols of the folk.

We have just noted the relationship of the nāga motif to the iconography of Viṣṇu. Likewise, the nāga's implacable enemy, the sun-bird, is a proper vehicle of this god, who, on his saving missions, appears from "beyond the sphere of the pairs-of-opposites" (*nirdvandva*) and is lord both of the waters of life and of the
Pl. 110 desiccating sun. Plate *110*, from the sixth-century temple of Deogaṛh in which also appears a relief, already discussed, of Viṣṇu reclining on the serpent, is an illustration of the well known legend of Viṣṇu's Deliverance of the Elephant. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[59] an elephant wading in the shallows of a lake was trapped and fettered by the serpents of the watery element, but prayed to Viṣṇu for aid, and the god came to him. In the relief, the deity has just appeared. The elephant's feet are still ensnared by the relaxing serpent coils. Viṣṇu is seated on his vehicle Garuḍa, and the nāga is paying obeisance, together with his queen. No battle was necessary; the god's presence was enough. Above is a glimpse of celestial gandharvas on whose backward-reaching, flying thighs their apsarases ride.

Viṣṇu, in association with Garuḍa, appeared in this contingency as the conqueror rather than as the counterpart of the serpent force, and he appears in such opposition frequently in Indian myth and art; [60] for example, in the Ādi Varāha

[59] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 8. 2–3.

[60] The mythological backgrounds of this opposition are discussed in Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 77 ff.

cave at Māmallapuram, where he is shown rescuing the goddess Earth from the depths of the primeval Ocean, after having subdued the serpent-demon of the cosmic abyss (Plate 282).[61] The work is of the same period as the Viṣṇu Anantaśayin discussed *supra*, pp. 166–168, and is in the same, completely competent, thoroughly Indian style. *Pl. 282*

The atmosphere of the harmony of the superworld, beyond strife and struggle, pervades these glorious icons, as it does the whole rich spectacle of the Gupta, Cāḷukya, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and Pallava styles. Moreover, a consummate skill in the realization of sculptural values is intrinsic to this art, whose roots, as we have suggested,[62] are to be sought not in the North, but in the Deccan. Its masterworks represent simply a step in advance along the line already indicated by the free and lively designs of the Bhājā and Rānī Gumphā reliefs (Plates 40–43 and 53–57) and the panels of Amarāvatī; a moment of great refinement in a continuous tradition. Furthermore, this heritage, in its skill as well as in its fundamental character, is completely independent of Gandhāra. No more vivid contrast between the majesty of the Indian and that of the Greco-Roman heritages could be desired than what appears when works such as these are compared with the products, first of Gandhāra, and then of Hellenistic Greece. *Pl. 40–43, 53–57*

The power of the Indian hand to render, with perfect balance, the miracle of the play of the pairs-of-opposites in a work of sculpture, whether in stone or in bronze, is revealed once more in Plate 423; a South Indian work of *c.* 900 A.D., representing Kṛṣṇa subduing the river serpent Kāliya. Though still a child (here, however, as a wonderful youth), dwelling with the cowherds on the bank of the Yamunā, Kṛṣṇa, to protect his friends, dove into the water and conquered the poisonous nāga simply by dancing on his head. He is shown in an attitude of triumphant majesty, without a hint of struggle. The incarnation of Viṣṇu is made manifest immediately as the born victor, in a posture that is a calm yet thrilling hieroglyph of power. By his sheer being the supreme god triumphs. And his enemy, though subdued, is not crushed by his weight, because the victorious vision of the god is as light as a cloud. *Pl. 423*

Plate 435 is again this savior, Kṛṣṇa, but now playing his flute among his friends, the cows and cowherds of Vṛndāvana. Like the image in the plate opposite (a rendition of Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī), this powerful yet tender work is in the twelfth-century Hoyśala temple-city of Belūr. With the virtuosity of a late style, the beloved motif, long familiar, has been projected easily into the soft stone. The material has been treated like foam or whipped cream. However, al- *Pl. 435*

[61] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1. 4. Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–79; also, *supra*, p. 290.
[62] Cf. *supra*, pp. 223–226.

though the glorious dynamism of the classic period still is with us, the facility of the workmanship is now conducing to conventionalization. The piece lacks the bold vigor and simple lines of the contemporary bronzes; and yet, there can be no doubt but that, with the petrifaction of the conventions, a new force—or rather, an old one—has entered into the forms. It is that, namely, of the fetishes of the folk. (See Plate *436*, and compare again Text Plate *B2a*.) With the passage of time this primitive element becomes increasingly prominent in Hindu art—even where tempered by craftsmanly skill and sophistication.

Pl. 436, B2a

Pl. 453

For an example, we may turn again to the Viṣṇu of Plate *453*. This is a work in dark green chlorite, from a late period of Western Indian art, and dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D. It represents the moment of the bodily arrival of the god on Garuḍa, his vehicle, with his śakti Lakṣmī at his side. The sun-bird, no longer flying, has already come down to the earth and sunk to his left knee, to rest. The devotee at Viṣṇu's right has brought the god into manifestation as the consummation of an act of envisionment—which is externally represented in the posture (*mudrā*) of his hands. And his wife, at Viṣṇu's left, has meanwhile been awaiting the god like a lady of his court. The happy astonishment of the couple is expressed in their postures, in contrast to which is the reposeful attitude of Viṣṇu, whose superhuman, gigantic stature likewise contrasts with that of his devotees. He has not been rendered colossally; for how small is this little masterpiece: two feet eight inches high! The secret of suggesting monumentality and greatness in images far less than life size, which is so typical of Indian religious art—as well as of producing forms far larger than life that seem very intimate, almost miniatures, in their refinement—here again has accomplished its magic. And once again the fact is brought home that the inner vision, which is familiar with all magnitudes, has a capacity for monumentality that is independent of dimension.

This is a piece derived from the fetish, and surpassing it—as Sanskrit literature surpasses the Indian folk traditions; yet it is not so proud as to deny its simple relatives. Nor is Viṣṇu, as the bearer of the highest functions and deepest doctrines, too proud to accept the folk deities as his manifestations. For to him, no god—no being—is inferior, since the whole world is his manifestation, from Brahmā to the blade of grass.

It is evident, nevertheless, in this image, as well as through all the majesty of the architecture of Koṇārak,[63] that something has begun to go out of the Indian style. An increasing ossification is apparent in late Hindu sculpture, a growing stiffness and lifelessness; and this was caused in large part precisely by its relapse

Pl. 348–375

[63] Cf. *supra*, p. 274.

to the perennial level of the art of the folk, where at all times the rigidity of the magic tool, the fixity of the mask, a sense of horror-stricken and horror-inspiring benumbedness, has been the chief inspiration. When the lower and more archaic classes of the Indian population came automatically to the top after the disasters of the dynasties and the collapse of the older capitals, with their wealthy populations and their craft-traditions, the folk art again prevailed; now making use, however, of the artistic achievements of the classical periods, and imitating, even outdoing, their sophistication, copying their refinements for the enjoyment of a new, yet timeless, class. The spark of life and the grace of the original vitality are flatly missing from these later works, however—for though the parvenu may hire an upper-class tailor and even acquire impeccable manners, the true *disinvoltura* can be matured only slowly, through generations of breeding.

In certain of the images of the great temples of the South one feels this graceless, brutally powerful, yet impeccably mannered sophistication of the late Indian style with particular force; for example, that of the lower picture in Plate 445, *Pl. 445b* from the seventeenth-century Virateśvara temple of Perūr. This is a statue of Śiva Gajāsurasaṁhāra-mūrti, "Śiva, the Slayer of the Elephant-Demon," which is a "destructive" (*saṁhāra*), "triumphant" (*ghora*), "playful manifestation" (*līla-mūrti*) of the cosmic deity whose "fundamental form" (*mūlavigraha*) is the liṅgam.[64] The most obvious expression of the destructive aspect of the divine force that supports, creates, and destroys the cosmos and its living beings is in disease and plague, and particularly in fever, which is said to assail every sort of creature, even plants and the earth, water, and air. It is incurable in most beings; in elephants it is almost always fatal. These majestic beasts (which are very valuable to kings, since they are useful in warfare and in various state and magical functions) are consumed quickly by the inner heat because their tough leathery skin affords no outlet through perspiration. A description of fever-demons assailing and killing elephants is given in the *Hastyāyur-veda*, the Hindu "Encyclopedia of Elephant Medicine," where they are said to originate from the wrath of Śiva and Viṣṇu and, as emanations of their essence, to bear the features of these gods. When such a demon has entered the organism of an elephant, the heat and shivering of the elephant's body are effects of the frantic dance of destruction performed by the demon within. The origin of the sculptural motif showing Śiva dancing in an elephant skin is probably this of the Siva-like fever-demon dancing within the body of the helpless beast.

Another approach, however, to the understanding of these grim images is offered by the myth of Śiva's conquest of a monster who had assumed the form of

[64] Cf. *supra*, pp. 22–24; also Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols*, pp. 123–175.

an elephant. The god, having compelled his powerful opponent to dance against him, went on and on with the dance until his victim fell dead, then flayed him, donned the skin as a kind of mantle, and finally, wrapped in this dripping trophy, performed at dusk a horrendous solo of triumph before his divine consort, the Goddess.

In this image, which is from a sculptured column of the temple, the godly apparition is encompassed by the elephant skin as by a halo. The heavy head of the victim, with its large ear lobes, dangles beneath, the small tail is at the top, and the four feet are hanging at the sides. Within, the deity spreads his eight arms in a measured, slow and sophisticated dance, bearing in his hands his trident and other symbolical weapons, together with the alms bowl of the beggar-ascetic. The two uppermost hands stretch out the skin of the conquered elephant, the next two bear a noose for the lassoing of enemies and the goad or hook used to control an elephant; a third pair carries a tusk of the slain elephant and an hourglass-shaped little hand drum with which the dancer is beating time; the two main hands, meanwhile, carry Śiva's trident and the skull that is the great yogī's characteristic alms bowl.

The dancer exhibits a demonic, lizardlike agility and a serpentlike, elusive slimness and grace. There is a perfect, enigmatical blending of opposites in the work, the gruesome trophy of the slain victim affording a sinister background to the glittering, untiring display of a delirious and triumphant divine youth. Śiva wears a garland of skulls and there is another skull in his diadem. There is a dreamy aloofness in his face, and he is enjoying the solemn slow strides of his triumph as he spreads about him, instead of the halo of flames that elsewhere radiates from his dance, the blood-dripping trophy of the elephant skin. And there is a consciously sophisticated attitude evident in his manner—as there was likewise in the mind of the artist who wrought this image. Instead of blossoming life, welling limbs, and the rich sweetness of the former periods, there is an intentional stiffness in this masterpiece of the late epoch, which epitomizes the ossification and emptiness of the final period and the decadence of Indian art. The aesthetic qualities of the charming, the heroic, and the loathsome are thus combined,[65]

[65] The textbooks of Indian aesthetics recognize eight "sentiments, emotions, qualities, feelings, or flavors" (*rasa*) which may be rendered by works of art. They are comparable in a way to Aristotle's two "tragic emotions" of pity and terror.

śṛngāra-hāsya-karuṇā-
raudra-vīra-bhayānaka
bībhats-ādbhūta-sangau ca
ity aṣṭau nātya rasāh smṛtāh

Love, mirth, pity, wrath,
heroic might, terror, repugnance, and wonder:
these are the eight tastes or sentiments
of theatrical performances.

Love and wonder are rendered in Śiva-Śakti groups, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, etc.; mirth, wrath, and terror in the dancing, pot-bellied Gaṇeśa; while Tāntric images combine various rasas in a mingled flavor of terror, wrath, repugnance, wonder, sportiveness (mirth), and charm (love).

the work being a mixture of the triumphant divine life-force with symbols of death and destruction. This is a dichotomy familiar to the Indian mind and common in Hindu art; for India is deeply imbued with a sense of the ambivalent character of divinity. The Indian gods are simultaneously auspicious and terrific and the Lord of the World comprises in his transcendent totality all the pairs-of-opposites.

Plate *408* is another version of Śiva in the elephant skin, from a sculptured column in the temple compound of Tiruvannāmalai. Here the frantic victorious dance has become a "still"—a ceremonious epiphany; but one in which the god is no more destructive (*saṁhāra*) or triumphant (*ghora*) than a doll. In such an art as this, and in the heavy, lifeless images of the towering gopuras (Plate *405*), where the solidity of the stone, the weight of matter, is dominant, the unique achievement of the earlier periods of the Gupta masterworks and of the visions of Elephanta, Elūrā, and Māmallapuram—where the solid rock effervesced into a sublime phantasmagoria, expressing, through the gross material of the tangible sphere, the subtle nature of those apparitions that come before the yogī's internal vision—has disappeared. The art, the vision, has evaporated and withdrawn. *Pl. 408* *Pl. 405*

At Bhārhut, in the period B.C., the divinities stood in a blissful trance. In their attitudes of devotion before the stūpa, the symbol denoting the perfection of nirvāṇa—the transcendental reality without form or name—they radiated delight. But they belonged, themselves, to the realm of name and form. They were the guardians of the life-force on the earthly plane. And though perfectly steeped in devotional rapture, they voiced through their very being the joy of nature and the everlasting youth of life. Though suffused by the rays of transcendental wisdom radiating from the stūpa, they were yet parts of the living world, not apparitions from the spheres beyond.

Likewise, the sculptured forms of Mathurā and Gandhāra pertained to the terrestrial sphere. Either as earthly giants full of plastic vitality and impressionistic reality, or else as humanized saviors bearing, as a mystery within, the transcendental truth, which, through their eloquent attitudes, they were making known, they were of an impressive solidity and matter-of-factness. Some of the Amarāvatī reliefs of the second century A.D., on the other hand, where the Buddha was omitted from the scenes in which he was playing a part, hinted at the mystery and possibility of a transcendental existence;[66] and in the Buddhist art of the Gupta period this transcendent principle became visible. The figure then acquired the power to express an existence beyond the earthly realm, and stone became, as it were, an incorporeal center radiating spiritual light. The garb of the body, grown immaculate and transparent, rendered a reality—a purely spiritual at-

[66] In contrast to the scenes of the absent Buddha at Sāñcī and Bhārhut; cf. *supra*, pp. 60–62.

titude—above the struggles and triumphs of thought, and beyond the spheres of feeling and emotion. Such anthropomorphic apparitions are really guests from beyond.

From the fifth to sixth century, Hindu sculpture assimilated this priceless Buddhist gift of a transcendental style and made it its own. The tangible idol or fetish of stone, the archaic freestanding image, became transfigured into a luminous manifestation, while the forms in the reliefs were sublimated into the subtle matter of the apparitions of an inner vision. Thus the art works became themselves the avatārs in the sphere of Māyā of a divine spark. And from here the phantasmagorical style evolved, which culminated at Elephanta, where, instead of fetish worship, the mystical experience was expressed that is proper to bhakti yoga, the yoga of devotion. The vision of a god was evoked so that his spiritual presence might be worshiped with spiritual gifts and spiritual flowers.

The rise of bhakti in the Deccan and the South elevated the pious masses, to a large extent, from a level of superstition to that of contemplation. And the devotional attitude that then pervaded the whole of Indian civilization was exhibited beautifully in the new art of the higher classes, and in the courts of the kings, where solid stone was turned into airy vision. All of Hindu sculpture, in so far as it participated in the achievement of this classical age which endured from the Gupta period to the Sena, thenceforth carried within it this phantasmagorical element as an intrinsic factor. In the popular crafts, however, the primitive realism of the fetish remained alive, and as the art of the South slowly decayed, this archaic factor came again to the surface. At Koṇārak and at the Vaitāl Deul of Purī the realism of dolls set up in niches blends with the grace and sweeping dramatic force of the classical age, but in the later temples of the South the realism is often simply barefaced: the art has returned to an archaic, even primitive, stark innocence of style. At Vijayanagar, for example, where the architecture and reliefs are gracefully elegant and bespeak the taste of an aristocratic court, the colossal
Pl. 445a Narasiṁha (Plate *445a*) is merely a clumsy, primitive monster. We do not know how far back into the neolithic, or paleolithic, the archetypes of this stark, emergent realism and fetishism of the art of the folk should be traced. A comparison, however, of the posture of the Śiva in the Elephant Skin with that of the dancer of Harappā (*supra*, p. 28) suggests a vista of at least five thousand years.

5. *The Provincial Forms*

EACH of the colonial cultures and art styles of Ceylon, Indonesia, and Further India, as well as of Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan, took over in a worthy way the Indian heritage, giving to it an original and happy local application. Out of various ethnological and biological requirements self-contained styles were formed that were the peers, in originality, nobility and delicacy, of the Indian. Yet nowhere, no matter what degrees of significance and elegance may have been achieved, is that supreme expression of simple vitality—the animated fullness of vegetating life, the spiritual clarity and freedom of the will, the luminous quality of the living sovereignty of man over his own nature and over the world, the physical and spiritual omnipotence of the godly—so clearly present and so endlessly inflected as in India itself, the creating hearth. Indeed, whenever the incredible brightness of the spiritual, the balanced repose of the dynamic, or the brilliant power of the triumphantly omnipotent are made effectively manifest in Oriental art, an Indian model is not far to seek.

CEYLON

THE art of Ceylon, in its later periods, was in immediate touch with the dynasties of the South of India; but in Aśoka's time, and perhaps earlier, the island received its chief inspirations from the North. According to the legend recorded in the *Mahāvaṁsa*,[67] Vijaya of Bengal landed on the southern part of the island on the day of the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, 483 B.C. Exhausted from a long sea voyage, he and his people fell on their hands, which, because of the laterite color of the soil, became stained with red; hence they named the island Tambapaṇṇi (Sanskrit *tāmraparṇī*), "copper hand," and founded a city by that name on the site of their arrival.[68] It is also claimed that the followers of Vijaya were called "Siṁhalese" because the name of Vijaya's grandfather was Siṁha ("Lion"). The aboriginal

[67] The chief historical sources for Ceylon are (1) The *Dīpavaṁsa*, which comes down about to the period of Mahāsena (d. 302 A.D.?), and (2) the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Mahānāman, an uncle of King Kassapa, which, in the modern version, comes down to the one hundred and seventy-fourth king of Ceylon, who ascended the throne in 1798 and was made prisoner by the British in 1815.

[68] *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. 7, as cited by Friedrich Trautz, *Ceylon* (Munich, 1926), p. 69. *Parṇī* is, properly, "leaf"; here, a metaphor for "hand" (*pāṇi*). There is a plant (*Rubia munjista*) called *tāmraparṇa*, "coppery leaf."

inhabitants were termed Yakṣas (Pāli *yakkhas*) and Nāgas, and their kingdom is supposed to have continued side by side with that of the immigrant dynasty. Vijaya married a local princess.

The great capital of Anurādhapura was founded about a century later by King Pāṇḍukābhaya, who died *c.* 307 B.C. at the age of one hundred and six, after a reign of some seventy years. His city was probably of wood; at any rate, nothing of it is preserved. The archaeological history of the island does not begin until the period of the grandson of this king, Devānampiyā Tissa (247–207 B.C.), who, after ascending the throne, sent presents to the Indian emperor Aśoka. Tissa built the Thūpārāma dāgaba (244 B.C.),[69] in which were placed the collarbone and eating bowl relics that by miracle had come to Ceylon; and when Aśoka, in response to Tissa's overture, sent his son Mahendra as a Buddhist teacher, the royal youth was officially welcomed at this site. Aśoka later sent to Ceylon a slip of the Bo Tree. This was planted and, flourishing to this day, is an object of reverence to Buddhists throughout the world.

Other buildings surviving from this early date are the Mahā vihāra, which is a great cloister not far from the Bo Tree structure, the Īsurumuniya vihāra, and, further south, the Vessagiri vihāra, now in ruins. Cells carved in a great rock survive in the Mahintale, which is where King Devānampiyā Tissa is supposed, one day while out hunting, to have found himself suddenly confronted by Mahendra, immediately after the latter had arrived in Ceylon with six companions by a miraculous flight through the air.

Tamil invasions of Ceylon are recorded from *c.* 150 B.C. A Coḷa prince named Elala governed the island from 145 to 101, but he was driven out by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (101–77 B.C.) in a war that lasted fifteen years. From the latter's time we have the celebrated Ruanweli dāgaba ("Gold Dust" Pagoda) at Anurādhapura, as well as the Mirisweṭiya and Abhayagiri dāgabas in the same ancient city and the remains of the Lohapāsāda (the "Brazen Palace"), which was a nine-storied cloister supported by sixteen hundred stone columns that were ornamented with gold, silver, and copper, and most of which survive to the present day. It should be noted also that it was in his reign that the Pāli canon was set down in writing in Ceylon.

In the words of Henry Parker: "Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and his brother Sadhā Tissa may claim the credit of being the first rulers to appreciate the grandeur of the effect of an enormous white dome, far greater than anything of the kind previously erected in Ceylon or India, and admirably adapted to be an expression of stability, and permanence, and inaccessibility, such as the purpose of its construction

[69] *Dāgaba* is the Ceylonese term for stūpa.

demanded." [70] The reference is to the Ruanweli and Mirisweṭiya dāgabas, both of which were begun by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and completed by his brother and successor, Sadhā Tissa (77–59 B.C.).

"Undoubtedly," declares Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, in the course of his discussion of the former, "the original dāgaba has been enclosed in a later addition; but the whole is of brick, as are all the Ceylon examples, and the enlargement was probably made before the beginning of the Christian era. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the relic chamber was adorned with paintings (rows of animals and haṁsas), and contained a Bodhi-tree with a silver stem and leaves of gold, relics of Buddha, jewelry, a gold image of Buddha and a representation (painting) of the *Vessantara jātaka*. As regards the image, some doubt may be entertained as to the existence of a Buddha figure in the first century B.C., but it is not impossible that images of precious metal were made long before any in stone. The dome is two hundred and fifty-four feet in diameter, and this is but one of several Siṁhalese dāgabas that are as large as all but the largest of the Egyptian pyramids; the paved platform measures four hundred and seventy-five by four hundred and seventy-three feet. Facing each of the four cardinal points and attached to the dome there is a kind of frontispiece (*wāhalkaḍa*) consisting of superimposed horizontal stone courses, flanked by pillars, decorated in a style recalling that of the Sāñcī *toraṇa* posts. On the platform of the Ruanweli dāgaba there were formerly preserved colossal dolomite standing figures, two of Buddhas and one of a king (traditionally known as Duṭṭha-gāmaṇi) or Bodhisattva, in a severe and very grand style [Plate 456], related to that of the Amarāvatī images. The probable *Pl. 456* date of these images is the latter part of the second century A.D." [71]

The typical Siṁhalese dāgabas consist of a hemispherical dome rising from low circular courses that rest directly on the ground on a square basement approached by four stairways. Above this dome is a square enclosure called the "citadel of the gods" (*devatā kotuwa*), corresponding to the Indian *harmikā*, and above this a pointed ringed spire rises that is the counterpart of the earlier pinnacle of parasols (*catrāvalī*). The relic chamber is contained in the mass of the dome.

A number of fresco paintings have survived in Ceylon in a style closely related to that of Ajaṇṭā. Plate 458 is from the so-called Sīgiriya, or "Lion Rock," a *Pl 458* natural fortress that once was occupied by King Kassapa I (479–497 A.D.). Its frescoes date from the fifth century. Celestial women are seen with attendant maids, casting down a rain of flowers, presumably on some occasion in the life of

[70] Henry Parker, *Ancient Ceylon* (London, 1909), p. 296; cited by Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), p. 161.

[71] Coomaraswamy, *ib.*, pp. 160–161. For a discussion of the Ceylonese Buddhas, cf. *supra*, pp. 170–171.

the Buddha. The forms are cut off a little below the waist by clouds, to indicate that these are heavenly beings. The works show a great elegance of manner and a penetrating sensuality; they are specimens of a perfectly established style. The colors are reds, yellow, green, and black.

Pl 460, 461 The sculptured figures at the Īsurumuniya vihāra (Plates 460 and 461), near Anurādhapura, date from the seventh century A.D. At this site the outcrop of a great boulder, divided by a fissure, has before it a partly artificial pond. The attempt to cover the surface with sculpture reminds one of the Descent of the Ganges
Pl. 272 at Māmallapuram (Plate 272) and the figure of Kapila at the right of the entrance was obviously inspired by the Pallava style. However, this statue of a sage is more monumental than its Indian forebears and exhibits a boldness and vigorous composure of its own. The primeval saint holds a bridle in his outstretched right hand; the horse's head is behind him. Are we supposed to imagine the steed of the fire-god? or the sacrificial stallion of King Sāgara, whose sixty thousand sons, seeking it after it had disappeared from before them, met Kapila, steeped in meditation, in the Netherworld?[73] Kapila is here in the pose of kingly relaxation, *rājalīlā*, "the posture of royal ease," with an air of majestic indifference, full of strength as well as composure. The treatment of the body, arms, and legs suggests the Viṣṇu
Pl. 286 Anantaśayin of Māmallapuram (Plate 286). The outlines and the surfaces are full of life, with all details suppressed.

During the sixth to ninth centuries strong Tamil (Coḷa) invasions broke the peace of Ceylon, but a reunification was effected, finally, under King Parākrama Bāhu I (1164–1197), who thereupon enlarged, in a Hindu style, the city of Poḷonnāruva, which had become the royal residence and seat of government following the abandonment of Anurādhapura to the invaders. Most of the Hindu, as distinct from Buddhist, monuments of this capital date from the period of, and just following, the Coḷa domination. The heavenly residences of the gods are shown with many minute and gay details, the palaces and terraces teeming with divine inmates. The structure of such buildings is typically South Indian: comparable forms occur throughout the South of India, from Madura to Tanjore. Indeed, the art of these Dravidian, Hindu temples was an importation from the mainland and is not typically Ceylonese. The puppetlike, crude, gay substantiality of their imagery is exactly what does not belong to the Ceylonese genius proper.

For Ceylonese art is elegant and gentle, somewhat idyllic, and perfectly human. Even the stern aloofness of the demonic sage Kapila has been eased in it to a relaxed pose. It is unexplosive, even when of a threatening tension. Some of the

[73] For the legend of Kapila, the legendary founder of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 281–282.

Buddhas are among the finest ever rendered: there is no dryness, no sophistication. The art is completely natural in its approach both to the sublime and to the earthly; so that, though it mirrors various phases of the Indian tradition, it has transformed the continental impulses into a smooth, harmonious expression of its own, and in this sense is comparable to the art of Java.[73]

Consider, for example, the portrait-figure of Parākrama Bāhu I shown in Plate 463. This is a colossal rock-cut statue, eleven and one-half feet high, carved in high relief from a great boulder at Poḷonnarūva. What we see is a dignified bearded sage reading from a palm-leaf book, a humane patriarch, the father and guide of his people, fulfilling the task of upholding and spreading the Buddhist gospel. It is a gentle portrait of a remarkable individuality and at the same time the model of the archetypal wise old man. This archetype and the features of a specific historical personality—indeed, a very great king—have been gently merged. *Pl. 463*

Whether Ceylon was known to the West before Alexander's time we cannot say. According to Pliny, a ship with Romans aboard, on the voyage from the Red Sea to the south coast of Arabia, was carried to Ceylon, caught by the monsoon, and the passengers were brought before the king, who, desiring an alliance with Rome, sent a mission consisting of a rāja and three companions to the Caesar Claudius (41–54 A.D.).[74] Ptolemy, in the second century A.D., describes the island in more detail, calling it Salike, the land of the Salai.[75] It is termed Palisaemundus in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*c.* 60 A.D.), whose author was an Egyptian Greek from Berenice on the Red Sea, and had once been in India.[76] Procopius (d. *c.* 563 A.D.) certainly means Ceylon when he writes of Serinda.[77] And Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian merchant who was later a monk under Justinian (527–565 A.D.), calls the island Sielediba, from *Siṁhaladvipa*, "The Island of Lions," whence the Arabic Serendib and the Portuguese Ceilaõ. The inhabitants themselves, like the modern Siṁhalese, in that period called their island Laṅkā.

Marco Polo visited Ceylon at the opening of the fourteenth century. From 1408 to 1462 the island was tributary to China. In 1505 the first Portuguese fleet arrived, coming from Goa, and many temples, above all Hindu temples, were destroyed with the zeal of the Holy Inquisition; perhaps also the true holy tooth[78] was at this time stolen and burnt. The Dutch under Admiral van Spilbergen appeared in 1602, demanding a spice-export monopoly, and after 1782 the global

[73] Cf. *supra*, pp. 134–135.

[74] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, vi. 24.

[75] Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 1. VII., ch. iv.

[76] *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 61 (in *Geographi graeci minores*, ed. by C. Müller, Paris, 1882, Vol. I, pp. 301–2).

[77] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, iv. 17.

[78] The relic of the Buddha's tooth is supposed to have arrived in Anurādhapura in 360 A.D.

rivalry of the French and English in the fashioning of their southern colonial empires fell over Ceylon. The latter acquired the island in 1802, at the Peace of Amiens, and in 1815 the last of the long line of Ceylon's kings was unthroned.

The remains of Ceylonese art, according to Dr. Coomaraswamy, "fall broadly into three groups, a classical period (before the eighth century), a medieval period (ninth to fourteenth century) and a late medieval period (fifteenth century to 1815)." [79] The main sites are at Anurādhapura (437 B.C.–1065 A.D.), Poḷonnāruva (1065–1305), Kurunegala, Gompoda and Kotte (1303–1592), and Kandy (1592–1815). The Kandyan style is closely related to that of South India. With the coming of the British, however, the art history of Ceylon ended. Some of the modern Buddhist constructions—according to the view of the greatest modern citizen of Ceylon—"are not surpassed for incongruity and ugliness by any buildings in the world." [80]

INDONESIA

WE HAVE already discussed the art of Bali (*supra*, pp. 153–157 and 314–315) as well as that of Java (*supra*, pp. 134–144 and 299–317), and must here simply remind the reader of the contrast between the primitive, demonic factor that is always evident in the typical works of the predominantly folk tradition of the remoter, smaller island and the more gentle, comelier forms of the major periods of Java. In Bali one feels always the keen force of a brilliant Malayo-Polynesian element that was never quite submerged by the colonial-Indian influence.

There was originally in Balinese villages an area in which residences were prepared for the souls of the ancestors: upright stones for the male and horizontal for the female souls, while for the chief ancestor-founder of the tribal community there was constructed a whole pyramid of stones; and nearby was a paved space for ritual dancing. In such temple courts the village elders invoked the departed, throwing themselves into a state of trance by means of incense, rhythmic movements, chants, and other aids. Their invocations might be followed by a ritual dance, during which the soul of the ancestor would take possession of the conjurer, whose acts and utterances then were regarded as those of the possessing spirit.

It seems also to have been customary to erect stone or wooden figures representing the recently deceased village heads or priests, such memorials being hardly more than somewhat elaborated and individualized specimens of the upright stones. These crude figures served as "seats" (Sanskrit *pīṭha*) for the souls of those whose likenesses they were supposed to render. They were executed in a primitive style characterized by a closed, stiff appearance of the body, intended to

[79] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 159. [80] *Ib.*, p. 169.

represent the dead. This art was founded in a desire to retain the person of the deceased within the community. The image replaced the corpse, which would disappear in decay, and so, in Bali as in ancient Egypt, portraiture began as a mortuary art.

It was the immigrant Hindus and their descendants who introduced, in the beginning of the Christian era, something that up to that time had been unknown in the Indian archipelago: namely, kingship, with all its cultural consequences. In Java this alien influence submerged the native racial style for a great period; in Bali, on the other hand, where the Indian factor was less forceful, Hindu and Buddhist art and architecture were soon shot through with native feeling. In the ninth century the Balinese or Malayo-Polynesian style began to make itself felt in Javanese art also; and by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was triumphant.

Of the ancient Hindu and Buddhist arts of the island of Sumatra we have to judge from the Śailendra monuments of Java;[81] for in Sumatra itself practically nothing survives. Islam entered the island at the close of the fourteenth century, and by the end of the fifteenth every trace of Hinduism and Buddhism had been expunged.

FURTHER INDIA

TO THE NORTH, on the mainland of Campā and Cambodia, a magnificent synthesis of the Malayo-Polynesian and Hindu-Buddhist styles was achieved, which produced, as fruit, one of the noblest sculptural arts in the history of the human race. According to a local legend, an Indian Brāhman named Kaundinya landed with a merchant vessel in the first century A.D., married a local princess, and so became the ruler of the coastal country. The princess-bride is said to have been a snake-maiden (*nāginī*), that is to say a maid of superhuman, semidivine descent. The tale may represent a transfer to Cambodia of a legendary formula from South India; for the Pallavas, too, claim descent from the marriage of a king of the Coḷa race with a nāginī. Cambodian monarchs frequently bore Sanskrit names terminating in *-varman* (Śrutuvarman, Yaśovarman, Indravarman, etc.), after the fashion of the Pallavas. And as we have already noticed,[82] the colonial Indian civilization throughout Indonesia, from the fifth to the seventh century A.D., bore distinct traces of Pallava origin. The Hindu culture of Campā and Cambodia, therefore, can be said, with reasonable certainty, to have come, either directly or indirectly, from the India of the South.

The racial and cultural affinities of the native peoples of Cambodia (Sanskrit

[81] Cf. *supra*, pp. 300–312. [82] *Supra*, pp. 134, 150, 299–300.

Kāmbuja) are complex and obscure. Their language, Mon-Khmer, is a branch of the Austric family, to which the Malayo-Polynesian tongues likewise belong. Racially, the Mon-Khmers are of Sino-Tibetan stock; they are called Funan in the Chinese records. At the beginning of the Christian era they settled in the Mekong and Menam deltas, and in South Burma. But Cambodia seems to have received from South India, even in the remotest past, racial as well as cultural contributions: the Klings of Malaya and the Talaings of Pegu, who were absorbed by the Mons, were offshoots, for example, of the Dravidian Telinga. The Mongolian connection also seems to have begun at an early date; for a Chinese influence was felt in Annam in the third millennium B.C. It was perhaps in that era that the movement began by which the Campā race, with its Oceanic affinities, was gradually submerged.

We have viewed (*supra*, pp. 144–150) a number of pre-Aṅkor masterworks dating from the sixth or seventh century A.D., as well as the classic monuments of Aṅkor Wāt and Aṅkor Thoṁ, which are of the eleventh to thirteenth. The art—of a smooth, sappy solidity—expresses a conception of physical forms flourishing naturally from an inward source that is supremely plastic and completely unlineal. The bodies are of a graceful weightiness. Powerful and still, securely restful within, they radiate a most sweet and serene earnestness, a natural nobility, and the still solemnity of composed power. Their inner richness does not exhibit itself self-consciously, but, mantled with a dreamy luster, reposes within itself without sadness. There is about the works a balance of gravity and charm, naïve power and spiritual peace. And this can be felt even in such an uncouth apparition
Pl. 520 as the horse-headed figure of Plate 520—which has been said to be Viṣṇu but is perhaps a yakṣa.[83] It is a work of about the ninth century A.D.

There have been found a considerable number of small Khmer bronzes.[84] Such images, called *devarūp*, "figures of gods," served as "household divinities" (*kula-devatā*) on the altars in household chapels. They represent the divinities into

[83] A feminine being of comparable form is the chief figure of *Jātaka* 432. When Brahmadatta was the king of Benares, declares this tale, his chief queen betrayed him, and when questioned replied, "If I have betrayed thee, may I become a yakṣī with the head of a horse"; and she became one when she died. She served the lord of the yakṣas in this form for three years, and then, receiving his permission to eat human beings, dwelt in a desert and devoured the passers-by. Once, however, she seized a handsome Brāhman with whom she fell in love. She kept him prisoner in her cave and bore him a son who was a Buddha-in-the-making. The son tried to escape with his father, and after some unsuccessful attempts, the two were dismissed by the yakṣī, who bestowed on her son the secret of a certain vast treasure that had been hidden twelve years before. When her two men departed, the heart of the yakṣī broke and she died.

[84] The principal collections of these are at the Musée de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi, Musée du Cambodge at Pnompenh, Palais Royal of Pnompenh, Bot Brāhm (Brāhman Temple) in Bangkok, and Museum of the Ministry of the Interior in the same city. Bangkok is the chief market for such bronzes.

whose worship the members of the families that owned them were initiated by their Brāhman house-priests. The cult was inherited, together with the images, and the office of the priest was hereditary also. The little objects were easily transported and so traveled far; hence the places of their origin are usually difficult to ascertain. They have been found frequently in Siam as well as in Cambodia, since the northern and eastern Thai provinces formerly were comprised within the empire of the Mon-Khmer. Furthermore, such images were often carried away as booty during the long warfare of the Thai against the Khmer; also, they could be bought and transported to new sites for the purposes of state worship. A conception of their number and variety can be derived from an eleventh-century pillar inscription of the Cambodian king Jayavarman VII, which tells how he erected statues of his mother and spiritual teacher, and grouped around them the images of two hundred and sixty gods; and of how, at the annual spring festival, he worshiped one thousand six hundred and nineteen images. To this day, small bronzes of this kind are used at the annual ceremony "when the first furrow is drawn," and at the other royal feasts, as well as in most processions. It is important to worship all existing gods, omitting none, lest those neglected should be offended.[85] The bronzes of the Mon-Khmer were produced by the process known as cire-perdue,[86] and originally were gilt.

In Plate *562a* is a particularly beautiful piece: a four-headed, four-armed Brahmā (*Brahmā caturmukha caturbhuja*), in the cross-legged posture (*padmāsana*), from the Temple of the Brāhman Palace in Bangkok. The attributes were stuck into the hands and have disappeared; they were possibly bells, cymbals, or lotus flowers. The rings on the underside are for a staff to bear the image in processions. The rhythm of the arms follows the moving wave of the body-line from the shoulder hollows over the well-modeled chest and slim waist to the well-formed stomach; the last with a deep navel, and with three traditional folds to which the three neck-folds correspond. The figure is unified below by the padmāsana and above by the inward-pointing upper hands. The four arms grow easily from the broad shoulders, and the whole is most beautifully reposeful in its movement: it is flowing (as well as gazing) in all directions. Flowing out of itself and again back into itself, the form is an anthropomorphic manifestation of the circular movement of creation, swelling from a center to the periphery and emptying back into eternal stillness. It is a perfect figurement of the ever-permitted self-unfoldment of the Highest Being into the moved and moving, formed world; and the relaxed homing of the energy to its own formless silence, in balanced re-

Pl. 562a

[85] Notes from George Coedès, *Bronzes Khmèrs* (Ars Asiatica V; Brussels, 1923).

[86] Cf. *supra*, pp. 110–114.

gard for the eternal dual play of māyā and illumination, saṁsāra and nirvāṇa. Play and counterplay flow throughout. And we may note that though the mouth is distinctly Khmer, the visage otherwise suggests India proper.

The same quality of perfectly flowing breath is realized in the Gaṇeśa of Plate
Pl. 562b 562b and, almost miraculously, in the sixteen-armed, many-headed Tāntric
Pl. 563 Bodhisattva of Plate 563, Hevajra, "The Blessed Thunderbolt." The coexistence in this harmonious art of the Mahāyāna Buddhist and Hindu figures is notable; notable, too, the firm continuity throughout Asia of its basic forms. For the dance posture of the Buddhist Hevajra is precisely that of the dancing Bodhisattvas of
Pl. 565 Tibet, and we find a counterpart of the Hindu goddess of Plate 565—who brings rain to the world when she twists her hair—in the Descent of the Ganges relief at
Pl. 277 Māmallapuram (Plate 277; beside the lowest nāga).

In the history of Cambodian art three epochs are to be distinguished:

1. The Indo-Mon-Khmer period, which comprises, approximately, the first eight centuries A.D.; during the first seven of these Hinduistic and Buddhist works were produced in the Indian Gupta style of the fifth and sixth centuries; during the eighth these were joined by Brāhman deities of a South Indian character;

2. The period of the national Khmer style, perfected in the ninth century, which reached its high point in the Aṅkor groups and culminated in the temple compounds of Aṅkor Wāt (completed c. 1150) and Aṅkor Thoṁ (completed c. 1225);

3. In the fourteenth century, a period of decline, which opened with a series of warlike disturbances caused by the Siamese and ended with the disappearance of the art of the Khmers and the beginning of the epoch of the Siamese.[87]

The latter—newcomers—were a branch of the Thai peoples of southwestern China, who were being pressed southward by events to the north. The period of their coming was that of the great Chinese T'ang (618–907), Sung (960–1280), and Mongol (1280–1368) dynasties, the last of which culminated in the vast imperial projects of Kublai Khan (1216?–1294). In the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. the Thai were in what is now northern Thailand, pushing downward from the eastern spurs of the Himālayas, and they were politically subject to the Mon-Khmer. Remains of their work have been found along the upper courses of the Meping, Meing, and Menam rivers; first in Lamphun, which was established c. 575, and later in Sawankhalok and Sukhothai—Sawankha-lok, "The Place (Sanskrit *loka*) of the Holy Community (*saṅgha*)," and Sukha-utai, "The Dawn (*udaya*) of

[87] *Editor's note:* For a meticulous study of the chronology of the Cambodian monuments, cf. Gilberte de Coral Rémusat, *L'Art khmer; les grandes étapes de son évolution* (Etudes d'art et d'ethnologie asiatiques, I; Paris, 2nd edn., 1951).

Happiness (*sukha*)"—which were the twin capitals of the later Thai kings. The zenith of this early Thai style was attained in the eleventh century A.D.

About 1100 a fourth Thai capital, Pitsanulok, was founded in what had till then been native Khmer territory, and three centuries later, *c.* 1400, the power of the Mon-Khmer was broken and the conquest of the peninsula by the Thai achieved. Thenceforth a new style of sculpture emanated from a fifth capital, Ayuthiā ("The Victorious"), in the south, a city which had been called Dvāravatī before being conquered, and which seems to have been a center of Viṣṇu worship. It retained something of its Hindu character even under the Buddhist Thai, and remained their capital until captured and destroyed in 1757 by the Burmese, who had been subject to the Thai since the tenth century,[88] whereupon the seat of Thai government was transferred to Bangkok, where it remains to this day.

From the sixth to the twelfth century Siam was the focal point and battlefield of various styles, borne by the differing ethnic groups. Indian immigrants had introduced the Gupta forms (*c.* 350–750 A.D.) in the south. In the center of the peninsula the force of the Mon-Khmer was dominant. And there were influences from Burma, as well as from Java overseas, and from the related Laos, who, in the rear of the Thai, were steadily pressing down from the north. With the changing ethnic, political, and cultural preponderance of the various peoples the art styles changed, until, in the end, with the complete stabilization of the empire of Ayuthiā, the position of the typical Siamese or Thai style was secure.

Among the Siamese finds, Brāhmanical figures are far outnumbered by Buddhist. The earliest Buddhist images belong to the Mahāyāna, but with the rise of the Thai the Hīnayāna became predominant and the artists received more monotonous assignments. Their chief materials were a gray sandstone and, after the Ayuthiā period, a reddish sandstone; less often, slate; clay, frequently with a coloring mixture that was sometimes of gold; and bronze, usually gilded. Roughly, the Lamphun period can be dated 575–800 A.D., the Sukhothai-Sawankhalok 750–1100, Pitsanulok-Lopburi 1100–1350, and Ayuthiā 1350–1757. Bangkok has been the Thai capital since 1757.

The upper figure in Plate *586* is a Buddha head from Lopburi and the other from Ayuthiā. Such Buddha heads, of Khmer type, have been found throughout Siam and date from the period of Khmer domination. The surface of these examples has been damaged by time, but the remaining nucleus reveals the typical Khmer physiognomy: long eyes; fleshy yet small lips; long-drawn mouth corners; *Pl. 586*

[88] Burmese Buddhist art, though deriving originally from Gupta types, had strong affinities with the Siamese and Cambodian schools; for Burma was under Cambodian rule from the sixth to tenth century A.D. and under Siamese from the tenth to the eighteenth. Cf. *supra*, pp. 190–194.

a well-built, straight, fleshy nose; and weight—the quality of stone turned into a living substance; a quietly blooming serenity and a knowing benign wisdom, betrayed by a smile of inward bliss. These are not outstanding pieces, yet they are specimens of solid workmanship in a well-established style. The earthy substance and serene spirituality have been blended in a natural harmony that is profoundly impressive, rendering an august, idyllic vision of the Supreme Peace.

Pl. 587 Plate *587* is a bronze Buddha head from the far north—Chiengmai, some twenty-five miles above Lamphun—but dating from the thirteenth century A.D. We see fully developed here the Thai style that soon was to cover the entire country, not yet hardened, however, to a bold hieroglyph and masterfully standardized convention. The face, gracefully framed by the conventionalized line of the hair, is of a youthful type full of a warm tender life, the mouth being soft with delicate thin lips, the nose slim, and the eyes nearly closed, bent inward in blissful concentration, with a beautiful, harmoniously swung curve at the long outer corners; the ears, long and delicate, have lengthened lobes. This visage is a fine realization of the peculiar ideal of beauty that is inherent in the Thai physiognomy. There is no heaviness, no fleshy weight, as in the figures of the full bloom of the Mon-Khmer, but a refined, really plastic solidity, a sublime three-dimensionality, throbbing with a tender inward life.

It is as though the plastic tendencies of Khmer sculpture had here been applied to another ethnical type without forfeiting their intrinsic qualities. The work is a remarkable specimen of a happy early period, when the Siamese style was yet in its stage of formation, still proceeding toward the realization of its own task—that is to say, an expression of Buddhist ideals through the particular beauty of the physical type of the Thai. A delicate yet bold drawing of the eyes and chin announces the principles proper to the later style. The culmination will be a transformation of the plastic values of face and head into an elaborate system of bold lines, to form a sort of plastic drawing, which, eventually, will harden to a superb conventional mask.

Pl 589b The head in Plate *589b* is from Prapathom, between Ayuthiā and Bangkok, on the lower course of the Menam. Again the surface has been rubbed away, so that only the nucleus is left; nevertheless, one can distinguish a severe mask with an almost portraitlike individual expression. The fascinating irregularity of the traits may be due more to the bad state of preservation than to artistic intention; still it is evident that this is a striking piece of workmanship, illustrating the earnestness and purity of the Buddhist attitude. The work may be the portrait head of an abbot, who served as model for a statue of the Buddha. No trace of the Khmer style remains, and yet we do not find the typical features of the Thai. It is not

luminous, like the visages of the Mon-Khmer, with a triumphant irradiation of conquering spiritual power. It has sunk into its own depth in silent concentration.

Plate *588a* and *b* is a Buddha head in stone from Lopburi—a fine piece from the Pl. 588a, b early period, which shows vividly, when compared with the works of the later centuries, that the Thai style in its beginnings was far from masklike or stereotype. A new people, awakening to political freedom and acquiring ascendancy over its neighbors, was coming to a consciousness of its own character, its own soul, and its own proper attitude. Tentatively, in a slow process, it was disentangling itself from the spell of an earlier tradition, discovering its own features and the means of rendering them. The Khmer custom of taking inspiration for the imaginary portraits of superhuman saviors from the portrayal of outstanding living monks and abbots must have played an important role in this process of self-discovery.

The present head—of grey schist—is remarkable for its individual character and portraitlike vitality: there is a fine determination, mental clarity, and freedom in its slightly slanting face. Moreover, the ethnic peculiarities of the new race have been emphasized without being insisted upon: the more bony, skinny structure of the head, in its youthful grace. A conquering, expanding race, having to find its own symbolical expression in the field of religious art, is here beginning with a kind of spiritualized realism, inspired by the beauty of its own features. This physiognomy bears the freshness of discovery, disentangling the art from the grand tradition of the Khmer, which represented the ideal of beauty of a people steeped in inner peace, whose role in history had by now been brought to an end.

The superb polish of the head is what creates its expressive tension, and it was upon this surface with its smooth tension that the labor of the artist was concentrated. In contrast to the inward-bent substantiality of the images of Cambodia, we feel here a contained energy that is flashing forth. The stone has a metallic radiance, whereas in Khmer sculpture stone was turned into a fruitlike, juicy, vegetable substance. A sovereign will-power and insight have been expressed in the delicate aquiline nose, the chin, and the thin lips. The spiritual conqueror faces the conquered phenomenal universe, flashing forth his well-controlled strength.

A new model, that is to say, of the spiritual superman has been fashioned by a new consciousness. For whereas the Khmer Buddhas (Plate *586*) swam, as it Pl. 586 were, in their own soft substance, their physiognomies continually emerging from and receding into the stone, the plasticity of this early Thai masterpiece is alive with an irradiating energy that throbs against the firm and elastic surface, bulging it to a triumphant expression of sovereign consciousness. The ears with their elongated lobes and the curls of the shaven head are on the way to a delicate and

magnificent standardization; yet they are full of life. Energy fills a glittering, glamorous shell: the living mask of a transcendent victor.

After the interaction of the contending styles had come to rest, there emerged in the art of the Thai the linear, drawinglike, curved-swinging grace of a half-disembodied slimness and a symbolism simplified to the ornamental; an abstraction congenial to the Mongolian race, devoid of tropical, vegetative, physical weight. By means of the line a sublimation of the bow of the brow was effected; also of the eyes, of the nose, of the mouth, and of the hair-pyramid. Written on the core of the head-form, these delineated features extinguished its substantiality behind an ornamental mask—which yielded, ultimately, the frozen ardor of a charmingly schematized play of lines. The resultant image served as an exalting yet stereotyped manifestation of a state of being beyond all imaging, its flavor (*rasa*) [89] being that of a modestly solemn instructiveness. In this still glory, the dogma, not the experience, of nirvāṇa became visible—and manifoldly monotonous.

Pl. 587, 588c, 589c The bronze Buddha heads of Plates *587*, *588c* and *589c* illustrate the mature style of the Thai at its best, in full contrast to that of the Khmer, which by now has been completely superseded. Instead of the soft, weighty, fruitlike substance of the Cambodian heads, we find in these forms the sharply outlined, graciously self-contained contours of a superb bronze technique—a light, lofty three-dimensionality, without emphasis on substance. The features, suffused with inner light, are subdued to graceful stereotypes of the Thai race. The beautiful ears, with their elongated lobes, and the hair, both treated in a perfectly conventionalized way, frame extremely impressive countenances, whose features, though reduced to designs, have not yet lost their life. One feels in each case that the essence of enlightenment has been embodied in the physiognomy of a supreme being. A sheer vision, completely impersonal, tending to become standardized through the cire-perdue style, the savior's visage will become, finally, a mere glyph: here, however, each piece, in its serene aloofness, strikes the beholder with an immediate impact. Thus the art of the Thai, in its independence, achieved an expression of the ideals of Buddhism that conformed to the ethnical actualities supporting the local manner of realization. And so once again colonial Buddhist art—as in Java, Cambodia, and the Far East—proved itself adequate in its own way to the models set up for it in the Gupta period of India.

The long slender hands of the Thai Buddhas are particularly expressive of the *Pl. 591c* energetic spirituality that pervaded the style in its early perfection. Plate *591* shows such a hand, from Pitsanulok. In its lovely form the slim, graceful and

[89] Cf. *supra*, p. 360n.

muscular Thai physique has found a spiritualized expression, which, in its gentle dryness, is antagonistic to the full, fleshy weight of the Khmer. The magical force of the savior's hand, bestowing peace and fearlessness upon the devotee, granting his wish or expressing the truth of the doctrine, has here been perfectly rendered by means of a realism balanced with a symbolically expressive idealism and aiming at a realization both of supernatural beauty and of natural grace.

In the standing Buddha from Sukhothai represented in Plate *591b* the left hand, uplifted in the peace-bestowing (*abhayandada*) gesture, is filled with a supernal musicality. The elongated right arm, reaching almost to the knee, conforms to an ancient Indian ideal of the perfect hero as endowed with long arms, which is familiar from the Hindu epics of the feudal age.[90] The somewhat shortened stature emphasizes the spirituality of the head and hands and the magical force of the savior's appearance. The body is but the vehicle of the head, which is in magnificent repose, and of the hand bestowing its peace. The essence of a reality beyond the strife of conflicting opposites and beyond phenomenal suffering has stepped forth into the tangible world in this image, incarnated in a vessel of sublime wisdom, exhibiting silently its own truth. *Pl. 591b*

The torso in the same plate reveals even more fully the new qualities of lightness and swift noble agility that transformed in early Thai art the sweet repose of the Khmer tradition. This slender body, in graceful motion, has about it nothing of the phantasmagorical unreality of some of the best Gupta figures; nevertheless, it has its own weightless grace. The force of the plastic values of the older style can still be felt, and yet the substance has grown brittle and airy. Something very different from the self-intoxicated, heavy silence of the Cambodian images is expressed in its winging, birdlike approach. Lines and outlines, not the mass, have been given stress, and plasticity has been achieved through a careful, inspiring design. *Pl. 591a*

The savior's complete detachment from all spheres of temporal change, evolution and decay has been expressed equally in the seated Buddha from Sawankhalok shown in Plate *590*—and once again, through a striking simplicity of outline and surface. Indeed, it is amazing what differences of expression have been achieved throughout the centuries, in the numerous provinces of Buddhism, within a simple pattern, repeated in thousands upon thousands of copies. Through minute differences of weight and imperceptible variations of bulk, the selfsame figure either is imbued with a spiritual force or remains the empty symbol of an attitude *Pl. 590*

[90] The epithet *mahābāhu*, "long-armed," is common in the Hindu epics and has its counterpart in the names of some of the ancient Persian kings and noblemen; for example, Megabazos, Makrochier, and Longimanus.

alluded to, which refuses to enter the sculptured shell. And there is always lurking the danger of depriving the image of its magic, either by overdoing the simplification of the outlines or by filling the form with a cargo of earthy weight, slight in itself, yet sufficient to break the effect. In the present rendition, although the simplification of the bent legs has been carried to an extreme, their almost mathematically abstract triangles supply the perfect foundation for the repose of the pillarlike, harmoniously balanced trunk, so that there has been achieved a perfect mixture of physical presence and noncorporal subtlety—a nearness, yet a sense of intangible distance.

However, in Thailand a splendid, dignified emptiness eventually prevailed. A barren, statuesque grandeur killed both the higher plastic values and the spiritual vitality of the art, which faded out in an endless repetition of established patterns and a facile virtuosity in the reproduction of masterfully simplified elements. Once the Buddha figure had been definitely mastered by the craftsmen there was nothing more for them to do but to repeat, through innumerable copies, what had already been achieved. Thus an age dawned of highly competent routine.

Most Siamese sculpture belongs to Buddhist art; for Brāhmanism, through the expansion of the Thai people, was definitely pushed into the background. No great figures survive of the Hindu gods. However, the two apsarases seen in *Pl. 594* Plate *594* show how faithfully the patterns evolved at Bādāmī and elsewhere were kept alive by the local craftsmen of Ayuthiā, which city, as already noted, had been a center of Viṣṇuism before it was entered by the Thai. The style of these late pieces is definitely pre-Thai, and only in a general way related to the Khmer. It is far indeed from the sublime and sophisticated grace of the patterns long before evolved in India proper; nevertheless, as a local, vernacular statement, it has a quality of its own—even something of the vitality, simplicity, and calm sweetness of Cambodian art.

Pl. 592, 593 Plates *592* and *593* show pieces of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, in which plastic substantiality has been metamorphosed into something like a mask. Though the heads are beautifully formed, with configurations of marked ridges and smooth hollows, linear elements predominate. In each case a sculptural drawing was intended, not a three-dimensional mass suffused with a gently surging inner life. A cardboardlike bronze surface, without any substance beneath, was wrought into a kind of hieroglyph denoting serene secret wisdom and majestic peace. Physiognomy was transformed into ornament and the natural symmetry of the human face into mathematical balance; vitality yielded to a sheer symbolization of transcendent, ineffable spirituality. And therewith, the possibilities and effects of the cire-perdue technique having been developed to the utmost, the art of the

victorious Thai obliterated both the ends-and-means and the wondrous power of the earlier Cambodian victories in stone.

By the sixteenth century, perfection and standardization had been completely attained in Buddhist bronze sculpture; and the technical facilities necessary to reproduce the types that by then had become classic persist in Thailand to this day. The artistic life has by now evaporated, however, and the spiritual vigor still perceptible in the sixteenth-century pieces has vanished too. There is no task any more, no problem to be solved. What remains is but a charade of symbolical postures and gestures, in innumerable copies, rendered by dignified puppets (Plate *595*). Touching the ground, in the gesture of calling the earth to witness, the Buddha sends forth rays from the summit of his cranium, enlightening the universe. The puppetlike majesty of these statuettes depicts not the messenger but the message; not the condition of inward bliss attained through introversion, nor an experience of inner peace, reflected in a smile, but the simple fact that there are Buddhas, divine saviors: that nirvāṇa, enlightenment, exists. Creative vitality, paralyzed, coagulated, has been frozen through an easy ability in the endless repetition of a standardized calligraphy. And the Buddha form is no longer an imaginary portrait based on experience, but a symbolic commemoration of the highest being; an image to be adored. *Pl. 595*

Moreover, we may trace the same declension elsewhere in religious art: for example, in the Roman Catholic images of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The world, indeed, has passed into a new age. And meanwhile, even though the donor of the sheltering church or temple, hoping for reward in the next world, may have demanded the utmost in durability for his votive offering to his God, time and the destructive blast of history are refusing him the boon. For even where the donor was a king, and his gift of durable stone, nature (see Plates *584* and *585*) is avidly taking it back. *Pl. 584, 585*

APPENDICES









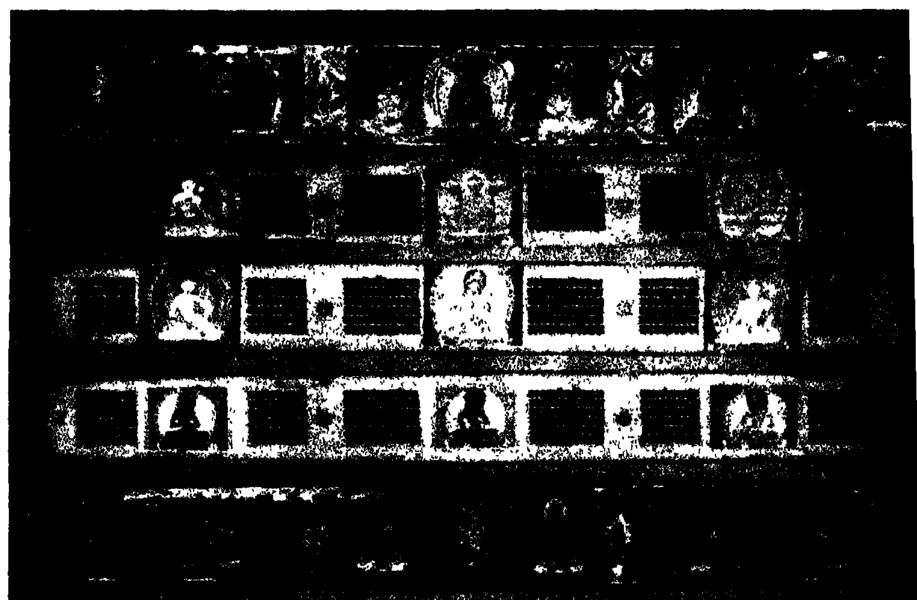


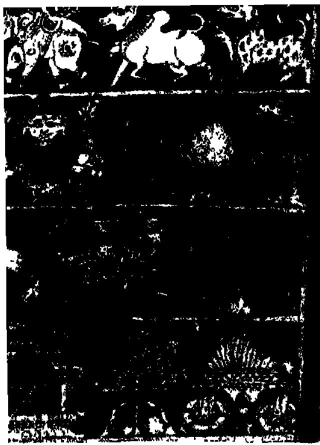


CI. *Details of a Pāla palm-leaf manuscript.* XI *century* A.D.



C2. *Details of a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript. 1110 A.D.*







b



c



d

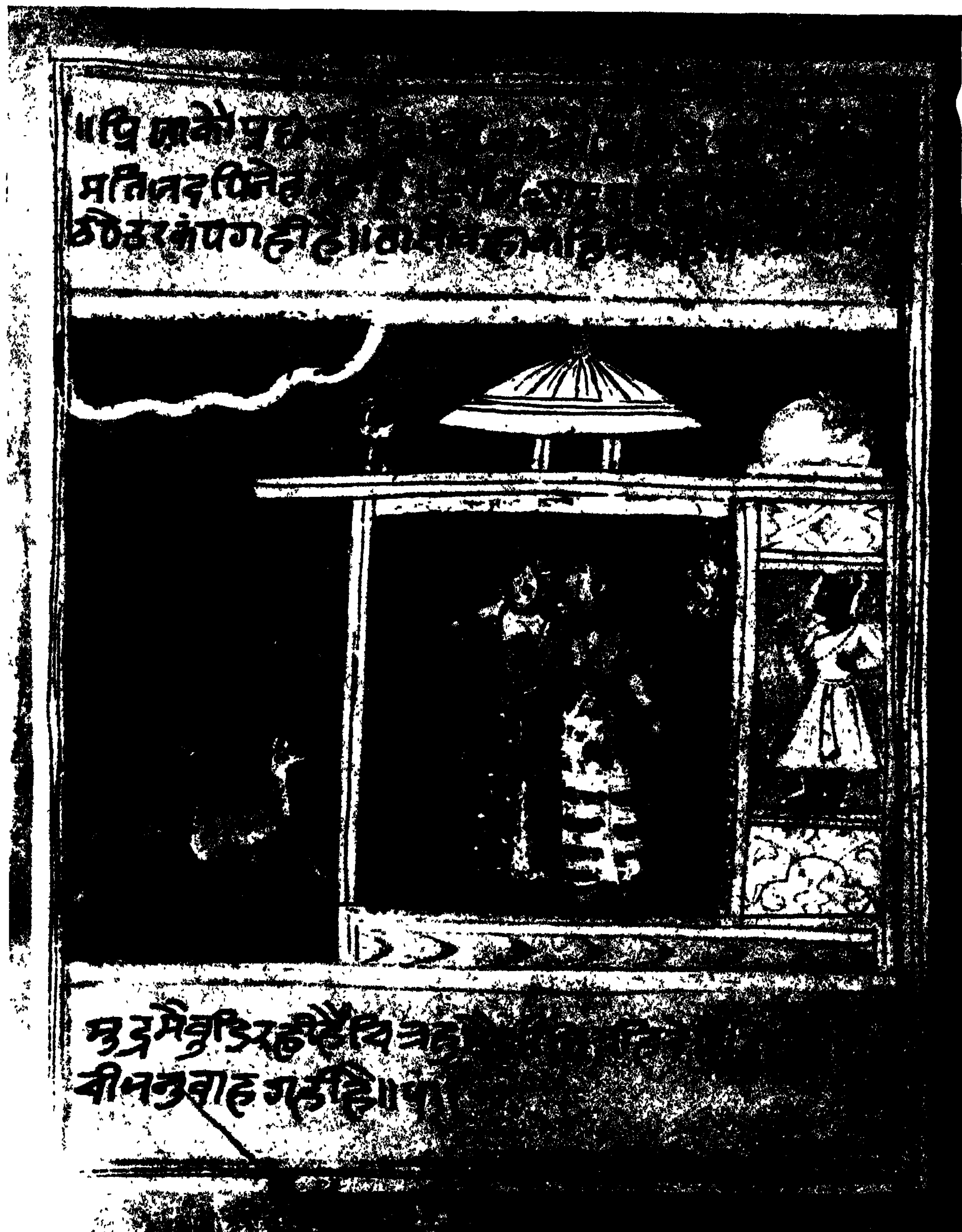


e



f

C3. *Details of a Gujarātī paper manuscript.* XV *century* A.D.



64. Rājput (Rājasthānī or Gujarātī) miniature. *Kṛṣṇa's Arrival Announced to Rādhā.*
XVII *century* A.D.



c5. Rājput (Rājasthānī or Gujarātī) miniature. *Kṛṣṇa Expecting Rādhā.*
XVII *century* A.D.



c6. Moghul miniature. *Kṛṣṇa Govardhana. Late* XVI *century* A.D.



67. Moghul-Rājasthānī miniature. *Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. c.* 1600 A.D.



c8. Rājput painting, Rājasthānī school. *Madhu-mādhavī Rāgiṇī*. *c. 1630* A.D.



a. Megha Rāga



b. Naṭa Rāgiṇī

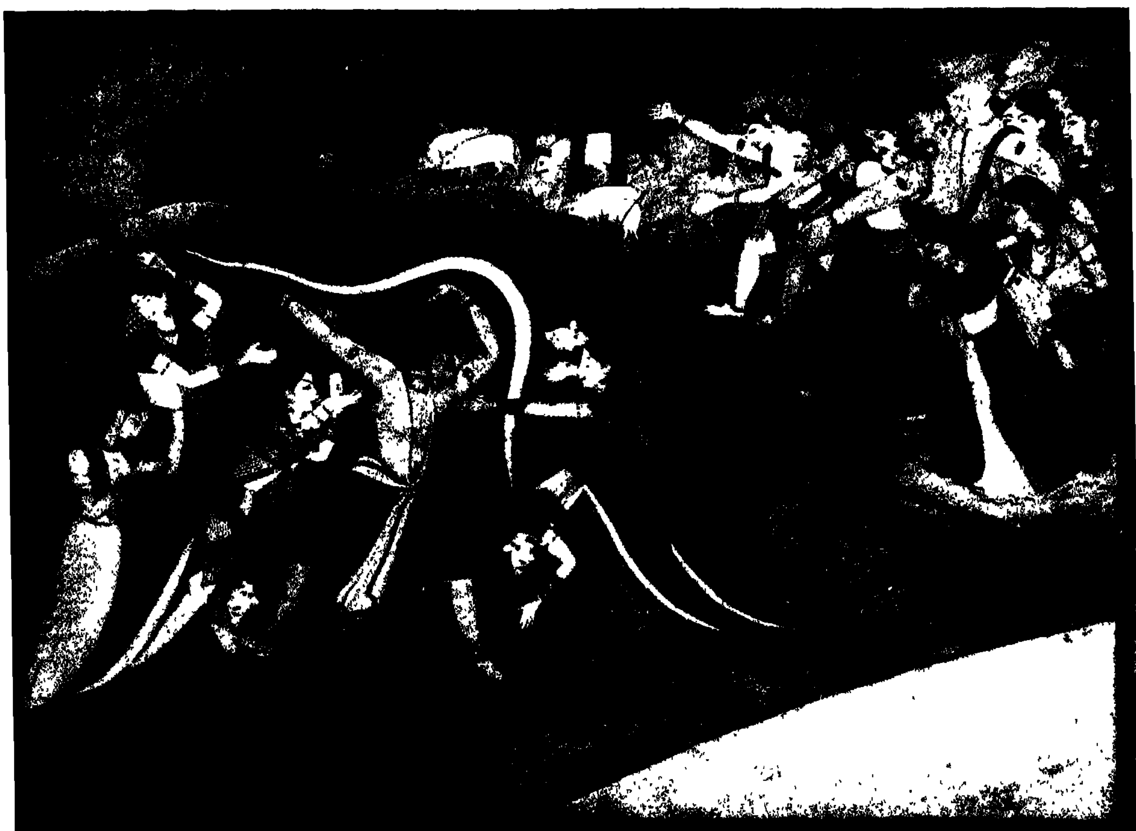


c. Malkaus Rāga



d. Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī

69. *Four miniatures from the Laud Rāgmālā. c.* 1625 A.D.



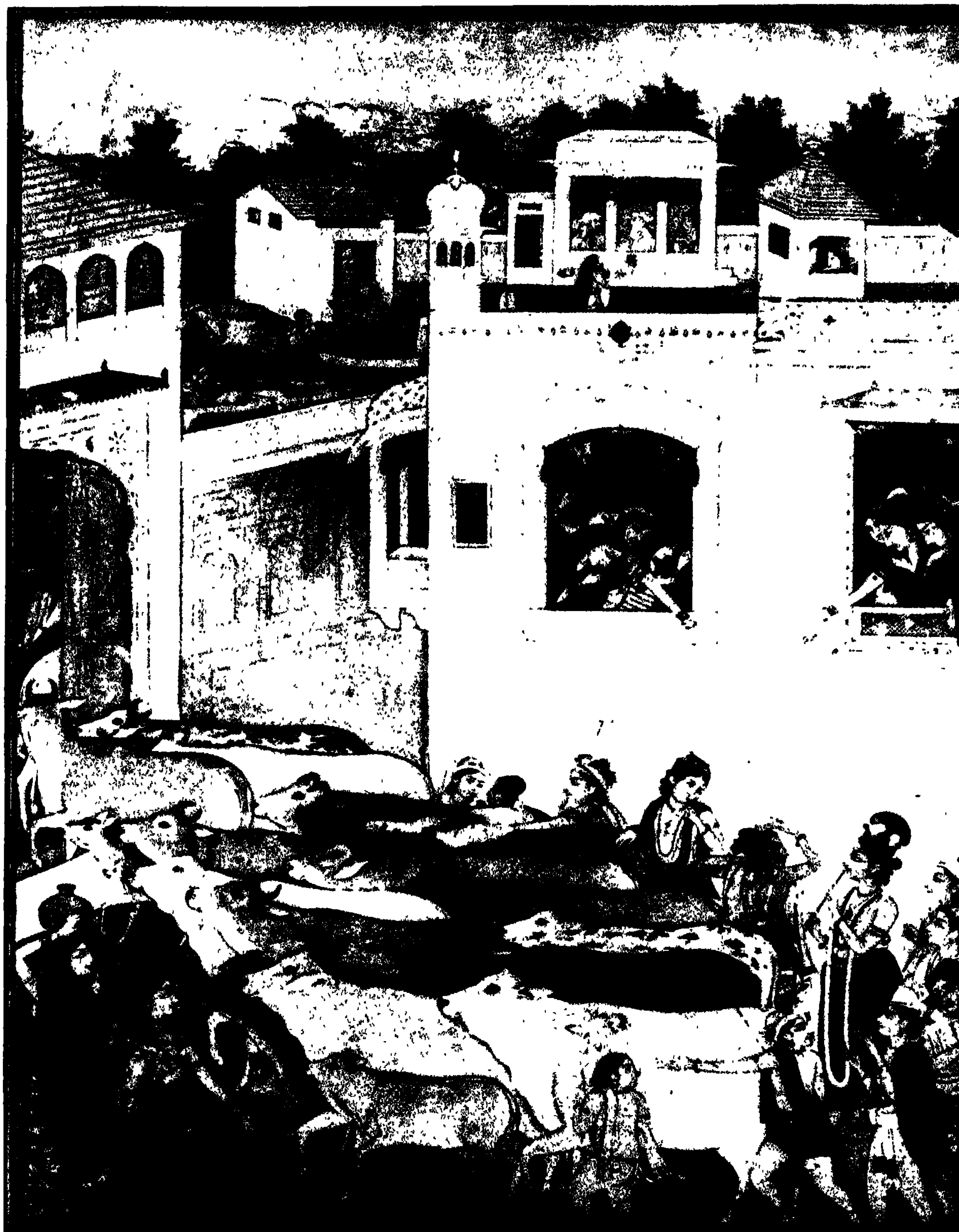
c10. Rājput painting, Pahāṛī school, Kāṅgṛā branch. *Kṛṣṇa Quelling Kāliya.* XVIII *century* A.D.



c11. Rājput painting, Pahāṛī school. *Śiva and Pārvatī. c. 1800* A.D.



C12. Rājput drawing, Pahāṛī school, Kāṅgṛā branch. *The Nativity of Kṛṣṇa. Unfinished, with lettering to indicate the colors to be used. c. 1800* A.D.



C13. Rājput painting, Pahāṛī school, Kāṅgṛā branch. *The Hour of Cowdust. Late* XVIII *century* A.D.



C14. Rājput painting, Basohli school. *Hunting scene.* XVIII *century* A.D.



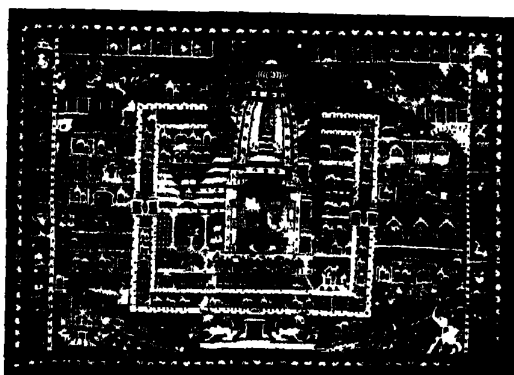
c15. Rājput painting, Basohli school. *Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā*. XVIII *century* A.D.



c16*a*. Rājput painting, Kāṅgrā style. *Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī.* XVIII *century* A.D.



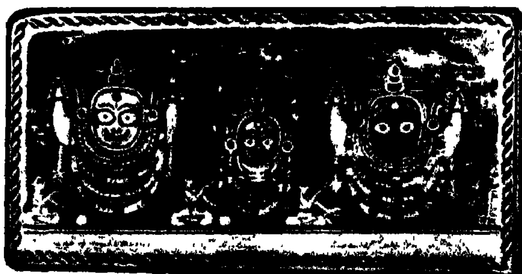
c16*b*. Rājput painting, Rājasthānī style. *Śiva and Pārvatī.* XVIII *or* XIX *century* A.D.



c16*c*. The Temple of Jagannātha, Purī. *Painting sold to pilgrims.* XIX *century* A.D.



c16*d*. Rājput style *The Ten Avatārs of Viṣṇu. Enamelled gold pendant (here twice the actual size). Late* XVI *century* A.D.



c16*e*. *The Family of Jagannātha. Painting on the lid of a wooden box*

APPENDIX A

SOME NOTES ON THE ART OF PAINTING

Two Origin Legends

THE *Citralakṣaṇa* ("Characteristics of Painting") recounts a legend of the origin of the art. "It was in the ancient days," so runs the tale, "when men lived to a ripe old age; and there flourished in that time a very pious king named Bhayajit ("Who Conquers Fear-and-Perils"), under whom all were pious and therefore prosperous. But there came before him, one day, a Brāhman who complained: 'O King, there is certainly sin in your kingdom. Why, otherwise, should my son have died an untimely death? Please return my son to me from the other world!' The king demanded the return of the Brāhman's son from Yama, god of the dead, who refused, and a battle ensued in which the king defeated Yama. Brahmā, the creator, thereupon appeared and said to King Bhayajit: 'Life and death accord with a man's karma; Yama is not to blame for what occurs. So now, draw a picture of the Brāhman's son.' The king obeyed. Brahmā imparted life to the picture and once again addressed the king. 'Since you have defeated the "naked ghosts" (*nagna-pretas*) in the realm of death, you shall be known henceforth as Nagnajit. You were made capable of drawing this picture of the Brāhman's son only by my grace. It is the first picture in the world. So go now to the divine artificer, Viśvakarman, who will teach you everything of the science-and-technique (*vidyā*) of painting.' "[1]

A different legend is told, however, in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* ("The Supreme Laws of Viṣṇu"). According to this account, two mythical sages, twin manifestations of Viṣṇu, whose names were Nara ("Man") and Nārāyaṇa ("Whose Offspring Is Man"), once were practicing austerities in their hermitage at the source of the river Ganges, in the Himālayas, when some heavenly damsels arrived with the idea of seducing them and thus frustrating their pious endeavor. The apsarases

[1] *Citralakṣaṇa*, in Phananindra Nath Bose, *Principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra* (The Punjab Oriental [Sanskrit] Series, XI; Lahore, 1926), p. 79.

roved about amorously, culling flowers, before the eyes of Nārāyaṇa, who discerned their purpose; and so he took the juice of a mango tree (which excites sexual passion) and, employing it as paint, created an auspicious damsel with charming limbs, beautifully drawn, surpassing all women, whether of the godly beings, demons and serpents, or of mankind. And having seen her, the heavenly damsels went away in shame. But the beautiful woman whom the sage Nārāyaṇa had created by means of the science of painting was Urvaśī ("Hot Desire"), and she became the foremost apsaras in the heavens. Meanwhile, Nārāyaṇa, having thus invented the art of painting together with its rules, communicated it to Viśvakarman, the artificer of the gods.[2]

The tales are different; yet they agree that portrait painting was originated for magical purposes—not to commemorate a person or his fame. A painting summoned the dead Brāhman youth back to the world; conjuring him by means of the inner vision of his being, projected in the form of a picture. And a painting put the apsarases to shame by creating a form surpassing them in beauty. Moreover, in neither case was the portrait directly copied from a sitting model. According to the Indian ideal, art should not copy models; it should be a projection into susceptible materials of a mental vision.

We know that halls of paintings (*citra-śālās*) were erected by the Indian kings for the entertainment of the people. An old Jaina story[3] tells of how a certain King Jiyasattu consigned such a hall to the painters' guild, delegating to each family an equal share in the work to be done. And it then happened that Kanayamañjarī ("Little Bud"), the daughter of an old painter, who used to bring her father's meals to him in the hall, one day while waiting, to pass the time, painted a peacock's feather in colors on the paved floor, entirely true to nature. And King Jiyasattu, later coming to the hall, was considering the paintings, when he saw the peacock's feather on the paved floor and, thinking "It is beautiful!" reached to pick it up, but broke his nails, which were like pearl oyster shells. Whereupon, abashed, he looked into space.

The work, we see, was assigned to families; not to individual artists, as in the Moghul period; and everybody in a painter's family was something of a painter too.[4]

[2] *Ib.*, p. 80.

[3] Hermann Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtrī, zur Einführung in das Studium des Prākṛit* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 49.

[4] For a discussion of Indian painting in its prime, cf. *supra*, pp. 185–190 (Ajaṇṭā), also pp. 365–367 (Ceylon).

Pāla Painting (c. 750–1250)

THE Pāla dynasty ruled the lower Ganges valley from *c.* 730 to 1197 A.D. It was founded by Gopāla, who was followed by Dharmapāla; and then came, in the first half of the ninth century, Devapāla, in whose reign there flourished the only two artists whose names have come down to us: Dhīmān and his son Bitpālo. "Both of these," writes the seventeenth-century Tibetan historian Tāranātha, "produced many works in cast metal as well as sculptures and paintings that resembled the works of the nāgas." The father and son gave rise to distinct schools. "In painting, the followers of the father were termed the Eastern school, and those of the son—since they were particularly numerous in Magadhā [Bihār]—the Central (*madhyadeśa*) school."[5] The former tradition has continued in Nepal to the present day.[6] (See Text Plates *C1* and *2*.) *Pl. C1, C2*

Gujarātī (Jaina) Painting (c. 1100–1600)

IN THE west of India a tradition of painting flourished that has survived almost exclusively in Jaina manuscript illuminations.[7] The earlier illustrated texts (twelfth to fourteenth century) are on palm leaves and the later (beginning *c.* 1400) on paper cut to simulate strips of palm. The miniatures, inserted in areas left blank by the scribes, though brightly colored, sharply emphasize the outline and exhibit certain rather odd characteristics. Heads, for example, are generally represented in three-quarter profile, with the further eye protruding unnaturally and the long pointed nose projecting beyond the outline of the cheek, while the expansion of the chest is so much exaggerated that it is often difficult to distinguish a man from a woman. Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out that this medieval West Indian art is "no doubt a continuation of the *early* western style,

[5] F. A. von Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (tr. from Tibetan, St. Petersburg, 1869), pp. 279–280.

[6] For a discussion of Pāla painting, cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), pp. 114–115; for Gujarātī (Jaina) painting, *ib.*, pp. 119–121; and for Rājput, *ib.*, pp. 127–128.

[7] It appeared also, however, in temple decoration. See Stella Kramrisch, "A Painted Ceiling," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1939, pp. 175–182. W. Norman Brown has pointed out that not only Jaina, but also a few Vaiṣṇava, Śivaite, and secular manuscripts have been discovered, illuminated in this style. See W. Norman Brown, *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (American Oriental Series, XXI; New Haven, 1941), p. 1.

referred to by Tāranātha as that of the 'Ancient West.' " [8] It attained its climax in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and by the end of the sixteenth was
Pl. C3 yielding to the Rājput style.[9] (See Text Plate C3.)

Rājput Painting (c. 1550–1850)

"RĀJPUT painting is the painting of Rājputāna and Bundelkhaṇḍ, and the Punjab Himālayas. The known examples ranging from the latter part of the sixteenth into the nineteenth century fall into two main groups, a Rājasthānī (Rājputāna and Bundelkhaṇḍ), and a Pahāṛī. The latter group is again divisible into a school of Jammū, with reference to the Hill States west of the Sutlaj, and a school of Kāṅgṛā, with reference to all the Hill States of the Jālandhar group, east of the same river. With Kāṅgṛā is included Gaṛhwāl, a Hill State east of Simla, which derived its style directly from Kāṅgṛā at the end of the eighteenth century. Sikh painting, mainly done in Lahore and Amritsar in the time of Ranjit Siṅgh and Sher Siṅgh (together about 1790 to 1843), is also an immediate derivative of the Kāṅgṛā school." [10] The affinities of the Basohli school are with Jammū.

"Rājput painting is essentially an aristocratic folk art, appealing to all classes alike, static, lyrical, and inconceivable apart from the life it reflects." [11] In its early period (1550–1650) it represents a revival of Kṛṣṇa worship, a popular
C4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14 religious mood of universal love and devotion, in contrast to the learned philosophizing of Brāhmanism. The painting—penetrated by a simple, passionate love of nature—is archaic in style, two-dimensional, yet vivid with life and of a poignant charm. During its second century the mystic passion of the movement became less dynamic and the art began to settle. The colors of the later works are comparatively subdued and there is a perceptible increase in the Muslim influence.[12] In the last half of the eighteenth century genre painting prevails.

C6, 7 The chief themes of the early Rājput period are scenes illustrating the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and of Rāma and Sītā, based on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Mahā-*

[8] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Italics, Dr. Zimmer's. For Tāranātha, see under *Pāla Painting, supra.*

[9] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[10] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[11] *Ib.*, p. 128.

[12] *Editor's note:* For an introduction to Moghul painting and a sensitive discussion of its alliance with Rājput art, see Emmy Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought Reflected in Mogul Painting* (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West, No. 7; London, 1952). Among Dr. Zimmer's notes is a page sketching the Moghul development in four periods:

1. The Period of Babur (1526–30), Humayun (1530–56), and Akbar (1556–1605);
2. The Classical Period of Jahangir (1605–27) and Shah Jahan (1628–58), when the art attained to its climax and turning point and became more than ever a style of court painting: even the attend-

bhārata, and *Rāmāyaṇa*, but also of Śiva and Pārvatī, as described, for example, in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*.[13] However, toward the beginning of the seventeenth century a new constellation of themes appeared in a class of Rājput painting known as the Rāgmālās ("Garlands of the Musical Modes"). The idea that each system of sound must have its inevitable visual aspect (an idea analogous to that of the power of the seed-sound or name of a god to conjure forth the deity's visible presence)[14] was here developed in sequences of poetical paintings personifying the moods or sentiments of the thirty-six rāgas or traditional musical scales. Thus, immediately before the onbreak of the modern moment of severance and specialization, the Indian concept of the intrinsic unity of the arts was rendered in a charmingly playful way, as the last prophetic artistic recapitulation of the perennial gospel of nonduality in the realization of Truth.[15]

C11, 15

C8, 9

ants disappeared from the background and the portrait prevailed;

3. The Period of Decline, from the reign of Aurangzeb (1658–1707), through the eighteenth into the nineteenth century: the art, deteriorating in a period of political, economic, and moral decay, turned to the representation of luxurious harem scenes in a court style that was realistic and sentimental;

4. At the close of the Moghul period, a brief Renaissance, when the aging, decaying civilization, looking back to the splendor of the fathers, copied old paintings and strove to revive the contours, attire, and style of the climax.

[13] Cf. Zimmer, "Four Episodes from the Romance of the Goddess," in *The King and the Corpse* (New York and London, 1948), pp. 285–289.

[14] *Supra*, pp. 318–319.

[15] *Editor's note:* For these paragraphs on Indian painting I have simply arranged a number of jottings found scattered through Dr. Zimmer's files. They do not constitute an introduction to the subject and are not intended to do so. I have placed them here merely to indicate, sketchily, the relationship in time and space of the later forms of Indian painting to the art forms discussed in the body of the work and to suggest, in closing, what I should like our readers to remember, namely, that the present text is the fragment of an unfinished work.

APPENDIX B

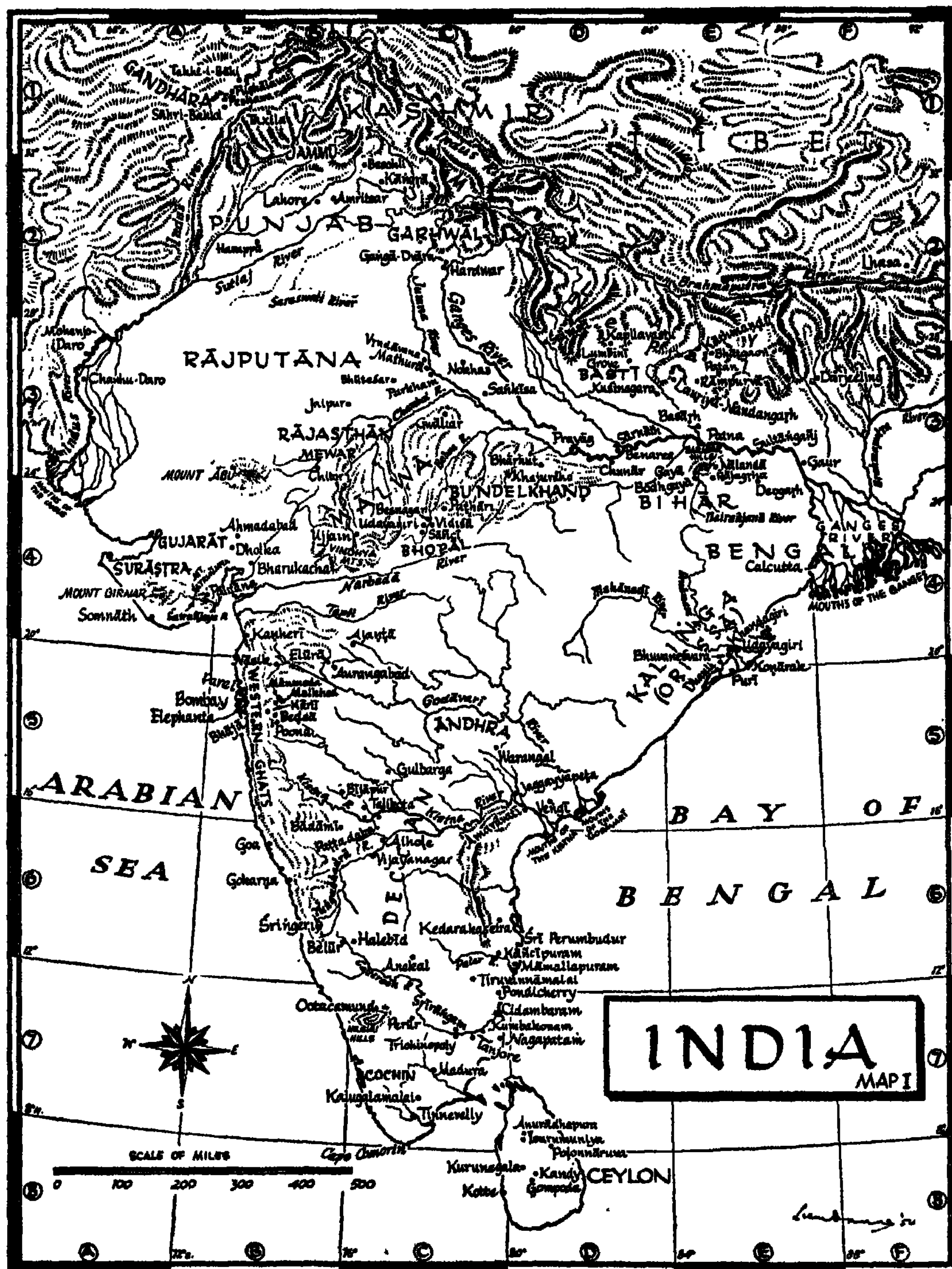
CHRONOLOGICAL CHARTS AND MAPS

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART 1

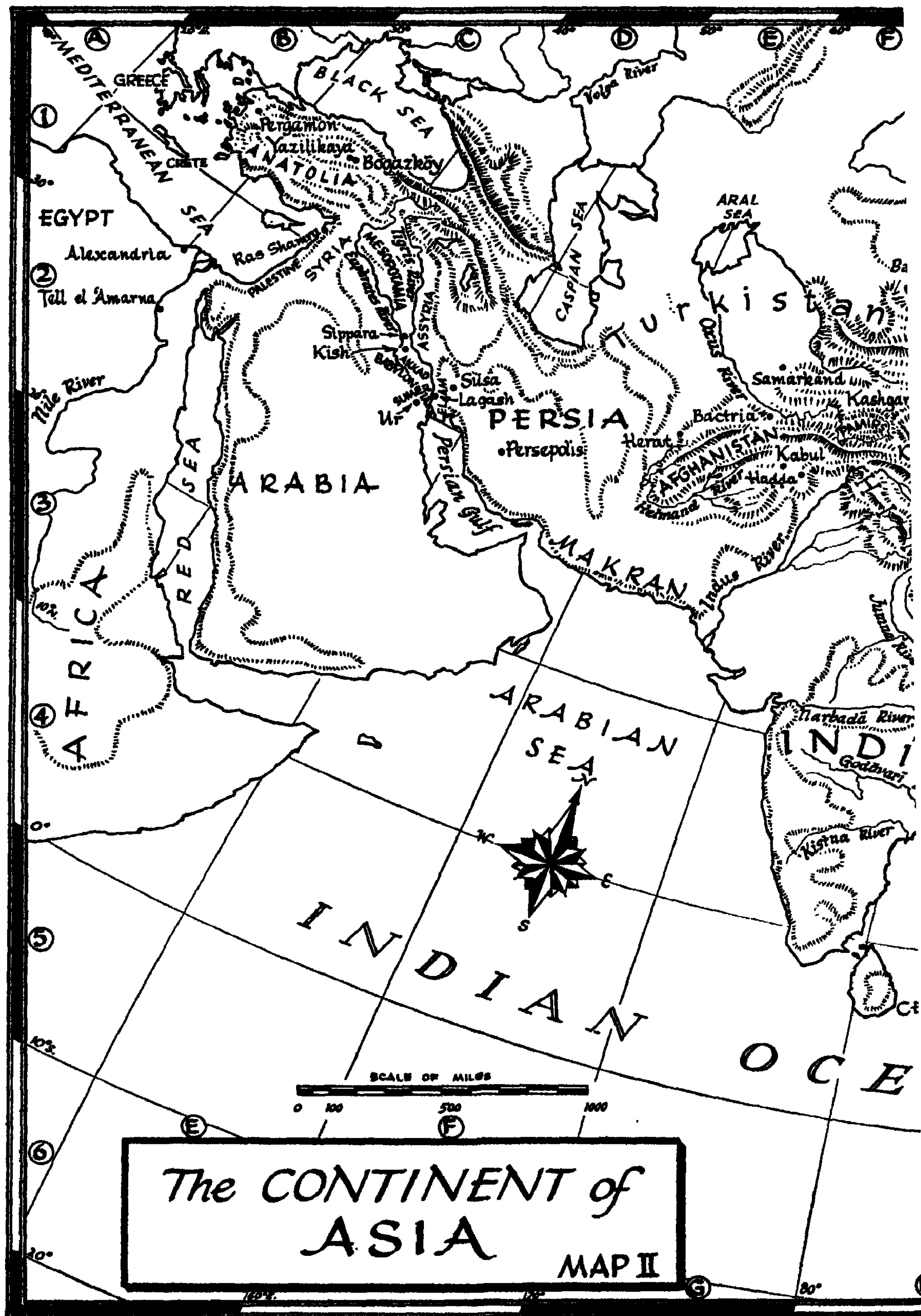
PERIODS OF INDIAN ART

Mesopotamian Cities and Empires (*ante* *c.* 3500–*c.* 1000)	B.C. *c.* 3000–1500	DRAVIDIAN PERIOD Ruins of the Indus Valley Civilization	Mohenjo-daro, Harappā, Chanhu-daro
Aryans enter Near East	*c.* 2000–1000	ĀRYAN SETTLEMENT OF NORTH INDIA	
Assyrian, Hittite, and Medean Empires (*c.* 1500–*c.* 550)	*c.* 1500–500	VEDIC PERIOD *Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads*	
Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330)	*c.* 500 B.C.–550 A.D.	BUDDHISM AND THE RISE OF BUDDHIST ART EARLY HINDU AND JAINA ART Mahāvīra, 24th Tīrthaṅkara, d. *c.* 526 Gautama, the Buddha, *c.* 563–483	
	325: ALEXANDER THE GREAT ENTERS N.W. INDIA		
Seleucid Persian Empire (305–64)	*c.* 321–184	Maurya Dynasty Aśoka, *c.* 274–237	Aśoka Pillars; early stūpas
Arsacid Persian Empire (250 B.C.–226 A.D.)	*c.* 185–72 *c.* 72–25	Śuṅga Dynasty Śuṅga decline; Kāṇva Dynasty	Sāñcī: Stūpa No. 2; Bhārhut reliefs; Bhājā; Bodhgayā railing
	c. 25 B.C.–III cent. A.D.	Āndhra Dynasty	Sāñcī: Stūpa No. 1; rock-cut sanctuaries; Amarāvatī
	SCYTHIAN (ŚAKA) INVASIONS YUEH-CHI (KUṢĀṆA) INVASION	I cent. B.C.–I cent. A.D.	
Sassanian Persian Empire (226–641)	A.D. I–VII cent. *c.* 320–650	Kuṣāṇa Dynasty and successors Gupta Dynasty and successors	Mathurā, Gandhāra Sārnāth
	WHITE HUN INVASIONS, *c.* 480–550		
Rise of Islam (Mohammed, d. 632) Muslim conquest of India (*c.* 750–1565)	*c.* 550–1565 *c.* 600–850 *c.* 550–750	MEDIEVAL INDIAN ART Pallava Dynasty Cāḷukya Dynasty	 Māmallapuram Bādāmī, Aihoḷe, Paṭṭadakal, Ajaṇṭā, Elūrā
	c. 750–975	Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dynasty	Elūrā, Elephanta
	c. 730–1250	Pāla and Sena Dynasties	Nālandā
	c. 1076–1586	Gaṅgā Dynasty	Koṇārak
	c. 850–1150	Coḷa Dynasty	Tanjore
	c. 1100–1310	Hoyśala Dynasty	Halebīd, Belūr
	c. 1100–1350	Pāṇḍya Dynasty	Tiruvannāmalai
	c. 1350–1565	Rāya Dynasty	Vijayanagar
Portuguese, French, and British in India (*post* 1500)	XVI–XIX cent. *post* 1565 XVI–XIX cent. 1526–1857	LATE STYLES Nāyyak Dynasty Rājput Dynasties Moghul period (Mohammedan)	 Madura Miniatures

For Chronological Chart 2: Provincial Styles, *see p.* 395.



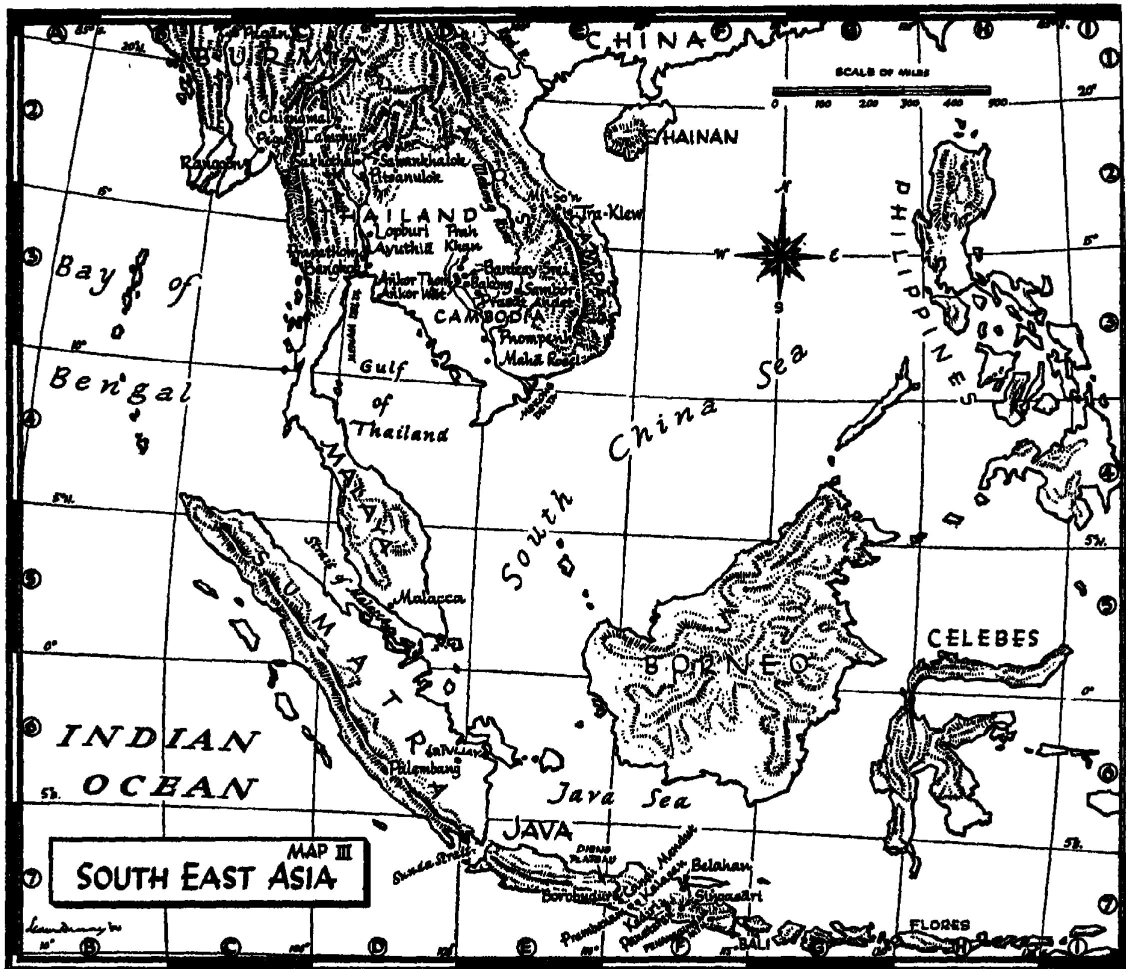
INDIA
MAP I
KASMIR
TIBET
GANDHĀRA
PUNJAB
GARHWAL
RĀJPUTANA
RĀJASTHAN
MEWAR
BUNDELKHAND
BIHAR
BENGAL
GUJARĀT
SURĀSTRA
BHOPAL
ANDHRA
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY OF
BENGAL
CEYLON
WESTERN GHATS
MOUTHS OF THE GANGES
Taxila
Jammu
Lahore
Amritsar
Harappā
Hardwar
Mohenjo-Daro
Chanhu-Daro
Mathurā
Jaipur
Gwālior
Khajurāho
Bhārhut
MOUNT ĀBU
Ahmadabad
Dholka
Bharukachha
MOUNT GIRNAR
Somnāth
Ujjain
Narbadā River
Tāpti River
Sutlej River
Indus River
Jumna River
Ganges River
Prayāg
Benares
Chunār
Gayā
Bodhgayā
Nālandā
Patna
Kapilavastu
Lumbini Grove
Kusinagara
Darjeeling
Lhasa
Gaur
Calcutta
Ajantā
Ellūrā
Aurangabad
Kanheri
Bombay
Elephanta
Poona
Godāvari River
Warangal
Gulbarga
Bijāpur
Bādāmi
Aihole
Vijayanagar
Goa
Bhuvaneshvara
Udayagiri
Puri
Konārak
Śringeri
Halebīd
Belūr
Śrī Perumbudur
Kāñcīpuram
Māmallapuram
Tiruvannāmalai
Pondicherry
Cidambaram
Kumbakonam
Nagapatam
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
Ootacamund
COCHIN
Madura
Tinnevelly
Cape Comorin
Anurādhapura
Polonnāruwa
Kurunegala
Kandy
Kotte
Gampola
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500



MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
CRETE
Pergamon
Yazilikaya
Bogazköy
ANATOLIA
BLACK SEA
Volga River
ARAL SEA
CASPIAN SEA
EGYPT
Alexandria
Tell el 'Amarna
Ras Shamra
PALESTINE
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
Tigris River
Euphrates River
Sippara
Kish
Susa
Lagash
Ur
SUMER
PERSIA
Persepolis
Persian Gulf
Turkistan
Oxus River
Samarkand
Kashgar
Bactria
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Hadda
Helmand River
Indus River
MAKRAN
Nile River
RED SEA
ARABIA
AFRICA
ARABIAN SEA
INDI
Narbada River
Godavari
Kistna River
INDIAN OCE
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 500 1000
The CONTINENT of ASIA
MAP II



SAKHALIN
Lena R.
Yenisei
Lake Baikal
Amur River
Argun River
Sungari River
Mongolian Plateau
TURFAN
GOBI DESERT
Turkistan
Jehol
Peiping
KOREA
Nara
JAPAN
Hwang River
SHAN
Nanking
CHINA
Lhasa River
Yangtze River
PACIFIC OCEAN
South China Sea
MOUTHS OF THE GANGES
BURMA
PHILIPPINES
LAOS
ANNAM
Mekong River
Salween
THAILAND
CAMBODIA
ngal
MALAYA
BORNEO
CELEBES
SUMATRA
JAVA
BALI


CHINA
BURMA
HAINAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Rangoon
Sawankhalok
Pitsanulok
THAILAND
Lopburi
Ayuthia
Bangkok
Angkor Thom
Angkor Wat
CAMBODIA
Pnompenh
Tra-Kiew
PHILIPPINES
Bay of Bengal
Gulf of Thailand
South China Sea
MALAYA
Malacca
SUMATRA
Palembang
BORNEO
CELEBES
INDIAN OCEAN
Java Sea
JAVA
Sunda Strait
Borobudur
Belahan
Singasari
BALI
FLORES
MAP III
SOUTH EAST ASIA

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART 2

PROVINCIAL STYLES

	CEYLON	BURMA	JAVA	CAMPĀ	CAMBODIA	SIAM (Thailand)
B.C. V	Early Period (Anurādhapura) v cent. B.C.–viii cent. A.D.					
IV						
III						
II						
I						
A.D. I		Early Period (Prome, Thaton, and Pegu) i–viii cent.	Early Indian Period (West Java) i–vi cent.			
II						
III						
IV						
V					Early Indo-Mon-Khmer Period (Sambor, Prei Khmeng) v–viii cent.	Thai incursions from the north: Lamphun founded c. 575
VI						
VII			Second Indian Period (Central and East Java) vii–viii cent.			Early Period (Dvāravatī, in the south) vi–x cent.
VIII	Middle Period (Polonnāruva) viii–xv cent.	Shan-Thai incursions viii–ix cent. Middle Period (Pagān) viii cent.–1287	Śailendra Period (Central Java: Borobuḍur) viii cent.–c. 860	Early Period viii–ix cent.		
IX			Javanese Resurgence (Central Java: Prambanam) c. 860–915		Middle Khmer Period (Bakong, early Banteay Srei, Aṅkor) 802–1250	
X			Second Javanese Period (East Java) c. 950–1478	Middle Period (Mi-so'n A-1 and Binh-dinh) x–xiii cent.		
XI						Early Thai Period (Sawankhalok, Sukhothai, Pitsanulok) xi–xiv cent.
XII						
XIII		Burmese Empire of the Shan-Thai 1287–1760			Late Khmer Period (late Banteay Srei) c. 1250–1450	
XIV				Late Period xiv–xvii cent.		Middle Thai Period (Ayuthiā) c. 1350–1757
XV	Late Period (Kandy) xv–xix cent.					
XVI						
XVII						
XVIII						Late Thai Period (Bangkok) 1757 to present
XIX						
XX						

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

The following notes describe the plates in vol. 2; notes on the plates and figures in vol. 1 will be found at pp. xv ff. of this volume. The marginal numbers refer to the pages of vol. 1 where the subject-matter of the respective plates is discussed. The following list is arranged, in the main, by historical periods, and under each of the headings there will be found a summary list of all pertinent illustrations. The following books are cited:

BROWN, PERCY. *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu*). Bombay, 1942.
COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. New York, 1927.
CORAL RÉMUSAT, GILBERTE DE. *L'Art khmer, les grandes étapes de son évolution*. Paris, 2nd edn., 1951.
ROWLAND, BENJAMIN. *The Art and Architecture of India*. (The Pelican History of Art.) Harmondsworth, 1953.
STERN, PHILIPPE. *L'Art du Champa* (*ancient Annam*) *et son évolution*. (Annales du Musée Guimet.) Paris, 1927.
ZIMMER, HEINRICH. *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. New York and London, 1946.
———. *Philosophies of India*. New York and London, 1951.

Abbreviations: D: diameter H: height L: length P: photograph W: width

Indus Valley Civilization, c. 3000–1500 B.C.

See also Text Plates A5, A6, A7, A8.

29 1*a*. Statuette: man wearing an ornamented robe, perhaps the portrait of a priest. Mohenjo-daro. Steatite, H. 7 in. *National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

26,56 1*b*. Copy of a damaged seal, showing a figure (probably a deity), in yoga posture on a throne, worshiped by human beings and serpents. Reverse: undeciphered script. Mohenjo-daro. Blue faïence, slightly enlarged. *National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

3,18 2. Seals. Faïence. *National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

27 *a*. Three-faced deity in yoga posture, among animals (Animal Master, *paśupati*, motif). Figures before throne suggest the Buddhist Deer Park (cf. Plate 177). Above: undeciphered script. Mohenjo-daro. 1.4 in. × 1.4 in.

19 *b*. Elephant before a manger, with undeciphered script. Mohenjo-daro. 1.25 in. × 1.25 in.

c. Elephant, with undeciphered script. Harappā. 1.15 in. × 1.15 in.

d. Humped bull, with undeciphered script. Mohenjo-daro. 1.4 in. × 1.4 in.

25 *e*. Sacred tree (*pippala; Ficus religiosa*) with animal heads (unicorn?) attached to the trunk. In lower corners: undeciphered script. Mohenjo-daro. 1.3 in. × 1.3 in.

25 *f*. Bull (unicorn?) before an incense burner. Above: undeciphered script. Harappā. 2.3 in. × 2.3 in.

31 *g*. Humped bull, with undeciphered script. Mohenjo-daro. Photo enlarged; actually 1.45 in. × 1.45 in.

3. Figurines. *National Museum, New Delhi.*

34 *a*. Male torso. Harappā. Red sandstone, H. 3.75 in.
P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

b. Ram. Mohenjo-daro. Porous white paste: deep holes indicate eyes; no sign of glaze; perhaps unfinished. L. 2.09 in.
P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

35,116 *c*. Statuette of a dancer. Mohenjo-daro. Copper, H. 4.25 in.
P: *Courtesy of the Bush Collection, Columbia University, New York.*

d. Glazed ceramic monkey. Mohenjo-daro. H. about 2 in.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

e. Torso of a dancer. From the central aisle of 98
the Great Granary, Harappā. Gray stone, H. 3.9 in.
P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

Vedic and Pre-Maurya Periods, c. 1000–322 B.C.

See Text Plates B1 and B3*a* and *c*.

Maurya Period, 322–185 B.C.

See also Text Plates A3 and B7.

4. Sārnāth lion capital, originally surmounted by 5,231,256
a Wheel of the Law (*dharma-cakra*). From a column erected by King Aśoka to commemorate the Buddha's preaching in Sārnāth of the First Sermon. 242–232 B.C. Polished Chunār sandstone, 7 ft. × 2 ft. 10 in. *Sārnāth Museum.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

Śuṅga and Early Āndhra Periods, 185 B.C.*–mid I century* A.D.

See also Text Plates B3*b*, B5, B6*b*.

5. Chowry bearer from Dīdargañj (Patna). First 163
half I century A.D. Polished Chunār sandstone, H. 5 ft. 3 in. *Patna Museum.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

*

Sāñcī, Stūpa No. 1 (The Great Stūpa) [*Pl. 6–24*]: 5,6

6. View from the northwest. Maurya, Śuṅga, 35,211,297n
and early Āndhra periods; III to I century B.C. (gates, early I century A.D.).
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

7. North gate. Early I century A.D. 27,74,160, 162,235, 236,239
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

8. North gate, pillars, from the northeast. Early 239,240, 241,336n
I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

9. North gate, west pillar, front, two lower 239
panels. Above: The Four Drives (summarized as one) of Prince Siddhārtha. Below: The Buddha Preaches to the Nobles of Kapilavastu. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

10. North gate, west pillar, inside, top panel: 233n,239,240
The Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

11*a*. North gate, west pillar, inside, second 239,240, 241
panel: The Offering by the Monkey at Vaiśālī. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

239,240,241 11*b*. North gate, west pillar, inside, third panel: The Return of the Buddha to Kapilavastu. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

74,159, 162,239, 241 12. North gate, architraves, rear. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

239,330 13. North gate, west pillar, rear, detail: elephant caryatids and bracket figure. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

160,235, 241 14. East gate, from the northeast. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

76 15. East gate, detail: bracket figure, yakṣī or vṛkṣakā (dryad). Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16. East gate, pillars, from the southeast. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

25,233, 241 17. East gate, south pillar, front, detail, second panel from top: The Bo Tree. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

233n,330 18. East gate, architraves, front. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

242 19. West gate, bottom architrave, capitals and pillars, from the southwest. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

239n,242, 243 20. West gate, architraves, rear view. Early I century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

235,238n, 242 21. West gate, front view. Early I century A.D.
P: *Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, "The Monuments of Sāñchī" (Calcutta and London, 1940), courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

22. South gate. Torso of the eastern bracket figure, yakṣī or vṛkṣakā (dryad), rear and front views. Early I century A.D. H. 2 ft. 4 in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Museum, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

238,243n 23. South gate, architraves, rear view. Early I century A.D.
P: *Marshall and Foucher, op. cit.*

235,236, 238,242n 24. South gate, from the southwest. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

*

6,244 Sāñcī, Stūpa No. 3:

25. From the southwest. Probably early I century B.C.; gate, first half I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

*

Sāñcī, Stūpa No. 2 [*Pl. 26–30*]: 6,244

26. View from the east. (Dome incorrectly restored.) II century B.C.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

27. Ground balustrade, angle of the south entrance. View from inside, showing pillars no. 48 (extreme left), 49 (angle pillar), 50, and 51 (note the cornice curving to circumscribe the stūpa). The angle pillar exhibits on its northern face (reader's right) a double creeper growing from the navel of a yakṣa sitting between two cranes at the bottom. Above the top circle are two more cranes, facing; between the top and second, two lions, back to back; and between the second and third, two cranes again. The eastern face of this pillar (reader's left) shows the goddess Lotus (Padmā, Lakṣmī), standing on a lotus, among lotuses, and with two elephants pouring water upon her. Below are a yakṣa couple, the male holding a lotus; two rampant lions; two rampant gazelles; and, at the bottom (eroded and hardly visible) a turtle, head upward. The medallion on pillar no. 50 shows an elephant, head turned backward, among lotuses; in the half medallion at the top of no. 51 are two rampant lions, back to back. Balustrade sculpture *c.* 110 B.C. Eighty-eight pillars, numbered clockwise from the first entrance pillar of the north gate.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

28. Balustrade medallions: *a.* from pillar no. 52 (third pillar westward of the south gate); *b.* from pillar no. 10 (fifth eastward of the north gate); *c.* from pillar no. 32 (fifth southward of the east gate); and *d.* from pillar no. 35 (eighth southward of the east gate). *c.* 110 B.C.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

29. Medallion from pillar no. 15 (tenth eastward of the north gate). *c.* 110 B.C.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

30. North entrance, west pillar (no. 88), panel on the inner (south) face. The lion-killer motif, as well as the Phrygian cap, embroidered sleeveless tunic, kilt, and big boots, suggest an influence from Persepolis. *c.* 110 B.C.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

*

Bhārhut Stūpa [*Pl. 31–32; 33b–36*]: 6

31. Balustrade reliefs. *c.* first half I century B.C. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.* 329
P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

a. Pillar medallion: Jātaka of The Antelope in the Wilderness. D. about 1 ft. 7 in. 331

b. Pillar medallion: Jātaka of The Monkey King. D. about 1 ft. 7 in. 242n,243n

c. Fragment of the rail-coping. Two jātaka scenes: (left) Sujāta and the Ox; (right) The Cat and the Cock. H. about 1 ft. 5 in. 330,333

333 *d.* Pillar medallion: The Dream of Queen Māyā. D. about 1 ft. 7 in.

330,334 *e.* Pillar medallion: The Gift of Anāthapiṇḍāda. D. about 1 ft. 7 in.

193 32. Panels from the so-called Ajātaśatru Pillar (west gate, corner pillar). *c.* first half I century B.C. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

193,233, 249n,325 *a.* Above: The turban-relic of the Buddha is enshrined in the temple of the gods (inscription: *Sudhamma deva-sabhā*), in the heaven of Indra, beside the palace of the gods (inscription: *Vijayanto pasāde*). Heavenly dancers (*apsarases*) perform in the
60,233, 336 foreground. Below: Worship of the Buddha, who is symbolized by his throne, and by footprints marked with the symbol of the wheel.

61,233, 325,337, 329/333, 240n,335 *b.* Above: The Buddha Viśvabhū's Sāl Tree. Below: The Return of the Buddha Śākyamuni from the Trayastriṁśat Heaven.

*

Batanmārā Stūpa:

44 33*a*. Pillar relief: Yakṣī supported by a vāhana in human form. *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

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6,70 Bhārhut Stūpa, *continued* [*Pl. 33b–36*]:

71 33*b*. Pillar relief: Cūlakokā Devatā, standing on an elephant and executing the latāveṣṭitaka ("creeping vine") type of tree embrace. *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

71 33*c*. Pillar relief: The Yakṣī Sudarśanā, standing on a makara. *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

44 34*a*. Pillar relief: The Yakṣa Kubera ("Kupiro Yakkho"), standing on his vāhana, a yakṣa. *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

72 34*b*. Pillar relief: The Yakṣī Candrā, standing on her vāhana, a fish-tailed horse, and executing the latāveṣṭitaka ("creeping vine") type of tree embrace. *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

44,66 35*a*. Pillar relief: The Nāga Cakravāka, above a pond full of fish and turtles. *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

35*b*. Pillar relief: The Yakṣa Supavasu, standing 43
on an elephant. *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

36. Panels of the so-called Prasenajit Pillar (from the south gate). *c.* first half I century B.C. H. about 7 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

a. Outer face. Top panel: worship of the Bo Tree 71,325, 336
and Throne. Center panel: gods and men (two rows) in worship. Bottom panel: celestial dancers and musicians; below: yakṣa-atlantides.

b. Side face. Top panel: a stūpa with parasols 70
and heavenly as well as earthly worshipers. Center panel: donor couple, practicing pūjā. Bottom panel: donor couple, practicing pūjā; below them: yakṣa-atlantides.

c. Inner face. Top panel: Shrine of the Wheel of 326
the Law, circumambulated (clockwise) by the procession of King Prasenajit. Center panel: Erāpata worships the Buddha. Bottom panel: elephants worshiping the Bo Tree; below: yakṣa-atlantides.

*

Stūpa of Jaggayyapeṭa:

37. Fragment of the paneling. The Universal 349
King (*cakravartin*) with the Umbrella of Dominion and his "Seven Jewels": the Sacred Wheel (*cakra*), Jewel of an Elephant (*hastiratna*), Jewel of a Horse (*aśvaratna*), Wishing Gem (*cintāmaṇi*), Jewel of a Wife (*strīratna*), Minister of Finance (*gṛhapati*), and General-in-Chief (*pariṇayaka*). *c.* I century B.C. Marble, H. 4 ft. 3 in. *Government Museum, Madras.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

*

Amarāvatī [*See also Pl. 86–98*]:

38. Fragments in flat relief. Men and animals, 349
from an early railing, probably last half I century A.D.; stūpa with umbrellas, from the base of a pillar, *c.* II century A.D. *Government Museum, Madras.*

P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

Early Rock-cut Sanctuaries, Late Śuṅga to Kuṣāna and Later Āndhra Periods

a) Western Series (Buddhist)

See also Ajaṇṭā, Plates 162, 164, 165.

Bhājā [*Pl. 39–43*]: 6

39. Façade of the caitya hall, showing the mono- 246,249, 252
lithic stūpa within. *c.* 50 B.C.

P: *India Office, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

223,225, 244,357 40. Vihāra veranda relief, at a corner to the left of an entrance: Demons of the night subdued by the rising sun. (The composition includes the angle of the wall. For a full view of the chariot of the sun-god, Sūrya, see Plate 41.) I century B.C.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

223,224, 244,357 41. Vihāra veranda reliefs. Left (detail of Plate 40): Sūrya, the sun-god, in his four-horse chariot, with attendants, subduing the demons of the night. Right: Indra, the god of rain and storm, on his elephant Airāvata, uprooting trees while crossing the sky over the court and gardens of an earthly king. I century B.C.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

223,225, 244,357 42. Vihāra veranda relief (detail of Plate 41, right): Indra, the god of rain and storm, over the court of an earthly king. I century B.C.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

244,357 43. Veranda capital, showing sphinxlike figures. I century B.C.
P: *Walter Spink.*

*

6,250 Nadsūr:

44a. Interior of the vihāra hall. In pediment of the door to the right, Lakṣmī and elephants; over the center door, a five-headed nāga. *c.* 50 B.C.–50 A.D.
P: *Reproduced by courtesy of Sir John Marshall and the Cambridge University Press from "The Cambridge History of India."*

*

6,246 Mānmoda:

44b. Façade of the caitya hall. Two nāgas and two stūpas appear above the finial. The figures on the pediment are the goddess Lotus (Padmā, Lakṣmī), two elephants, and four worshipers, all standing in niches which each consist of seven petals of an expanded lotus. First quarter of II century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

*

6,248 Nāsik [*Pl. 45a, b*]:

45a. Caves XVIII (right) and XX (left). Caitya cave XVIII, early I century A.D. Cave XX (vihāra and veranda), first half II century A.D. and later.
P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

45b. Cave X (Nahapāna Vihāra). Entrance, showing pillared veranda. On the veranda is a foundation inscription dated in the year 42 of the Śaka era = 120 A.D.
P: *India Office, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

b) Eastern Series (Jaina)

Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri (Orissā) [*Pl. 46–58*]: 6,233

46. Ananta Gumphā. Veranda. 25 B.C.–25 A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

47. Gaṇeśa Gumphā. Veranda. Early I century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

48. Ananta Gumphā. Bracket figure in a corner of the veranda. 25 B.C.–25 A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

49. Gaṇeśa Gumphā. Pillar brackets, inside veranda. Early I century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

50. Gaṇeśa Gumphā. Detail of the veranda frieze: left portion of the left frieze. Early I century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

51. Gaṇeśa Gumphā. Detail of the veranda frieze: right portion of the right frieze. Early I century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

52. Rānī Gumphā. View from the south. I century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

53. Rānī Gumphā. Lower gallery, right; door-guardian and relief. I century A.D. 357
P: *Walter Spink.*

54. Rānī Gumphā. Lower gallery, left: door-guardian and relief. I century A.D. 357
P: *Walter Spink.*

55. Rānī Gumphā. Lower gallery, east wing, frieze detail: dancer and musicians. I century A.D. 357
P: *Walter Spink.*

56. Rānī Gumphā. Upper gallery, main (north) wing, looking west. I century A.D. 357
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

57. Rānī Gumphā. Upper gallery, frieze in the main wing, detail from the middle portion. I century A.D. 357
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

58a. Rānī Gumphā. Upper gallery, frieze in the main wing, detail from the left end. I century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

58b. Choṭā Hāthī Gumphā. Veranda frieze. I century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

Kuṣāna Period, including the rule of the successor in Northwest India and Afghanistan, c. mid I century A.D. *to VII century* A.D.

See also Text Plates B2c, B6a, B10a, c, and B13. 7

Mathurā [*Pl. 59–61; 71–77*]:

59. Statue of Vima Kadphises, dated in the sixth year of Kaniṣka's reign, 134 or 150 A.D. Red sand- 7,338

stone, H. 6 ft. 10 in. *Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

7,338 60. Statue of a Kuṣāna king (or perhaps the sun-god, Sūrya) seated on a lion throne with a fire altar engraved on the front of the pedestal. II century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 1 ft. 6 in. *Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

7,338 61. Statue of Kaniṣka. Kuṣāna period, II century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 5 ft. 4 in. *Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.*
P: *Chiranji Lal and Co., Mathurā, courtesy of the Museum.*

*

7 Gandhāra School [*Pl. 62–70*]:

62,338 62*a*. The Buddha Teaching. No lotus pedestal. Right shoulder bare. Taxila, II or III century A.D. Schist, H. 2 ft. 1½ in. *Collection of Kaikoo M. and Adi M. Heeramaneck, Bombay.*
P: *Adolph Studly, courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

62,169,338, 62*b*. Seated Buddha on the Lion Throne, from
342 Takht-i-Bāhi. II or III century A.D. H. 1 ft. 8½ in. *Formerly in the (now destroyed) Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*
P: *The Museum, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

29 63. Standing Bodhisattva. II or III century A.D. Schist, H. 3 ft. 1 in. *British Museum.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

175 64*a*. Seated Buddha, with naturalistic lotus pedestal. Inscription: "From Yakubai." II or III century A.D. *Peshawar Museum.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

135 64*b*. Pāñcika and Hāritī, patron deities of wealth and fertility. From Sāhri-Bahlol. II or III century A.D. *Central Museum, Lahore.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

64*c*. Panel: Praṇidhi scene. II or III century A.D. Schist, H. 1 ft. 10½ in.; W. 3 ft. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Adolph Studly.*

347,350 65. The Fasting Buddha. II or III century A.D. H. 2 ft. 11½ in. *Central Museum, Lahore.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

343 66. Taxila. Buddha images in stucco at the left of the entrance to the Jauliañ Monastery. In the center, a Buddha in the meditation posture (*dhyāna-mudrā*); at his right and left, two standing Buddhas (H. about 2 ft., including halo); to the rear, at the Buddha's left, an attendant Vajrapāṇi, bearing a thunderbolt in his left hand, and at his right (not visible here), a chowry bearer. Traces of red and black paint and of gold leaf still are visible on the central image. Late Gandhāra style, IV–V century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

67. Standing Buddha. Gandhāra, II or III century 346
A.D. Slate. H. about 33 in. *Present location unknown.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

68. Head of a Devatā, from Haḍḍa, Afghanistan. III–V century A.D. Stucco, H. 5½ in. (Photograph considerably enlarged.) *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

69. Buddha head, from Haḍḍa, Afghanistan. III–V century A.D. Stucco, H. 10¾ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

70. Animals and divine beings. Fragment, probably from a halo of the Buddha meditating in the forest. Gandhāra, II or III century A.D. Schist, W. 17 in., H. 14½ in. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

*

Mathurā, *continued* [*Pl. 71–77*]: 7

71. "Bodhisattva" (so designated in the inscrip- 62,169
tion), presumably Śākyamuni, the Buddha, seated on 338
the lion throne beneath the Bo Tree. Right hand in the fear-dispelling posture (*abhaya-mudrā*), left on the knee. Two attendants with chowries; gandharvas above, tossing flowers. Inscription in Brāhmī characters, not dated. From the Katrā mound, Mathurā. Mid II century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 2 ft. 3½ in. *Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

72. Head of a Tīrthaṅkara (profile). *c.* II century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 9½ in. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

73. Same, front view.

74–75. Pillar figures. II century A.D. *National Museum, New Delhi.*

a. Yakṣī or vṛkṣakā (dryad). *c.* II century A.D. 115,337
Mottled red sandstone, H. 2 ft. 2 in.
P: *Department of Archaeology, Government of India, courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

b. Pillar in the round, front view: a female 115,206,
figure, probably representing Abundance, standing 337
on lotus flowers springing from a globular jar. Mottled red sandstone, 3 ft. 10½ in. × 10 in. × 10 in. *c.* II century A.D.
P: *Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

c. Same, rear view. Sprays of lotus cover the 115,206,
whole back; two peacocks, facing each other, perch 337
among the blossoms.

d. Yakṣī with a parrot on her left arm and 115,337
carrying its cage. On a railing pillar from Bhūteśar. II century A.D. Mottled red sandstone, H. 4 ft. 7 in.
P: *Department of Archaeology, Government of India, courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

221,337 76a. Kṛṣṇa Govardhana. III century A.D. Mottled red sandstone, H. 1 ft. 8½ in. *Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

337 76b. Yakṣī or vṛkṣakā (dryad). Fragment of a double relief. *c.* II century A.D. Red mottled sandstone, H. 13¾ in.; W. 12½ in. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*
P: *Chiranji Lal & Co., Mathurā, Courtesy of the Museum.*

77. Nāgarāja. II century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 3 ft. 9¾ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Later Āndhra Period, late I to III century A.D.

Kārlī, Rock-cut Sanctuary [*Pl. 78–83*]:

251 78. Caitya hall interior: stūpa with original wooden umbrella. First quarter II century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

79. Caitya façade and court. First quarter II century A.D., with additions of the Gupta period.
247,250
P: *Johnston and Hoffman, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

80. Caitya façade. Panel between the two entrances. First quarter II century A.D., with additions of the Gupta period.
250
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

81. Caitya façade, detail: donor couple to the right of the left entrance. The darkness at the left is that of the interior of the caitya hall: the capitals can be dimly seen. First quarter II century A.D.
72,250
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

82. Caitya façade, detail: donor couple to the left of the left entrance. First quarter II century A.D.
250,251
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

83. Caitya façade, detail: donor couple to the right of the right entrance (see Plate 79, rear; panel next to the elephants). First quarter II century A.D.
250
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

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Kaṇheri, Rock-cut Sanctuary [*Pl. 84–85*]:

84. Caitya cave façade and court: figures of donors, II century A.D.; colossal Buddha, Gupta period.
P: *Walter Spink.*

72,250 85. Caitya façade, detail: figures of two donor couples. II century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

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Amarāvatī School and Stūpa [*Pl. 86–98*]:

86a. Fragment of a panel: The Universal King (*cakravartin*). II century A.D. Marble, H. 3 ft. 11 in., W. 3 ft. 9 in. (Compare Plate 37.) *British Museum.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

86b. Amarāvatī Stūpa. Railing medallion: The Buddha subdues the mad elephant. II century A.D. Marble, D. 2 ft. 11 in. *Government Museum, Madras.* 361
P: *India Office, courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

87. Adoration of the Buddha. The Buddha's presence is symbolized by the footprints, throne, umbrella, and tree. *c.* I century A.D. Marble, H. 4 ft. 1¾ in.; W. 2 ft. 10½ in. *British Museum.* 60
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

88. The assault of Māra. From Ghantaśala, School of Amarāvatī. *c.* II century A.D. Gray marble, H. 5 ft. 9⅜ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

89. The Great Departure. *c.* II century A.D. White marble, H. 2 ft. 11⅜ in.; W. 2 ft. 11 in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

90. Four episodes from the legend of the Nativity of the Buddha. Top, right: the Dream of Queen Māyā; top left: its interpretation; bottom right: the Nativity; bottom left: the Presentation before the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana. *c.* II century A.D. Marble, H. 5 ft. 2$\frac{3}{10}$ in.; W. 3 ft 2½ in. *British Museum.* 77
P: *Museum, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

91. The Great Departure. *c.* 100 A.D. Marble, H. 6 ft. 2 in.; W. 3 ft. 11 in. *Government Museum, Madras.* 7,8
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

92a. Pillar with Buddhas on lotuses. II or III century A.D. Marble, H. 4 ft. 9½ in. *Government Museum, Madras.* 173
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

92b. Fragment of a stele representing four (here three) great events of the Buddha's life. Bottom panel: the Great Renunciation; second panel: the Great Enlightenment (represented by the Temptation of the Buddha by the Daughters of Māra); third panel: the First Sermon in the Deer Park of Benares; top panel (found and restored since this photograph was made): the Parinirvāṇa, symbolized by a stūpa. II or III century A.D. Marble, H. 2 ft. 11 in.; complete stele, 4 ft. 1½ in. *Government Museum, Madras.* 7,81,350
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

93. Standing Buddha. II or III century A.D. Marble, H. 5 ft. 1 in. *Government Museum, Madras.* 169
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

94. Medallion. Above: The Buddha crosses the river Nairañjanā. He is represented by footprints on the water. The birds are circling him in the sunwise direction. A hand is extended by the spirit of the tree to aid him Nāgas welcome him on the right. On the left, river nymphs approach with full vases. Below: Women bring offerings to the Buddha. Note the roof forms of the surrounding houses. II century 76,350

A.D. Marble. H. (of complete pillar) 8 ft. 10½ in. *British Museum.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

61,350 95a. Railing medallion from the stūpa: throne supporting small stūpa, worshiped by nāgas. II century A.D. Marble, D. 2 ft. 9 in. *Government Museum, Madras.*
P: *India Office, courtesy of Professor L. Bachhofer.*

61,81 95b. Railing medallion from the stūpa: Adoration of the Buddha's Alms Bowl. II century A.D. Marble, D. 2 ft. 10⅝ in. *Government Museum, Madras.*
P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

61,76 95c. Fragment of a panel: Adoration of the Buddha's Feet. II century A.D. Marble, H. 1 ft. 4 in.; L. 2 ft. 7½ in. *Government Museum, Madras.*
P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

255 96. Casing slab from the stūpa, representing the stūpa itself. The frieze above shows, in the center, the Assault of Māra and Temptation by the Daughters of Māra, with the Buddha visibly represented; to right and left, however, and below, at the foot of the stūpa, he is symbolized by empty thrones. The edges of the frame represent elaborate stambhas, bearing Wheels of the Law (*dharmacakras*) and with empty thrones (the invisible Buddha) at their base. Late II century A.D. Marble, H. 6 ft. 2 in. *Government Museum, Madras.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

61,350 97. Votive relief: the adoration of a stūpa by nāgas. II or III century A.D. Marble, H. 4 ft. 7½ in. *Government Museum, Madras.*
P: *India Office, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

98. Votive slab showing a stūpa. II century A.D. Marble. H. 4 ft. 1¾ in., W. 2 ft. 10½ in. *British Museum.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Gupta Period, c. 320–650 A.D.

See also Ajaṇṭā, Plates 163–181, and Text Plates A16*b* and B16.

244n,270, 352 99. The Mahābodhi Temple. Bodhgayā. Largely VII-VIII century A.D., on earlier foundations and with many later additions; restored XIX century.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

153 100. Standing Buddha, from the Jamālpur mound, Mathurā. V century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 7 ft. 2 in. *Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

153 101. Standing Buddha, from the Jamālpur mound, Mathurā. V century A.D. Mottled red sandstone, H. 7 ft. 1.4 in. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

102. The Preaching of the First Sermon in the Deer Park of Benares. Below: the Wheel of the Law; the Five Companions who deserted the Future Buddha at Gayā but then became his first disciples; and (at the left) a woman and child (probably representing the donors). Sārnāth. V century A.D. Chunār sandstone, H. 5 ft. 3 in. *Sārnāth Museum.* 8,15,142, 153
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

103. Standing Buddha. Sultāngañj, Bihār. VIII century A.D. Copper over an earthy core composed of a mixture of sand, clay, charcoal, and rice husks, held by iron bands ¾ in. thick. The copper appears to have been cast over this core by the cire-perdue method. The whole weighs nearly a ton. H. 7 ft. 6 in. *Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum and Art Gallery Committee of the Corporation of Birmingham, England.*

104. Viṣṇu. Mathurā. V century A.D. Red sandstone, H. 3 ft. 4 in. *National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

105a. Mother reclining beside her child. (Perhaps the Nativity of a Savior.) Paṭhāri. VII century A.D. or later. Sandstone, about life size. *Archaeological Museum, Gwāliar.* 81
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

105b. Standing nāginī. Stucco figure in a niche on the base of an ancient temple, the Maṇiyār Maṭha, in Rājagṛha (near Patna), Bihār. V century A.D. 81
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

105c. The river-goddess Gaṅgā, standing on a makara. Relief from a door jamb from Besnagar. *c.* 500 A.D. (Cf. Plate 34c, from Bhārhut, *c.* 100 B.C., where the nymph on the makara vehicle is named Sudarśanāyakṣī. ["The name of Gaṅgā Devī seems to be of later usage"—Coomaraswamy, p. 242.]) Sandstone, H. 2 ft. 5½ in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Museum, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

106. Gupta head. Mathurā. IV–VI century A.D. Red sandstone. H. 9¼ in. *Collection of Alice H. Heeramaneck, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

107. Fragment of a skirted female figure. Provenance unknown. VI or VII century A.D., or later. Sandstone, painted red, H. 3 ft. 11 in. *National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

108a. Standing Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi. Sārnāth. *c.* VI century A.D. Stone, H. 4 ft. 6 in. *National Museum, New Delhi.* 184
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

108b. Cakrapuruṣa ("Angel of the Discus"). Bihār. VII century A.D. Greenish gray stone, H. 32 in. *Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

290n 109. Viṣṇu in his Varāha avatāra ("Boar Incarnation") rescues the goddess Earth from the Cosmic Sea. Udayagiri (Bhopāl). *c.* 400 A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

356 110. Deogaṛh. Daśāvatāra Temple. Panel of the north wall: Viṣṇu releases the elephant. *c.* 500 A.D. Main panel, 5 ft. × 3 ft. 3½ in.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

166 111. Deogaṛh. Daśāvatāra Temple. Panel of the south wall. Viṣṇu Anantaśayin. *c.* 500 A.D. Main panel, 4 ft. 11 in. × 3 ft. 10 in.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

270 112*a*. Sāñcī. Temple XVII. Early V century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

112*b*. Sāñcī. Ruins of Temple XVIII: view from the southwest. VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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Aihoḷe [*Pl. 113–123*]:

270 113. Hucchīmallīguḍi Temple. VI century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

114. Lāḍ Khān Temple. Detail: outside pillar figures. *c.* 450 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

115. Lāḍ Khān Temple. Detail: maithuna from a pillar at the entrance. *c.* 450 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

Cālukya Period, c. 550–750 A.D.

See also Ajaṇṭā, Plates 146–161, 182–186; Elūrā, Plates 187–203, 227–239; and Paṭṭadakal, Plates 299–308.

Aihoḷe, *continued* [*Pl. 116–123*]:

84,249, 270 116. Durgā Temple. VI century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

117. Durgā Temple. Detail: niche in the veranda interior, right wall: Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī ("Slayer of the Titan Buffalo"). VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

84 118. Durgā Temple, panel: gandharva and apsaras. VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

84 119. Durgā Temple, panel: gandharva and apsaras. VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

120. Durgā Temple. Maithuna. VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

121. Temple VII. Maithuna. VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

122. Ceiling slab from a small temple known as Haccappya's. Viṣṇu in nāgalike form, with four female figures. VI century A.D. 353
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

123. Shallow cavelike sanctuary beside "Haccappya's temple." Panel showing four female figures, one with an animal head, two as dancers. VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

*

Bādāmī [*Pl. 124–141*]:

124. Cave I. Façade, with Dancing Śiva. Late VI century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

125. Cave III. Viṣṇu Trivikrama. Cave dated 578 A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

126. Cave III. Corridor, showing Viṣṇu in nāgalike posture. Cave dated 578 A.D. 290
P: *Walter Spink.*

127. Cave III. Closeup of Viṣṇu on the serpent Ananta. Cave dated 578 A.D. 353
P: *Walter Spink.*

128. Cave III. Bracket figures: couple said to represent Śiva and Durgā. Cave dated 578 A.D. 86,290n
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

129. Cave III. Bracket figures: couple said to represent Kāma, the god of love, and his consort Rati. Cave dated 578 A.D. 86,290n
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

130. Cave III. Bracket figures. Cave dated 578 A.D. 85,290n
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

131. Cave III. Bracket figure. (Note, in contrast to the figures of Plates 128–130, the comparatively heavy style and poor realization of the lower legs and feet.) Cave dated 578 A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

132. Cave III. Pillar medallion from a veranda column (see Plate 127). Cave dated 578 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

133. Cave III. Medallion from a veranda column (cf. Plate 126). Cave dated 578 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

134. Cave III. Medallion from a veranda column. Cave dated 578 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

135. Cave I. Ceiling medallion. D. 2 ft. 6¼ in. Late VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

136. Cave I. Ceiling medallion. D. 4 ft. 7½ in. Late VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

118 137. Cave I. Skanda Kārttikeya, the young war-god, on his vāhana, the peacock. H. 2 ft. 11 in. Late VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

290 138. Cave II. Varāha avatār. Viṣṇu, as the Cosmic Boar, rescues the goddess Earth. Late VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

88n,146,185n 139. Cave I. Śiva Ardhanārī ("Half Woman"), his emaciated devotee Bhṛṅgī at his right and heavenly beings above. H. 7 ft. 7 in. Late VI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

140. Cave III. Dvārapāla, to the left of the entrance. Cave dated 578 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

10,278 141. Mālegitti Śivālaya or Suvatī Temple. View from the southeast. *c.* 625 A.D. The oldest *structural* shrine in the Dravidian style and "the only structural temple in the style of the Māmallapuram rathas now surviving; it is of pure early Pallava type, which may have first affected the Cāḷukya as a result of Pulakeśin II's conquest of Veṅgī in 611" (Coomaraswamy, p. 95, n.).
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

Ajaṇṭā: Excavations, I century B.C. *to VII century* A.D.*; flourished in Gupta and Cāḷukya Periods*

Note: The datings here given follow, in the main, Brown, pp. 191–192.

186 142–143. View from the western end of the crescent. Cave I at the extreme right.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

144–145. General view from before Cave I, at the eastern end of the crescent.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

146. Cave I, veranda. *c.* 600–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 147. Cave I, interior. Fresco to the right of the main shrine: The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. *c.* 600–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16,187 148. Cave I, back wall. Fresco to the left of the main shrine: The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi, surrounded by devoted beings. *c.* 600–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

149. Cave I, back wall. Detail: "The Black Princess." *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16,187
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

150. Cave I, back wall. Detail: "The Lovers." *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16,188
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

151. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16,187, 189
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

152. Cave I. Fresco to the left of the main shrine, left wall: gandharvas and apsarases. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16,186
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

153. Cave II, entry veranda, showing ceiling fresco. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

154–155. Cave II, chapel to the right. Sculptured figure of Hāritī, and a portion of the fresco. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

156. Cave II, inner shrine. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

157. Cave II, portico of the central shrine, right wall. Detail of the fresco: an epiphany of Buddhas. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

158. Cave II, ceiling of shrine. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

159. Cave II, ceiling fresco of first aisle. Detail: a gandharva. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

160. Cave II, within the inner shrine. The Buddha image, a chowry bearer, and part of the fresco. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 16
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

161. Cave IV, veranda. The figure standing in the side panel is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Above is Maitreya. *c.* 635 A.D.
P. *Eliot Elisofon.*

162. Cave IX, façade, from above. *c.* 50 B.C.–50 A.D. The standing Buddha at the right is a work of the Gupta period.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

163. Cave VII, veranda. *c.* 400–440 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

164. Cave XII. Stonework over door to right of main entrance. *c.* 50 B.C.–50 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

165. Cave X, interior of the caitya hall, showing the early pre-Kuṣāna style of stūpa. The plain columns slope a little inward, in imitation of the structure of a hut (cf. Plate 39). This cave is one of the oldest at Ajaṇṭā: *c.* I century B.C. Of the frescoes, some are pre-Kuṣāna; others belong to the Gupta period. 251
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

166. Cave XVI, front aisle. Ceiling detail: bracket figures (detail of Plate 167): gandharva and apsaras. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

167. Cave XVI, front aisle. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 168. Cave XVII, fresco to left of entry door, under veranda roof. Detail: heavenly beings, gandharvas, kinnaras, and apsarases. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 169. Cave XVII, entrance door to cave, showing seven Mānuṣa Buddhas (Buddhas in human form) and Maitreya. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 170. Cave XVII, veranda fresco, far left. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 171. Cave XVII. Fresco to right of entry door (veranda): face of an apsaras. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16,356 172. Cave XVII. Fresco in the foyer of the central shrine: group of men and horses. These figures are part of a scene said to represent the diplomatic mission of the Persian king Khosrau Parvez to the court of Pulakeśin II. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 173. Cave XVII. Fresco on left wall of cave, showing men and horses. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 174. Cave XVII, foyer of central shrine. Fresco left of entrance: mother and child before the Buddha. At the right, part of the doorway to the main shrine. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

16 175. Detail of Plate 174. Mother and child before the Buddha. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

176. Cave XVII, columns of the rear aisle, before the central shrine. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

177. Cave XVII, inner shrine. The Buddha Turning the Wheel of the Law in the Deer Park of Benares. *c.* 470–480 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

248 178. Cave XIX, exterior court and façade. *c.* 500–550 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

179. Cave XIX, façade detail: Maitreya. *c.* 500–550 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

252 180. Cave XIX, caitya interior, showing apse and ornate stūpa. *c.* 500–550 A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

181. Cave XIX. Exterior rock-cut niche. Nā- 26
garāja and his queen, with chowry bearer. *c.* 500–550 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

182. Cave XXVI, façade. *c.* 600–642 A.D. 249
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

183. Cave XXVI, interior of the caitya hall. 251
c. 600–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

184–185. Cave XXVI, interior. The Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. *c.* 600–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

186. Extreme western end of the series, showing the side wing of Cave XXVII and a broken shrine containing an image of the Buddha. *c.* 700 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Elūrā: Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Periods

Note: The datings here given follow Brown, pp. 189–190.

187. Cave II, interior. Entrance to the sanctuary. 292
The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi as door-guardian (*dvārapāla*) to the north. H. about 14 ft. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

188–189. Panorama from Cave I (extreme right) 291
to Cave VII (left).
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

190. Cave II. Unfinished corner of north side 292
gallery. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

191*a*. Cave II, north wall. Detail: head of an unfinished Buddha. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

191*b*. Cave II, north wall. Row of unfinished 292
Buddhas *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

192. Cave VII. The Future Buddha Maitreya as 292n
door-guardian (*dvārapāla*) to the right of the entrance. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

193*a*. Detail of Plate 192. Closeup of bracket figures on capitals. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

193*b*. Detail of Plate 192. Head of the Future Buddha Maitreya, as door-guardian (*dvārapāla*) to the south. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

194. Cave X (Viśvakarman), façade. *c.* 700–750 292
A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

195. Cave X (Viśvakarman), façade, detail. 292
Upper gallery: lintel over south (our right) niche. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

292,292n 196. Cave X (Viśvakarman), caitya hall, interior. This view, made without photographer's lights, shows the sanctuary as the pilgrim saw it. Note the beam from the window, falling on the stūpa and illuminating the Buddha figure. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

293n 197. Cave X (Viśvakarman), closeup of stūpa. (This view was made with photographer's light. Contrast Plate 196.) *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

293 198. Cave XII (Tīn Thāl), entrance court and façade. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

293 199. Cave XII (Tīn Thāl), third floor, west aisle, looking south. Terminal niche: the Buddha calling the earth to witness. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

200. Cave XII (Tīn Thāl), third floor, east wall, looking north. The seven Mānuṣa Buddhas in meditation. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

293 201. Cave XII (Tīn Thāl), third floor, east wall, looking south. The seven Mānuṣa Buddhas, beneath umbrellas, teaching. In the niche: the Buddha Śākyamuni teaching in the Deer Park at Benares. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

294 202. Cave XV (Das Avatāra). Upper hall with reposing Nandi. *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

200,294 203. Cave XV (Das Avatāra). Viṣṇu as the Man-Lion (*narasiṁha*) slays the tyrant-demon Hiraṇyakaśipu ("Golden Garment"). *c.* 700–750 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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10 Cave XVI, Kailāsanātha [*Pl.* 204–226]:

45,290 204. Rear view from southeast. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

205. Front view from the northwest. In the foreground, beyond the head of the elephant, is one of two great pylons (*dhvaja-stambhas*); the other is in the corresponding position on the opposite side of the central court. The tower above the main shrine can be seen at the rear. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

206–207. Central court from the south. On the left is the southern pylon (*dhvaja-stambha*); on the right, the legend of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in bas-relief. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

22,291 208. North corridor. Panels facing the elephant base. At the right: Śiva and Pārvatī supporting a liṅgam altar, Nandi below; center: Śiva and Pārvatī, a seated and a standing figure (unidentified) below; the last panel shows Rāvaṇa upholding a liṅgam altar to which he is sacrificing his heads: nine are already around the altar: Śiva will appear before he has severed the tenth and last. There are twelve such panels in this corridor, which is 120 ft. long: these three panels are at the western end. There is a comparable south corridor, 118 ft. long, also housing twelve panels. In the east corridor, which joins them and is 189 ft. long, are nineteen panels. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

209. Elephant caryatids, supporting the central monolithic mass. *c.* 750–850 A.D. 160,250, 291
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

210. Compound. Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī ("Slayer of the Titan Buffalo"). *c.* 750–850 A.D. 93
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

211. Compound. Rāvaṇa shakes the mountain. Śiva and Pārvatī are on Mount Kailāsa; the Titan Rāvaṇa is imprisoned beneath. He makes the mountain rock. Pārvatī grasps Śiva in fright, and her maid, in the background, flees for safety. *c.* 750–850 A.D. 222
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

212. The Abduction of Sītā. The Titan Rāvaṇa, high in the air, pursued by Jaṭāyu, the great bird-guardian of Sītā, strikes back. Sītā (her image is mutilated) is in the chariot. *c.* 750–850 A.D. 215,291
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

213. Maithuna. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

214. Summit of the northern pylon, and a corner of the Nandigṛha ("Dwelling of Nandi"). *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

215. Northern pylon, south face, detail. North wall of excavation, at some distance, is seen as background. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

216. The Nandigṛha ("Dwelling of Nandi"). *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

217. Upper story of the Nandigṛha, north side, panel near the entrance: Śiva killing a Titan. *c.* 750–850 A.D. Note the remnants of painted plaster—a late coat, dating from *c.* 1700 A.D. 213
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

218. Northwest corner of the central court of Kailāsanātha, showing the so-called Laṅkeśvara Cave, with an uncompleted story at the top. Life-size elephant at the right. Figure to the left of the stair is a door-guardian (*dvārapāla*). In the triple niche are images of the river-goddesses Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī (see Plate 219). *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

83,128 219. Yamunā, Goddess of the River Jumna. The image is situated in a small shrine off the court, north side, just behind the elephant (Plate 218). It is one of three in this sanctuary, the others being the goddesses Gaṅgā (the Ganges), who is standing on a makara, and Sarasvatī (the Saraswati), on a lotus. Yamunā (the Jumna) stands on a tortoise (the reptile's lifted neck—head broken off—is at her right foot), with creepers and water plants behind and two makaras on the capitals, spouting an arch of water. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

83,128 220. Detail of Plate 219. The river-goddess Yamunā, detail. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

221*a*. Yajñaśālā ("The Hall of Sacrifice"): a rather small cave (about 37 ft. × 15 ft.) on an upper level in the side of the southern cliff, overlooking Kailāsa. These figures along the west wall represent three aspects of Devī: center, on the lotus, the creating and preserving aspect; right, on the lion, the warrior aspect (Durgā); at the left, on two dead or dying men, is Kāla ("Time"), the lord of death, with the Goddess peering over his right shoulder and, at his left, a skeleton. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

221*b*. Yajñaśālā ("The Hall of Sacrifice"). Figures along the east wall. Devī with attendants: two chowry bearers and a dwarf. Along the south wall of this cave, which is 37 ft. long, are nine mutilated figures representing aspects of the Mothers. Portions of the westernmost and easternmost are visible, respectively, in Plates 221*a* and 221*b*. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

222. Laṅkeśvara Cave, upper gallery. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

223. Detail of Plate 222. Main panel: Śiva, King of Dancers. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

224*a* and *b*. Compound. Laṅkeśvara Cave. Erotic scenes (*maithunas*) in the balustrade. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

225. Compound. Laṅkeśvara Cave. One of the columns. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

226. Relief in a corner of the court. Śiva
11,15,215, Tripurāntaka ("Destroyer of the Three Towns").
224 *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

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295 227. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). Veranda façade, showing the river-goddess Gaṅgā, door-guardian of the north. *c.* 640–*post* 675 A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

228. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). Northwest corner, 295
showing the northernmost pillar figure and a portion of the river-goddess Gaṅgā, door-guardian of the north. Cave begun *c.* 640, completed after 675 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

229. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). Pillar figure. 295
Cave begun *c.* 640, completed after 675 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

230. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). South chapel, 295
southwest corner, showing a portion of the exterior bas-relief: the river-goddess Sarasvatī, door-guardian of the south (compare Plates 227 and 228); also, the southern bracket figure, two columns of the interior, and a portion of the panel of the Seven Mothers (see Plate 231). Cave begun *c.* 640, completed after 675 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

231. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). South chapel, 295
southeast corner. On the east wall: Śiva, King of Dancers. Along the south wall: a portion of a panel of the Seven Mothers and Gaṇeśa. Śiva, dancing, was originally eight-armed. The gods, riding on their vehicles, appear in the clouds above his left shoulder. Pārvatī and her attendants look on. At the left are the musicians. Cave begun *c.* 640, completed after 675 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

232. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). South chapel, east 295
wall, detail: Śiva Naṭarāja ("King of Dancers"). Lower right: Pārvatī with attendants; her father, King Himālaya, just above her. Upper right: the gods on their vehicles. Lower left: musicians. At Śiva's right elbow the elephant head of his son Gaṇeśa can be seen. Cave begun *c.* 640, completed after 675 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

233. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). South chapel, east 295
wall, detail: spectators of the dance. Cave begun *c.* 640, completed after 675 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

234. Cave XXI (Rāmeśvara). North chapel, east 92,295
wall. Mahiṣāsura-mardinī. Cave begun *c.* 640, completed after 675 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

235. Cave XXIX (Dhumar Leṇā). Façade, 296
showing steps and guardian lions. The lifted left paw of the lion at the right is resting on a small reposing elephant. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

236. Cave XXIX (Dhumar Leṇā). Guardian 295,296
figures surrounding the sanctuary. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

237. Cave XXIX (Dhumar Leṇā). Panel in the 296
southeast corner: the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. The hole in the foreground is for a votive fire. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

296 238. Cave XXIX (Dhumar Leṇā). View from southeast corner toward the entrance. The large relief is a depiction of Śiva's Dance in the Elephant Skin. On the base of the column at the right is another Dance of Śiva. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

296 239. Cave XXIX (Dhumar Leṇā). Rāvaṇa rocks Mount Kailāsa. H. about 13 ft. *c.* 580–642 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

297 240. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Façade, upper gallery. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

241. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Elephant in the court. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

132,242 242. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Main cave, upper gallery, veranda, left end. Indra, king of the gods, on his elephant, beneath a banyan wishing-tree (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*). *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

132 243. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Main cave, upper story, veranda, right end. Indrāṇī, queen of the gods, on her lion, beneath a mango wishing-tree (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*). *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

56 244. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Sanctuary on the west side of the court, ground floor, west wall, main shrine. The twenty-fourth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra on the lion throne. The door-guardians are Indra, king of the gods, and his queen, Indrāṇī. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

15,133, 297 245. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Sanctuary on the west side of the court, ground floor; north wall: The Jaina ascetic, Gommaṭa (son of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha), standing in the posture called "dismissing the body" (*kāyotsarga*). He has stood so long that the vines have entwined him (cf. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, pp. 211–214). *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

246. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Sanctuary on the west side of the court, ground floor, west wall, detail: Indrāṇī as door-guardian. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

56,133, 297 247. Cave XXXIII (Indra Sabhā). Sanctuary on the west side of the court, ground floor, south wall: the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha, guarded by the serpent king Dharaṇendra. *c.* 750–850 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Period, c. 750–975 A.D.

See also Elūrā, Plates 204–226, 240–247.

Elephanta [*Pl.* 248–265]: 23,295, 297

248. Śiva Cave Temple. View across cave. The main entrance—that seen in Plate 249—is toward the left. Visible at the right is the main shrine. VIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

249. Śiva Cave Temple. View from the center of the cave, facing the main entrance along the central aisle. To the left is one side of the cubical main shrine (see Plate 250): visible beyond is the bas-relief shown in Plate 264. The court seen in Plate 248 is now at the right, three aisles away. VIII century A.D. 297
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

250–251. Śiva Cave Temple. View from the center of the cave (camera position of Plate 249, but turned one quarter left), facing a side court at the opposite side of the cave from the side of Plate 248, and showing two sides of the cubical main shrine. Visible through the door at the right is the bas-relief shown in Plate 264. VIII century A.D. 23,87,297
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

253. Śiva Cave Temple. Back wall, central figure: Śiva Maheśvara ("The Great Lord"). VIII century A.D. 298
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

254. Śiva Cave Temple. Śiva Maheśvara, detail: the central head. VIII century A.D. 298
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

255. Śiva Cave Temple. Śiva Maheśvara, detail: the head at the viewer's right. VIII century A.D. 298
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

256. Śiva Cave Temple. Back wall: Śiva Maheśvara. Left panel: Śiva Ardhanārī ("Half Woman") among the gods, with Brahmā (on the lotus) at his right hand and Viṣṇu (on Garuḍa) at his left. VIII century A.D. 88,298
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

257. Śiva Cave Temple. Back wall: Śiva Maheśvara. Right panel: the Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. On Śiva's head the river-goddess Gaṅgā can be seen, with three heads, emerging from a bowl. (For the myth of the descent of the Ganges from Śiva's head, see p. 88.) VIII century A.D. 86,298
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

258. Detail of Plate 256. Śiva Ardhanārī. VIII century A.D. 34,88n,146, 185n,298
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

259. Detail of Plate 257. Pārvatī, the Bride of Śiva. VIII century A.D. 34,86,298
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

260. Śiva Cave Temple. Panel of Śiva Naṭarāja ("King of Dancers"). VIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

261. Detail of Plate 260. Śiva Naṭarāja. VIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

23,87 262. Śiva Cave Temple. Sanctuary of the liṅgam (the central shrine), showing two of the guardians and the silhouette of the liṅgam. (The light at the back is from the side court shown in Plates 250, extreme left, and 264. This court is directly across the cave from that seen in Plate 248.) VIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

263. Śiva Cave Temple. Main shrine, detail: door-guardian (*dvārapāla*). VIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

264*a*. Detail of Plate 264*b*.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

264*b*. Śiva Cave Temple. Closeup of the bas-relief seen in Plates 249 and 250. Śiva killing the titan-demon Andhaka ("The Blind," so called because, although he had two thousand eyes in his thousand heads and could see very well, he walked like a blind man; he was slain by Śiva when he attempted to carry off one of the trees of heaven). The view in the background opens into another part of the side court seen in Plates 250–251. VIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

265. Śiva Cave Temple. Interior. View from main entrance, leftward, toward the open court seen in the background of Plate 248. VIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Pallava Period, c. 600–850 A.D.

Māmallapuram [*Pl. 266–298*]:

10,249, 275,276, 277 266. Four of the granite rathas, viewed from the northeast. They are, from right to left: no. 1, Draupadī; no. 2, Arjuna; no. 3, Bhīma; and no. 4, Dharmarāja. No. 1 (Draupadī) is about 18 ft. high and no. 4 (Dharmarāja) about 32 ft. 9 in. All are carved from solid granite boulders. Near the Draupadī and Arjuna rathas reclines a granite Nandi. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

277 267. Ratha no. 4 (Dharmarāja) from the southeast corner. This rock-cut ratha is about 32 ft. 9 in. high. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

211,259, 276,277 268. The rathas from the northwest. Left to right: no. 1 (Draupadī), no. 2 (Arjuna), and part of no. 3 (Bhīma). Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

269. Ratha no. 2 (Arjuna): south façade. Kṛṣṇa, flanked by donor couples and dvārapālas. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

270–271. Ratha no. 5 (Sahadeva) and elephant from the southwest; lion to the rear. Prospect looking northeast. At the right is portion of ratha no. 3 (Bhīma). Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

272–273. The Descent of the Ganges. Relief carved in granite. L. 88½ ft., H. 30 ft. Early VII century A.D. *88,214, 366*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

274–275. The Descent of the Ganges. Details of the right panel: deities and animals hastening to the sacred river. Early VII century A.D. *88,90,214*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

276. The Descent of the Ganges. Central cleft. Arriving deities, and nāgas swimming in the stream. Left: the yogī Bhagīratha summoning Śiva. Lower right: the hypocritically ascetic cat attracting mice. Early VII century A.D. *88,89,214*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

277. The Descent of the Ganges. Central cleft, detail of lower portion: the hypocritically ascetic cat. Early VII century A.D. *88,214, 372*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

278*a*. The Descent of the Ganges. Detail of the left panel: two reclining deer. Early VII century A.D. *214*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

278*b*. The Monkey Family. In the background, the right end of the right panel of the Descent of the Ganges. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

279. Ādi Varāha Cave (Cave XXV). Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

280*a*. Ādi Varāha Cave. The donor, King Mahendravarman, and his queens. Early VII century A.D. *86*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

280*b*. Ādi Varāha Cave. Gaja-Lakṣmī, the goddess Lotus, with her elephants and attendants. Early VII century A.D. *207*
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

281. Ādi Varāha Cave. Characteristic Pallava pillars, the sanctuary, and two sculptured panels: Lakṣmī (not that of Plate 280*b*) and Viṣṇu Trivikrama. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

282. Ādi Varāha Cave. Viṣṇu as the Cosmic Boar (Ādi Varāha) rescues the goddess Earth from the Cosmic Waters. Early VII century A.D. *290n,357*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

87 283. Ādi Varāha Cave. Door-guardians of the sanctuary. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

91,99,100 284. Mahiṣa (or Yamapurī) Maṇḍapa. Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, "Slayer of the Titan Buffalo." Early VII century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

43,90 285. Detail of Plate 284. Durgā, the Goddess, on her Lion.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

12,15,168, 366 286. Mahiṣa (Yamapurī) Maṇḍapa. Viṣṇu Anantaśayin. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

287. Detail of Plate 286. The suppliant goddess.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

99,100 288. Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, "Slayer of the Titan Buffalo." Early VII century A.D. H. 4 ft. 11 in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

23 289. Trimūrti Cave. The Sanctuary of the Liṅgam, showing door-guardians and Śiva epiphany. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

217,260 290. Five Pāṇḍava Cave. Pillars and Kṛṣṇa Govardhana relief. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

217 291. Five Pāṇḍava Cave. Kṛṣṇa Govardhana relief, looking south. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

32,217 292. Five Pāṇḍava Cave. Kṛṣṇa Govardhana relief, looking north. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

217 293. Five Pāṇḍava Cave. Kṛṣṇa Govardhana relief, detail: the cowherds and their flock. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

277 294–295. The Shore Temple. A structural (not monolithic) shrine, built by the Pallava King Rājasiṁha. *c.* 700–720 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

296*a*. Lion westward of the Shore Temple. Note the panel inside the lion's chest. Early VII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

296*b*. Lion westward of the Shore Temple. Detail of the left side.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

297. Lion westward of the Shore' Temple. Closeup, from the right side.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

298. The Shore Temple. Main tower. *c.* 700–720 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Cāḷukya Period, c. 550–750 A.D.

See also Aihoḷe, Plates 113, 116–123; Bādāmī, Plates 124–141; Ajaṇṭā, Plates 146–161, 182–186; Elūrā, Plates 187–203, 227–239.

Paṭṭadakal [*Pl. 299–308*]:

299. Mallikārjuna Temple. Main tower (Pallava style). *c.* 740 A.D. 278
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

300. Mallikārjuna Temple. Interior, donor couple. *c.* 740 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

301. Mallikārjuna Temple. Interior, donor couple. *c.* 740 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

302. Mallikārjuna Temple. Śivaite guardian (*dvārapāla*) to the left of the sanctuary. *c.* 740 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

303. Pāpanātha Temple. View from the south. 278
c. 735 A.D. "Almost contemporary with Virūpākṣa, but in a different style . . . with a true Āryavārta [northern] śikhara (of early type with angle āmalakas on every third course), and with wall niches of corresponding form; this temple may fairly be described as a cross between the Dravidian and Āryavārta styles, a feature which is really the most obvious characteristic of the Cāḷukya style" (Coomaraswamy, p. 96).
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

304. Virūpākṣa Temple. A portion of the walled 278
maṇḍapa, showing the wall niches and pierced stone windows. This temple was dedicated to Śiva as Lokeśvara ("Lord of the World") by the queen of King Vikramāditya II. *c.* 740 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

305. Virūpākṣa Temple. Exterior niche of the walled maṇḍapa: Śiva on the dwarf Apasmāra ("Forgetfulness") (see p. 122). *c.* 740 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

306. Virūpākṣa Temple. Interior, pillar relief: scenes said to be from the legend of Śakuntalā. *c.* 740 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

307. Virūpākṣa Temple. Interior, pillar relief: scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. *c.* 740 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

308. Jambhuliṅga Temple, from the southeast. 278
A temple in the northern, or Āryavārta style, with a true śikhara. Probably VII–VIII century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

Late Medieval Period, North India,
c. 1000–1500 A.D.

274 Khajurāho [*Pl. 309–318*]:

273 309. Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva Temple, from the east. H. 116 ft. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

273 310. Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva Temple, from the south. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

311. Second Temple, Jagadambi; in distance a third, Citragupta; pavilion with lion in the foreground. Viewed from the Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva veranda. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

312. Duladeo Temple Wall. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

313. Duladeo Temple Wall. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

314. Viśvanātha Temple. Sculptural décor. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

315. Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva Temple. Sculptural décor. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

316. Citragupta Temple. Wall figure. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

317. Kaṇḍārya Mahādeva Temple. Sculptural wall figures. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

318. Citragupta Temple. Maithuna. *c.* 1000 A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

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319. Dancing Gaṇeśa. Rājputāna. X century A.D. Cream sandstone, H. 28½ in. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

320. Viṣṇu. Western India. XII or XIII century A.D. Marble, H. 2 ft. 7½ in., W. 1 ft. 7 in. *Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, Seattle Art Museum,* Seattle, Washington.
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

181,182 321. Siṁhanāda Avalokiteśvara in the rājalīlā posture. From Mahoba District, Bundelkhaṇḍ. *c.* 1100 A.D. Yellowish sandstone, H. 2 ft. 8 in. *State Museum, Lucknow.*
P: *Museum, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

322*a*. Yakṣī or vṛkṣakā (dryad) beneath a tree. North or Central India. XIII century A.D. Relief, sandstone, H. 1 ft. 6½ in. *Von der Heydt Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

124 322*b*. Yakṣī or vṛkṣakā (dryad) beneath a tree. North or Central India. XI or XII century A.D. Relief, dark stone, H. 11½ in. *Von der Heydt Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

323. Stone fragment, worshiped as Rukmiṇī. From Nokhas (Etah District). Probably X century A.D. Sandstone, H. 5 ft. 4½ in. 128,130, 269
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

324–325. Purī. The Great Temple of Jagannātha, "The Lord of the World." *c.* 1150 A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

326. Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, "Slayer of the Titan Buffalo." Panel from the Vaitāl Deul, Bhuvaneśvara. *c.* 1000 A.D. 93
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

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Bhuvaneśvara [*Pl. 327–347*]:

327. Paraśurāmeśvara Temple. *c.* 750 A.D. 270,272
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

328. View of temple area from the north, with Liṅgarāja Temple in the background. *c.* 750–1200 A.D. (Liṅgarāja, *c.* 1000 A.D.) 10,271
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

329. Śikhara of the Liṅgarāja Temple. *c.* 1000 A.D. H. about 143 ft. (In the photograph, a man can be seen at the top, changing the flag.) 271,272, 273
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

330. Mukteśvara Temple, southwest corner. *c.* 950 A.D. 271,272
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

331. Mukteśvara Temple. Main entrance, with free-standing gateway. *c.* 950 A.D. 271
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

332. Mukteśvara Temple. Main entrance, with guardian vṛkṣakās (dryads) and nāginī columns. The people leaving are in Bhuvaneśvara for the Car Festival. They make the round of the temples as a pilgrimage. (For the bared right shoulder, see p. 29.) 271
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

333. Mukteśvara Temple. Window on south side, showing stone fretwork and fine monkey border. *c.* 950 A.D. 271
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

334. Mukteśvara Temple. Śikhara, detail. *c.* 950 A.D. 271
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

335. Mukteśvara Temple. Śikhara, southwest corner. *c.* 950 A.D. 271,273
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

336. Rājrānī Temple. Lateral view. *c.* 1100 A.D. 271,273, 277
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

271,273, 277 337. Rājrānī Temple. View of the śikhara, from the rear. *c.* 1100 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

271,273, 277 338–339. Rājrānī Temple. Wall of the śikhara, from the southwest. *c.* 1100 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

271,273, 277 340. Rājrānī Temple. Southeast corner. *c.* 1100 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

271,273, 277 341. Rājrānī Temple. Southeast corner, detail. *c.* 1100 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

271,273, 277 342. Rājrānī Temple. South façade, left corner, upward view. *c.* 1100 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

271,273, 277 343. Rājrānī Temple. Śikhara, southeast corner, detail: dryad (*yakṣī* or *vṛkṣakā*). *c.* 1100 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

344. Woman and child. Attributed to Bhuvaneśvara; possibly Khajurāho. XI century A.D. Sandstone, H. 3 ft. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

345. Woman writing with a stylus. Attributed to Bhuvaneśvara; possibly Khajurāho. XI century A.D. Sandstone, H. 2 ft. 3 in. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

346. Woman with a mirror. Attributed to Bhuvaneśvara; possibly Khajurāho. XI century A.D. Sandstone, H. 3 ft. 1½ in. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

347. Lion bracket. Attributed to Bhuvaneśvara; possibly Khajurāho. XI century A.D. Sandstone. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

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258,358 Koṇārak, Sūrya Deul ("Sun Temple") [*Pl. 348–375; see also 453*]:

274 348–349. View from the northeast, showing, at the right, the maṇḍapa of the main temple (the great śikhara, which once towered behind this, has disappeared), and, at the left, the Naṭa Mandir ("Hall of the Sacred Dances"). 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

350. Naṭa Mandir, west front, viewed from the Sūrya Deul, maṇḍapa roof. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

351. Naṭa Mandir, south wall. Note the figure with the waterpot, as gargoyle. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

274 352–353. Naṭa Mandir, section of the south wall. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

10,45,274 354. Sūrya Deul ("Sun Temple"), maṇḍapa, south side. View from the southwest, showing rubble of the fallen śikhara in foreground. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

355. First south wheel, south horses, and west façade of the Naṭa Mandir ("Hall of the Sacred Dances"). 1238–1264 A.D. 10
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

356. East front (largely restored), viewed from Naṭa Mandir. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

357. One of the horses on the south side, with a portion of the maṇḍapa of the main temple in the background. 1238–1264 A.D. 274
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

358–359. South side of the base of the ruined śikhara, with the fragment of a fallen man-lion on the left. 1238–1264 A.D. 274
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

360. The fourth south wheel. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

361. Wheel details. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

362. Cymbal player; third floor porch, facing east. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

363. Drum beater; second floor porch, facing west. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

364. The corner eastward of the second south wheel. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

365. Details of the northwest corner: dryad (*vṛkṣakā*) and dancing elephant-headed horse-lion (*yāli*). 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

366. Niche, high on south wall: sun riders. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

367. Detail from the corner containing the sixth south wheel: girl carrying on her head a basket from which monkeys are taking food. H. about 10 in. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

368. Detail from the south wall: nāga couple. Photo larger than actual size; H. actually about 6 in. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

369. Eroded wall figure in the northwest corner: dryad. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

370. Detail of the torso of an over-lifesize female musician, fallen from one of the upper floors of the Sūrya Deul. 1238–1264 A.D. *Museum of the Temple, Koṇārak.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

371. First floor, facing north. Sūrya, the sun-god. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

372. Sūrya, the sun-god. The lotus stalks formerly were held in both hands. Overhead, the Kīrttimukha (see p. 315) is spouting pearls. At the god's feet is Aruṇa (the male Dawn), driving the solar chariot with its seven steeds. 1238–1264 A.D. Green chlorite, H. 6 ft. 3 in. *Museum of the Temple, Koṇārak.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

53 373. Aruṇa, the god of Dawn, driving the chariot of Sūrya, the sun-god. Detail of Plate 372. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

229n 374. The demon Rāhu, causer of eclipses (cf. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, pp. 175–176). 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

274 375. One of two elephants standing on the temple grounds to the north (eastern elephant). In its trunk it carries a human figure with a shield. 1238–1264 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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Nālandā [*Pl. 376–380; see also Text Pl. A16a*]:

376. The Teaching Buddha. *c.* VII–VIII century A.D. *Nālandā Museum.*
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

377. Stūpa façade. Figure in stucco: the Buddha, with his alms bowl. *c.* VII century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

184n 378. Colossal Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi. Found *in situ* at the northwestern corner of Vihāra no. 3. Pāla period, VIII or IX century A.D.
P: *Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

379. Standing Buddha. Right hand in the fear-dispelling posture (*abhaya-mudrā*), left hand dispensing boons (*varada-mudrā*). Period of King Devapāla, early IX century A.D. Bronze, H. 11 in. *Nālandā Museum.*
P: *Department of Archaeology, Government of India.*

175 380. Buddha in the Earth-touching Posture (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*), on the lion throne. Pāla period, VIII or IX century A.D. Black carboniferous shale. H. 2 ft. 2¼ in. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

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177 381. Buddha in the Earth-touching Posture (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). No lotus pedestal. Bihār. Pāla period, VIII or IX century A.D. Greenish black chlorite, H. 32 in. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

382. Tārā, śakti of Avalokiteśvara, born from his tears of compassion. Bihār. Pāla period, IX century A.D. Greenish gray chlorite, H. 34 in. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

383. The Eight Great Miracles. Bengal or Bihār, Pāla period, X–XI century A.D. Black slate, H. 1 ft. 5¾ in. As a Bodhisattva, Gautama is represented with crown and jewels, though otherwise in the monastic robes of a Buddha. He is seated beneath the Bo Tree in the posture of summoning the Earth to witness (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). The miracles symbolized are, lower left, the Nativity; middle left, Descent from the Tuṣita heaven; upper left, the Miracle at Śrāvastī (or the First Sermon?); upper right, the First Sermon (or the miracle at Śrāvastī?); middle right, the Taming of the Mad Elephant; lower right, the Offering by the Monkey at Vaiśālī; and top, the Parinirvāṇa. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

384. Torso of a Bodhisattva. Sāñcī. Early Medi- 16
eval period, probably Pāla, VII to IX century A.D. H. 2 ft. 10¼ in. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*
P: *Museum, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

385. Gaṅgā. Bengal. Sena period, XII century 125,127,
A.D. H. (full image, including makara) 5 ft. 7 in. 269
Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, East Pakistan.
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

386. Śiva and the Goddess. Detail of Plate 387. XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

387. Śiva and the Goddess. Orissā. XII century 45,178
A.D. Stone, H. 6 ft., W. 4 ft. *British Museum.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

388. Viṣṇu Trivikrama, with figures of the Ten 16
Avatārs in the aureole. Mysore. XII or XIII century A.D. Stone, H. 3 ft. 10½ in. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

389. Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. 55,133
Rājputāna. XI to XIII century A.D. White alabasterlike marble, H. 3 ft. 7½ in. *Von der Heydt Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

*

Mount Ābū (near Dilwāṛa) [*Pl. 390–393*]:

390. Vimala Shā's temple to Ṛṣabhanātha (Ādi- 266
nātha), the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Interior detail: ceiling of a side chapel. Consecrated 1031 A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

391. Vimala Shā's temple to Ṛṣabhanātha (Ādi- 266
nātha), the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Interior. White marble. Consecrated 1031 A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

267 392*a*. Tejahpāla's temple to Neminātha (Ariṣṭanemi), the twenty-second Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Ceiling detail. White marble. 1232 A.D.
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

392*b*. Tejahpāla's temple to Neminātha. Ceiling detail. White marble. 1232 A.D.
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

267 393. Tejahpāla's temple to Neminātha (Ariṣṭanemi), the twenty-second Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. A side chapel. White marble. 1232 A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

*

Chitor (Citaurgaṛh), Mewar [*Pl. 394a and b*]:

268 394*a*. Vaiṣṇava Tower of Fame (*Kīrttistambha*), built 1442–49 A.D. by Kumbha Rāṇa, to commemorate the completion of a temple consecrated in 1440. Yellowish marble.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

268 394*b*. Jaina Tower of Fame (*Kīrttistambha*), dedicated to the Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha. Detail: lower portion, covered with Jaina sculpture. Probably XII century.
P. *Martin Hurlimann.*

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15 395. Gwāliar. Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, carved in the Arwahi-Talam cliffs, XV century A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

Late Medieval Period, South India, *c. 1000–1750* A.D.

See also Text Plate B12*b*.

279 396–397. Tanjore. Rājarājeśvara Temple. Coḷa period, XI century A.D.
P: *Walter Spink.*

398–399. Śrī Perumbudur (near Madras). Temple of Śrī Bashyagar Swāmī. Pāṇḍya period, *c.* 1100 A.D. Holy water to bathe the image is being carried in a silver urn by a temple priest, escorted by the temple band.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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296 Tiruvannāmalai, Aruṇācaleśvara Temple [*Pl. 400–409*]:

361 400–401. Eastern gopura, from the northeast. In the foreground, there is a maṇḍapa. *c.* XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

402–403. General view from the west. The tall buildings are the gates (*gopuras*) and date from the Medieval period (Pāṇḍya and later; i.e., post *c.* 1100 A.D.). The principal shrines are small *vimānas*, scarcely visible, in the center. The tree in the photograph is a sacred banyan. 10,211, 281
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

404. Within the compound, facing north. In the background: the Ammani Amman gopura; before that, the Katte gopura (smaller tower). To the right is a Nandi, from the early XIV century, and to the left, the Pichai Ilayanar maṇḍapa. 10
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

405. Killi gopura (east side of the temple). The tower dates from the XII century A.D., but the stucco work from the late XIX century, when the building was completely renovated. 10,277, 361
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

406. Compound. Two maṇḍapas: Gaṇeśa, left; Kārttikeya (Subrahmaṇya), center; and the flagstaff (*dhvaja-stambha*) of the temple.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

407. Compound. Perumal maṇḍapa (built *c.* 1220 A.D.), details of the colonnade. Reliefs showing, in the foreground: the boy Kṛṣṇa stealing the clothes of the bathing gopīs and climbing with them into a tree (the girls have to come out of the water and plead for their return); second column, above: the boy Kṛṣṇa, conquerer of the serpent Kāliya (for the legend, see p. 357). On the right face of the column in the foreground is the figure of Plate 408.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

408. Figure on the first column of Plate 407. Śiva in the elephant skin. *c.* XIII century A.D. 361
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

409*a*. Vestibule on south side of east gopura. Dryad (*yakṣī* or *vṛkṣakā*) with Gaṇeśa above; on a decorative column made *c.* 1500 A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

409*b*. Column relief: dancing girl. *c.* XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

*

410. Śiva Vīṇādhara ("carrying a lute"). The vīṇā (lute) has been lost; the second left hand holds up a deer. XIV century A.D. Bronze, green patina, H. 2 ft. 3 in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.* 14
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

411. Śivá Naṭarāja ("King of Dancers"). Front view. XII or XIII century A.D. Bronze, H. (including stand), 5 ft. ⅞ in. *Museum van Aziatische Kunst, Amsterdam.* 28,88n, 122
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

28,122 412. Śiva Naṭarāja. Detail: the demon-dwarf Apasmāra ("Forgetfulness"), with a cobra.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

28,122 413. Śiva Naṭarāja. Side view.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

28,122 414. Śiva Naṭarāja. Detail of the back.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

110 415a. Devī as Pārvatī (Umā). x century A.D. Bronze, H. figure, 1 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.; base, 5 in. *Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

110 415b. Devī as Pārvatī (Umā). Probably xv century A.D. Bronze, H. 2 ft. 2$\frac{1}{8}$ in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

35,115, 116 416a. Pārvatī. Probably the portrait of a queen. Three-quarter view, right side. Processional image. Coḷa period, late xi or early xii century A.D. Bronze, H. 3 ft. 4 in.; base, 12$\frac{1}{4}$ in. × 9$\frac{1}{8}$ in. *Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.*
P: *Courtesy of the Gallery.*

416b. Same. Rear view.

417. Same. Front view.

418. Same, detail: head.

419. Pārvatī, sitting. Probably xvii–xviii century A.D. Bronze. H. 20$\frac{1}{2}$ in. *N. J. Treasurywalla Collection, National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Ferenc Berko, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

114 420. Pārvatī standing; head and bust. Probably xvii–xviii centuries A.D., possibly earlier. Bronze. H., with stand, 24$\frac{1}{2}$ in.; figure, 19$\frac{1}{2}$ in. *N. J. Treasurywalla Collection, National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Ferenc Berko, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

421. Pārvatī standing. Probably xv–xvi century A.D. Bronze. H. 26 in. *N. J. Treasurywalla Collection, National Museum, New Delhi.*
P: *Ferenc Berko, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

116,236, 349 422. Kālī (or the saint Karaikal Ammai) worshiping Śiva. Pāṇḍya period, xiv century A.D. Bronze, H. 1 ft. 4$\frac{1}{4}$ in. *W. R. Nelson Collection, Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Mo.*
P: *Courtesy of the Gallery.*

357 423. Kṛṣṇa Kāliyadamana ("Tamer of the Serpent Kāliya"). *c.* 900 A.D. Bronze, H. 1 ft. 11$\frac{1}{2}$ in. *Collection of Mr. N. Y. Shastri, Gwālior.*
P: *Dr. Stella Kramrisch.*

94 424. Kālī. xix century A.D. Bronze, H. 1 ft. 7 in., including base; D. of base, 9 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

157,180 425. Garuḍa carrying Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. xv century A.D. Bronze, H. 6$\frac{1}{4}$ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

426. Gaṇeśa and his vāhana, the Rat. *c.* xvii–xviii century A.D. *Collection of Mr. C. T. Loo, Paris.* 46,177
P: *From Alice Getty, "Gaṇeśa: A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God" (Oxford, 1936), courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

427. Somnāthpur. Keśava Temple. View from the east. 1268 A.D. 263
P: *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

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Halebīd. Hoysaleśvara Temple [*Pl.* 428–433]:

428. A section of the wall. Hoysala period, xiii century A.D. 264
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

429. A section of the wall. Hoysala period, xiii century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

430. Detail of the exterior wall. Hoysala period, xiii century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

431. Frieze details. Hoysala period, xiii century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

432. Sculptural group: Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī with attendants, worshiped by the kingly donor, Vīranarasiṁhadeva. Hoysala period, xiii century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

433. Wall fragment: musicians. Hoysala period, xiii century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

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Belūr [*Pl.* 434–436]:

434. Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī, "Slayer of the Titan Buffalo." Hoysala period, xii century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

435. Kṛṣṇa with flute and cows. Hoysala period, xii century A.D. 357
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

436. Relief in the temple court: Mudāmā, The Serpent Mother. Hoysala period, xii century A.D. 49,358
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

*

Vijayanagar (Hampi) [*Pl.* 437–445a]:

437. "The Elephant Stables." Possibly a mosque built by the Hindu King Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509–29) for his Muslim troops. xvi century A.D. 282
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

438a. Pampāspati Temple. North gopura, east façade. xvi century A.D.
P: *Johnston and Hoffman, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

282 438b. Viṭṭhalasvāmin Temple. Maṇḍapa showing rampant yālis (elephant-lions). 1513–65 A.D.
P: *Johnston and Hoffman, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

282 439. Viṭṭhalasvāmin Temple. Stone processional car. 1513–65 A.D.
P: *Johnston and Hoffman, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

440. "Throne Platform" reliefs (among the remains at Vijayanagar are "massive stone platforms or basements which once supported elaborate wooden superstructures covered with gilt copper plates"—Coomaraswamy, p. 124): Holī festival scenes. XVI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

441. "Throne Platform" reliefs: hunting scenes. XVI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

442. "Throne Platform" reliefs: legendary panels. XVI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

443a. "Throne Platform" reliefs: victory procession; prisoners brought before a king. XVI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

443b. "Throne Platform" reliefs: dancers, warriors, and a hunt. Steps to the platform can be seen at the lower right. XVI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

444. Maṇḍapa column relief. Lovers (said to be Rāma and Sītā) beneath a tree, with monkeys (one on the ground, one in the head of the tree). XVI century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

362 445a. Narasiṁha. Granite. XVI century A.D.
P: *Hunt, courtesy of Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

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359 445b. Perūr. Śiva Temple. Carved pillar: Śiva in the Elephant Skin (*gajasurasaṁhāra-mūrti*). XVII century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

21,280 446. Cidambaram. Temple of Śiva Naṭeśvara ("King of Dancers"). Tank and north gopura. 1100–1350 A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

263 447. Śrīrāṅgam. Temple of Viṣṇu, "Hall of a Thousand Columns." Colonnade of riders. XVI and XVII century A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

*

Madura [*Pl.* 448–449]:

448a. The Great or Mīnākṣī Temple. View of tank and gopuras, from within the temple compound. XVII century A.D. 115,285
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

448b. The Great or Mīnākṣī Temple. North gopura, south and east faces. XVII century A.D. 115,256, 277
P: *Johnston and Hoffman, courtesy of Professor Ernst Diez.*

449. Vasanta (or Puḍu) Maṇḍapa: a hall built by King Tirumala Nāyyak (1623–59) opposite the great Mīnākṣī Temple. Colonnade showing the figures of prophets, kings and their wives, and yālis (elephant-lions). XVII century A.D. 261,285
P: *Martin Hurlimann.*

Folk Art and the Late Period

See also Text Plates B4 and C16.

450–451. Sirunathur (a village near Tiruvannāmalai). Two files of ceramic steeds at the shrine of a local godling, Ayanar. XVI or XVII century A.D. 259
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

452. Sirunathur. Ceramic image of a local godling, Munieśwaram. XVI or XVII century A.D. 134
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

453. Western India. Garuḍa supporting Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. XIV or XV century A.D. Dark green chlorite, H. 2 ft. 7 in. *Von der Heydt Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.* 180,358
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

454–455. Tiruvannāmalai. Pond and temple at the Āśrama of Śrī Ramaṇa Maharṣi. XX century A.D. 259
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Ceylon

See also Figure 8 (p. 255).

Anurādhapura [*Pls.* 456–457]: 170,365

456a. Ruanweli Dāgaba platform. Standing Buddha. Dolomite, over-lifesize. Probably *c.* 200 A.D.
P (*taken before 1906*): *Rubel Asiatic Research Bureau, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

456b. Ruanweli Dāgaba platform. Statue of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, or a Bodhisattva. Dolomite, over-lifesize. Probably *c.* 200 A.D. 170,365
P (*taken before 1906*): *Rubel Asiatic Research Bureau, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass., courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

171 457. Seated Buddha, the hands in dhyāna-mudrā. III or IV century A.D. Dolomite, H. about 6 ft. 7 in.
P: *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

186n,365 458–459. Sīgiriya. Frescoes in a rock pocket: apsarases and attendants. Gupta style. *c.* 479–497 A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

366 460. Isurumuniya Vihāra (near Anurādhapura). The sage Kapila with the horse of King Sāgara. Probably VII century A.D.
P: *Dmitri Kessel.*

366 461. Isurumuniya Vihāra (near Anurādhapura). Elephant among lotuses. Section of a relief cut in the rock below the figure of Kapila (Plate 460). Probably VII century A.D.
P: *Dmitri Kessel.*

120,132 462*a*. Pārvatī in sitting posture. Probably XV century A.D. Bronze with traces of gilding. H. 7 in. *British Museum.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

114 462*b*. Paṭṭinī Devī, or perhaps a Tārā. Eastern Ceylon. VII–X century A.D. Copper gilt, H. 4 ft. 9 in. *British Museum.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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Poḷonnāruva [*Pls. 463–468*]:

367 463. Statue of Parākrama Bāhu I, or a sage, reading from a palm-leaf manuscript. H. 11 ft. 6 in. Not later than XII century A.D.
P: *Dmitri Kessel.*

464. Jetavana Monastery. The Laṅkatilaka (largest Buddhist temple in Ceylon), with the remains of a colossal standing Buddha in brick and stucco. XII century A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

465*a*. Waṭa-dā-gē. Buddha statue on the inner terrace. XII century A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

254 465*b*. Waṭa-dā-gē. The stūpa. XII century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

172 466. Gal Vihāra (near Poḷonnāruva). Colossal Buddha. H. over 15 ft. XII century A.D.
P: *Martin Hurlimann.*

172 467. Gal Vihāra (near Poḷonnāruva). Ānanda attending the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. H. nearly 23 ft. XII century A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

468*a*. Thūpārāma Vihāra. Brick with stucco, partially restored. XII century A.D.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

468*b*. Northern Temple (Demaḷa Mahā Seya), north face of vestibule, showing architectural façade and figures in niches. Brick with stucco. XII century A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

Burma

Pagān [*Pl. 469–472*]:

469. Ānanda Temple. General view. The temple 191
is of a brilliant white stone with pinnacles of gold. 1082–90 A.D.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

470. Ānanda Temple. Interior (north face of 191
central structure): Standing Buddha, turning the Wheel of the Law. End of XI century A.D. Glass mosaic and canopy, recent additions. Gilded wood, H. 31 ft.
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

471. Ānanda Temple. Interior. Sculptured niches 191,192
illustrating the life of the Buddha. End of XI century A.D.
P: *Courtesy of the Photographic Archive, Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.*

a. Niche No. 47: The Cutting of the Hair-tuft.

b. Niche No. 48: The Miracle of the Hair-tuft.

c. The Victory of the Buddha beneath the Bo Tree.

d. Adoration of the Buddha by the Serpents, following the Victory.

472. Mingalazedi Pagoda. 1274 A.D. 6,211,252
P: *Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

Java

See also Text Plates B12*a* and *b*, and Figure 7 (p. 199).

473. Caṇḍi Mendut. Hāritī. Late VIII century 135
A.D.
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

474. Dieng Plateau. Caṇḍi Puntadewa. *c.* 700 299
A.D.
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

475. Dieng Plateau. Caṇḍi Bima. *c.* 700 A.D. 299
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

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Borobuḍur [*Pl. 476–494*]: 104,300

476. The stūpa from the air. Probably late VIII 6,212,
century A.D. 252,301
P: *From N. J. Krom and T. van Erp, "Beschrijving van Barabuḍur" (The Hague, 1926), by permission of the publisher, Martinus Nijhoff.*

477. The center of the west façade. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

478. Makara gargoyle. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

303 479. Panels, basement series: scenes illustrating the round of saṁsāra. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

a. Scenes of earthly life: right a hunter; center, people cooking and eating; left, a sick child.

b. Scenes of the eighth purgatory (*avīci*), illustrating crimes and their punishments. Right half: 1. boiling turtles, etc. and 2. being boiled; left half: 1. killing a woman and 2. being thrown into a fiery furnace.

c. Scenes in one of the heavens of sensual delight: a wishing tree with jewel pots and kinnaras, a dancing scene, and a temple.

304 480. First gallery: Jātaka scenes. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

The Jātaka of the Tortoise: *a.* The tortoise in the sea; *b.* The shipwreck; *c.* The rescue: all are climbing onto the back of the tortoise; *d.* The tortoise preaches to the people he has saved.

e/f. The Jātaka of the two monkeys (one the Future Buddha) who sacrificed themselves for their blind mother (Pāli Jātaka no. 222).

304,307 481. First gallery: above: panel of a series illustrating the legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni: Queen Māyā proceeds to the Lumbinī Garden. Below: scene from an unidentified Avadāna (pious tale). Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Victor Goloubew, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

482. First gallery: panels illustrating the legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Probably late VIII century A.D.

304 *a.* Descent of the Buddha-to-be from the Tuṣita heaven.
P: *Victor Goloubew, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

306 *b.* The Bodhisattva bestows his ring on the maiden Gopā.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

138,304 *c.* The Sleep of the Women: The Graveyard Vision in the Seraglio.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

483. First gallery: panels illustrating the legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni: The severing of the hair-tuft. Probably late VIII century A.D.

a. Above: the complete panel.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

b. Below: detail.
P: *Victor Goloubew, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

484. First gallery: panels illustrating the legend 138,307
of the Buddha Śākyamuni: The Maiden Sujātā presents the milk rice. Probably late VIII century A.D.

a. Above: the complete panel.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

b. Below: detail.
P: *Victor Goloubew, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

485. First gallery: top panel: scene from the 308
legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni: the Bodhisattva bathes in the river Nairañjanā. Lower panel: scene from an unidentified Avadāna (pious tale): a ship on the high seas; the landing and the reception ashore. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Victor Goloubew, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

486. First gallery: panels illustrating the legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Probably late VIII century A.D.

a. The temptation of the Future Buddha by the daughters of Māra.
P: *Victor Goloubew, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

b. The victorious Buddha returns to his five former disciples in Benares.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

c. The Buddha Teaches in Benares.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

487. Below: first gallery, west façade. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

Above: second gallery, east façade. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

488. Second gallery: scenes of Sudhana's quest 308
for Enlightenment, based on the legend as recounted in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

a. Sudhana (standing at the right, above his 198
money bags, and attended by his servants) comes before the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who is attended by monks.

b. Sudhana before the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who is attended by women.

489. Second gallery, continued. 308
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

a. Sudhana before the female guru Sumitā.

b. Sudhana beholds the Future Buddha Maitreya, surrounded by the heavenly host.

490. Third gallery: continuation of the Legend 309
of Sudhana's quest for Enlightenment. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

a. Sudhana before the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, by whom he will ultimately be initiated.

b. Sudhana sees the Future Buddha Maitreya preaching to the animals.

252,310 491. Fourth gallery: scenes from the vision of the sage Āsaṅga (flourished v century A.D.), founder of the Yogācāra School of the Mahāyāna. Panels probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

a. A Dhyāni Buddha appears between the sun and the moon. A pavilion with the Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā and the sun and moon on either side of the building. On the right kneels the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra with five attendants; on the left are sitting three bhikṣus (one of them perhaps Āsaṅga), near a small temple and with three laymen beside them. At the edge of the relief, right and left, rocks are indicated. In the clouds above are four gandharvas to the right and four apsarases to the left, with a pair of kinnaras.

b. A panel of heavenly buildings in a corner of the north wall.

252,310 492. The stūpa terraces. Probably late VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op cit.*

a. The first stūpa terrace, east; second stūpa terrace at right.

b. The plateau, west; first stūpa terrace at left.

252,310 493. A Dhyāni Buddha on one of the stūpas of the circular terraces. Probably VIII century A.D.
P: *Krom and van Erp, op. cit.*

310 494. Head of a Dhyāni Buddha. Late VIII century A.D. Andesite, H. 11¾ in. *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

*

Prambanam [*Pl. 495–497*]:

312 495. Caṇḍi Loro Joṅgrang. Late IX century A.D.
P: *Courtesy of Robert L. Lambright, M.D.*

312 496–497. Caṇḍi Loro Joṅgrang. *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze, details:

a. The Abduction of Sītā.
P: *Netherlands Archaeological Service, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

b. The Struggle of the Brother Monkey Kings, Bālin and Sugrīva.
P. *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

c. Rāma slays the Monkey King Bālin.
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

d. The Installation of Sugrīva as King of the mountain Kiṣkindha.

*

498. Belahan. King Erlaṅga in the form of Viṣṇu on the sun-bird Garuḍa, who clutches two nāgas. *c.* 1043 A.D. Andesite. *Museum of Mojokerto, Java.* 50,314
P: *Museum, courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

*

Siṅgasāri [*Pl. 499–504*]:

499. Queen Dedes as Prajñāpāramitā. From Caṇḍi Siṅgasāri. Late XIII century A.D. Andesite, H. 4 ft. 1.6 in. *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.* 140,316
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

500. Detail of Plate 499. Profile. 316
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

501. Detail of Plate 499. The head. 144,316

502. Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī ("Slayer of the Titan Buffalo"). XIII century A.D. Andesite, H. 5 ft. 9 in. *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.* 103
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

503. Detail of Plate 502. The demon in his final transformation. 312
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

504. Gaṇeśa. XIII century A.D. Andesite, H. 5 ft. ⅜ in. *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.* 178
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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505. Eastern Java or Bali. Small rākṣasa as doorguardian. XV century A.D. or later. Trachyte, H. 1 ft. 4½ in. *Von der Heydt Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

506. Panataran. Temple ruins. (The main shrine, of which only the triple basement remains, can be seen in the rear.) *c.* 1370 A.D. 315
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

507. Eastern Java. Colossal rākṣasa. *c.* XV century A.D.
P: *Courtesy of the Republic of Indonesia, Information Office, New York.*

Bali

508. The Goddess Rati ("Erotic Delight"), patroness of fecundity. XIX century A.D. Painted wood, H. 2 ft. 6¾ in. *Von der Heydt Collection, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.* 165,207
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

509*a.* Brahmā on his vāhana, the wild gander (*haṁsa*). XIX century A.D. Painted wood, H. 2 ft. 2⅜ in. *Museum fur Völkerkunde, Munich.* 156
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

509*b.* Visnu on his vāhana, the sun-bird Garuḍa. XIX century A.D. Painted wood, H. 2 ft. 2 in. *Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich.* 157
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

Campā (Annam)

152 510. Seated Buddha. Style of Mi-so'n A-1 (cf. Stern, pp. 78–79). Early x century A.D. Stone. *Museum of Tourane (Vietnam).*
P: *École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi; courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

152 511*a*. Tra-Kiew. Dancer (detail of the so-called *Piédestal aux danseuses*). Style of Mi-so'n A-1. Early x century A.D.
P: *École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.*

511*b*. Thap-mam. Bust of a dvārapāla. Style of Mi-so'n A-1 or perhaps transitional to that of Binh-dinh (cf. Stern, pp. 54–56). x to xii centuries A.D.
P: *École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.*

Cambodia

149 512. Female figure. Possibly the statue of a queen. From Kroh-krien (Sambor). Style of Sambor (cf. Coral Rémusat, p. 109). vi–vii century A.D. Sandstone, H. 4 ft. 9 in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P. *Eliot Elisofon.*

513. The same. Closeup of the head and bust.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

514. Detail of Plate 515. Drapery, right thigh.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

147 515. Statue of Hari-Hara (probably the portrait of a king). From Mahā Rosei. Style of Sambor. vi or vii century A.D. Sandstone, H. 5 ft. 9 in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

149 516*a*. Female figure. Possibly the statue of a queen. From Popel (Ramduol). vi or vii century A.D. Sandstone, H. 3 ft. 5¼ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

516*b*. The same. Side view.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

146 517. Hari-Hara. Style of Prei Khmeng (cf. Coral Rémusat, p. 109). Prasāt Andet. vii century A.D. Stone, H. 6 ft. 3 in. *Musée Albert Sarraut, Pnompenh.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

146 518. The same. Profile.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

146 519. The same. Closeup of the head.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

370 520. Standing masculine figure with the head of a horse (probably a yakṣa). From Sambor (Kompong Svay). ix century A.D. Polished sandstone, H. 4 ft. 5 in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

521. Bakong (Śivaite temple compound, near the village of Ruluos). The northeastern tower (there are eight), showing brick construction in the form of a stepped pyramid. The ornamented doors are flanked by female figures in niches. End of ix and early x century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

522. Head of Śiva. Possibly the portrait of a 67
king. From Pnom Bok (Siem Reap). Style of Koh Ker (cf. Coral Rémusat, p. 112). x century A.D. Polished sandstone, H. 1 ft. 5¼ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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Banteay Srei [*Pl. 523–530*]:

[*Note:* The foundation on which this sanctuary is built dates from 969 A.D., but the buildings may have been constructed *c.* 1304 A.D.—Cf. Coral Rémusat, pp. 112–113, and Rowland, pp. 237 and 247, n. 21.]

523. North sanctuary, east façade, guardian Garuḍa. Late x and early xiv century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

524–525. The south and the central chapels, from the east. Late x and early xiv century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

526–527. Closeup: guardians and wall, second central chapel. Late x and early xiv century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

528. North Library. Main portal. Late x and early xiv century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

529. North Library. Lintel. The arrival of Rāma in Laṅkā. Late x and early xiv century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

530. South Library. Lintel over a portal. Ra- 227
māyāṇa scene: the Battle of the Brother Monkey Kings, Bālin and Sugrīva. (Compare Plates 496–497.) Late x and early xiv century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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Aṅkor Wāt [*Pl. 531–556*]:

531. Air view from the west. Early xii century 150, 209, 297n
A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

532. Air view from the northeast. Early xii century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

533*a*. Southwest corner. Early xii century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

533*b*. General view of the approach from the 208
west, within the outer wall; showing the causeway, the galleries, and three of the five towers of the upper terrace. H. of central tower, about 213 ft. Early xii century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

534. Foreground: detail of the railing of the 209
causeway (nāga hood). Background: building on the

Wāt grounds known as the Library. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

535. West side. Four lions guarding a stairway to the first floor. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

536. View of the court, toward the central tower. Early XII century A.D. (The two segmented columns at the right are believed to be later replacements.)
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

537. Third floor, north side. Decorated doorway. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

538. The central tower. H. about 213 ft. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

539. View of the southeast tower from the second story. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

150 540. Decoration: floral design and apsaras at the side of a doorway. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

150 541. Third floor, northwest exterior wall: sixteen apsarases. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

150,226 542–543. Main floor, west gallery, southern half: battle scene from the *Mahābhārata.* Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

150 544. West gallery, northern end, corner detail: apsarases. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

228 545. North gallery, western half: embattled gods and demons: The Army of Viṣṇu against that of the Titan Kālanemi, detail. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

546. North gallery, western end: The Moon God. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

228 547. North gallery, western half: the enemy of Viṣṇu, the Titan king Kālanemi (whose name means "The felly of the crushing Wheel of Time"), in his dragon chariot. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

208 548–549. East gallery, southern half: The Churning of the Milky Ocean, detail: the Team of the Gods. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

208 550. East gallery, southern half: The Churning of the Milky Ocean, central detail: Mount Mandara, the churning rod, with Viṣṇu supporting it below, as a tortoise (*kūrma-avatāra*), and above, as a deva, while directing the work from the center. Early XII century A.D.
P: *Beylié, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

551. East gallery, southern half: The Churning of the Milky Ocean, detail: the Team of the Titans. 208
Early XII century A.D.
P: *Beylié, courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

552. South gallery, western half: Procession of the Army of King Sūryavarman II (*c.* 1112–*c.* 1152 A.D.), detail: the King himself on his regal mount. Early XII century A.D. It is believed that the reliefs of this and the east galleries were made in memory of Sūryavarman II, following his death. Hence they may be dated as late as *c.* 1155 A.D. (Cf. Coral Rémusat, pp. 82–83.) 150,228
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

553. South gallery, detail, eastern half: scenes of the after-life. Above: souls transported to heaven; below: dragged to purgatory. Early XII century A.D. 228
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

554. South gallery, eastern half: above: heavenly scenes; below: purgatorial; caryatid garuḍas between. Early XII century A.D. 228
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

555. Buddha images, stored in a temple court.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

556. The footprint of the Buddha. *c.* XII century A.D. 233n
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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557. Mucalinda Buddha. Fragment from Praḥ Khān, Aṅkor. Style of the Bayon; end of XII century A.D. Polished sandstone, H. 3 ft. 7¾ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.* 64
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

558. Figure of Plate 559: closeup of head, full face.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

559. Mucalinda Buddha, side view. From Kompong Chaṃ. XII century A.D. Polished sandstone, H. 35½ in. *Musée Albert Sarraut, Pnompenh.* 64
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

560. Head of the Buddha. From Aṅkor; style of the Bayon. XIII century A.D. Polished sandstone, H. 1 ft. 3¼ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.* 67
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

561. Cambodian King as Mucalinda Buddha. From Praḥ Khān, Aṅkor; style of Aṅkor Wāt. Early XII century A.D. Polished sandstone, H. 3 ft. 7¾ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.* 67
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

562*a*. Brahmā. Khmer statuette. VIII–XIV century A.D. Bronze, H. about 12 in. *Palace Brāhman Temple, Bangkok.* 156,371
P: *Courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

562*b*. Gaṇeśa. Khmer statuette. VIII–XIV century A.D. Bronze, H. 1 ft. 1 in. *Palace Brāhman Temple, Bangkok.* 372
P: *Courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

372 563. Banteay Kedei, Aṅkor. Hevajra, dancing. Khmer statuette, cast in sections: 1. the base; 2. the corpse under foot, the body, and the first three heads of the dancer; 3. and 4. the two clusters of arms; 5. the four top heads; and 6. the sash hanging from the waist. X–XIII century A.D. Bronze, H. 15¾ in. *Musée Albert Sarraut, Pnompenh.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

45 564a. Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. Khmer statuette. Found in northern Thailand. VIII–XIV century A.D. Bronze, H. 6½ in. *Museum of the Ministry of the Interior, Bangkok.*
P: *Courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

165 564b. Lakṣmī. Khmer statuette. *c.* XI century A.D. Bronze, H. 11⅝ in. *Collection of His Royal Highness Prince Piyabhaktināatha, Bangkok.*
P: *Courtesy of the Archives photographiques, Musée Guimet, Paris.*

372 565. Tāraṇī. Khmer statuette. X–XII century A.D. Bronze. *Musée Albert Sarraut, Pnompenh.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

210 566. Liṅgam. From Pnom Srok. XII century A.D. Sandstone, H. 7½ ft. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

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Aṅkor Thom and Vicinity [*Pl. 567–585*]:

567. Nāga balustrade to the Victory Gate in the east wall. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

209 568. North gate, southern face. H. of central tower, about 52½ ft. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

569. Profile of a giant head, among the group at the south door. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

209 570. East gate. Nāga balustrade. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

571. Praḥ Khān. Terminal figure of a nāga balustrade, closely resembling the foregoing. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

572. Praḥ Khān. Approach and façade. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

573. Praḥ Khān. Door-guardians of the entrance. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

209 574. The Bayon. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

209 575. Towers of the Bayon. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

576–577. The Bayon. Southwest inner gallery, with towering face, above. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

578. The Bayon. West interior wall: frieze of warriors, detail. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

579. The Bayon. Frieze of warriors, detail: war canoe. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

580. The Bayon. Northeast corner, decorative detail on a square column: three dancing apsarases. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

581a. The Bayon. Lower floor, northeast corner: square columns and a Mucalinda Buddha. Early XIII century A.D. 210
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

581b. The Bayon. Decorative figure: apsaras. Early XIII century A.D.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

582. Statue of the "Leper King," on a terrace of the Aṅkor Thom. Early XIII century A.D. 210
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

583. Garuḍa caryatids of the Royal Terrace, around the Aṅkor Thom. Early XIII century A.D. 46
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

584. The west entrance gate of the Ta Som, a smaller temple northeast of the Aṅkor Thom. On its tower appear the four faces seen on the Bayon, and a wild fig tree grows over them and pierces to the ground. Early XIII century A.D. 210,379
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

585. Praḥ Khān. Rear gallery. Early XIII century A.D. 379
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Thailand

586a. Buddha head (Khmer type). Lopburi. XII–XIII century A.D. Sandstone, H. 6¼ in. *E. A. Voretzsch Collection.* 373,375
P: *Courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

586b. Buddha head (Khmer type). Ayuthiā. XII–XIII century A.D. Sandstone, H. 9⅝ in. *Formerly in the R. Samson Collection, Hamburg.* 373,375
P: *Courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

587. Chiengmai. Buddha head. North Siamese, Tai-Shan School. XII–XIII century A.D. Bronze, H. 15 in. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.* 113,374,376
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

588a, b. Buddha head. Lopburi. XII–XIII century A.D. Gray slate, H. 1 ft. 1½ in. *Formerly in the R. Samson Collection, Hamburg.* 113,376
P: *Courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

113,376 *588c.* Buddha head. XI century A.D. Stone, lacquered and gilded, H. 1 ft. 1¼ in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

113 *589a.* Buddha mask (Khmer type). Thin bronze foil, greatly corroded, heavy greenish patina, H. about 6 in. *Present location unknown.*
P: *Heinrich Zimmer, from the Bush Collection, Columbia University, New York.*

113,374 *589b.* Bodhisattva head. Prapathom. Probably VII or VIII century A.D. Stone (surface worn). *Formerly in the R. Samson Collection, Hamburg.*
P: *Courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

113,376 *589c.* Buddha head. Lopburi. End of XII century A.D. Bronze, H. 4¾ in. *Formerly in the R. Samson Collection, Hamburg.*
P: *Courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

113,377 590. Sitting Buddha, in the posture of Calling the Earth to Witness (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*), with a flame rising from the uṣṇīṣa. Sawankhalok. XIV–XVI century A.D. Dark bronze, gilded, brown-green patina, H. 2 ft. *Kunstgewerbe Museum, Hamburg.*
P: *Museum, courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

113,377 *591a.* Walking Buddha, torso. Place of discovery and date unknown. Bronze, H. 6⅝ in. *Formerly in the Peytel Collection, Paris.*
P: *Courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

113,377 *591b.* Buddha, walking, left hand in the peace-bestowing gesture (*abhaya-mudrā*). Sukhothai. XIV century A.D. Dark bronze, gilt, dark green to brown patina, H. 2 ft. 6 in. *Kunstgewerbe Museum, Hamburg.*
P: *Museum, courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

376 *591c.* Buddha hand. Sukhothai. XIV century A.D. Bronze, L. 9 in. *Present location unknown.*
P: *Courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

378 592. Buddha head found at Chiengmai. XIV–XV century A.D. Bronze (traces of gilding in the hair; face and neck were originally black), H. 15 in. *Present location unknown.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

378 *593a.* Buddha head. Chiengmai, Tai-Shan School. XIV century A.D. Bronze originally entirely gilded, H. 7 in. *Present location unknown.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

378 *593b.* Buddha head. Ayuthiā. XVI century A.D. Bronze, with an even brown patina, H. 5½ in. *Present location unknown.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

378 594. Apsarases. Ayuthiā. *c.* XVII century A.D. Stone, H., left and right, respectively, 2 ft. 6½ in.; 2 ft. 5½ in. *Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig.*
P: *Museum, courtesy of Professor Alfred Salmony.*

379 595. Bangkok. Corridor in Wat Po. Temple compound constructed 1793 by King Rāma I.
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

Nepal

596. Near Kāṭhmaṇḍū. Stūpa showing the eyes 6
of the Buddha. (The foundation of the chief Nepalese stūpas is traditionally associated with, and may actually date from, the period of Aśoka, III century B.C. The present structure is possibly VIII or IX century A.D.)
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

597. Kāṭhmaṇḍū. Viṣṇu Anantaśayin, reposing in the middle of a sacred pond littered with offerings (*pūjā*). The image, a goal of pilgrimage, is said to be of supernatural origin. Black granite. Probably VIII or IX century A.D.
P: *Gunvor Moitessier.*

598–599. Siṁhanāda Avalokiteśvara. VIII or IX 113,185
century A.D. Bronze, H. 10 in. *Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

600. Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi. IX century A.D. 113,185
Copper, gilt and jeweled, H. 12¾ in. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

601. Seated female attendant. XVIII–XIX century 113,185
A.D., possibly earlier. Bronze. H. 9 in. *Heeramaneck Galleries, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of Mr. Nasli Heeramaneck.*

Tibet

602a. Ḍākinī with lion's head (*Siṁhamukhī*). 200
XVIII–XIX century A.D. Bronze, H. 1 ft. 10½ in. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

602b. "The fairy Naro dwelling in the heavens" 112,185,
(*Na-ro mK'a-spyod-ma*); "The fairy demoness of 200
all Buddhas" (Skr. *Sarva-buddha ḍākinī*). Bronze, of Nepalese manufacture. Before XV century A.D. *Formerly in the Ginsberg Collection.*
P: *Courtesy of Mrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy.*

603. Yamāntaka and Śakti. XVIII century A.D. Cast brass, tinted red, blue, and gilt. H. about 7 in. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

604. "The fairy Naro dwelling in the heavens" (*Na-ro mK'a-spyod-ma*); "The fairy demoness of all Buddhas" (Skr. *Sarva-buddha ḍākinī*). XVIII or XIX century A.D. Temple banner. 20 in. × 13 in. *American Museum of Natural History, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

605. Yamāntaka. The benevolent aspect of this 198,200
Buddha (Mañjuśrī) is to be seen at top. XVIII or XIX century A.D. Temple banner. About 20 in. × 15 in. *American Museum of Natural History, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

197 606. The Portrait of Padmasambhava. Temple banner; 2 ft. × 3 ft. XVIII or XIX century A.D. *Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, Hamburg.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

Above the head of the great guru of Tibet is the Buddha Amitābha, his spiritual father, and supporting him is the lotus from which he is supposed to have been born (the name Padmasambhava means "Born of the Lotus"). To the right (our left) of Amitābha is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The corresponding figure on the opposite side, labeled *sNags-pa Huṁ-mdzad me-abar* ("The Magician who Burns with Fire"), probably represents the illusion-annihilating aspect of the enlightening principle. Below Avalokiteśvara is a personification of the mystic syllable Hūṁ, and below "The Magician who Burns with Fire" is an ascetic, dark blue in color, who may be Padmasambhava himself. At the right and left (our left and right) of the central portrait are, respectively, *Gu-ru drag-dmar* ("The Terrible Red Teacher") and *Señ-gdoñ-ma* (Skr. *siṁha-vaktra,* "lion-headed"), the great Lion Ḍākinī, or Lion-headed Fairy, here colored blue with a white head. Two more ḍākinīs sit at the feet of Padmasambhava, in human form. These are the fairy queens *Mandārava* and *Ye-śes ats'o-rgyal,* the guru's spiritual wives.

In the lower portion of the painting are ten figures, representing local spirits and godlings conquered by the magical formulae of Padmasambhava and bound to his service. Reading left to right, they are, top row: The Sexless Guardian, *mGon-po ma-nin,* and *dPal-ldan dmag-gzor-ma* (Skr. *Śrī Devī*), the goddess spouse of the Lord of Hell; second row: *E-ka-dza-ti* (Skr. *Ekajaṭā,* "one pigtail"), a fairy guardian of magical utterances, *Ak'ro-bo k'yun-c'en k'yuñ-gzon nag-po,* "The Black God of Anger Who Rides on a One-horned Garuḍa" (a demon into which Padmasambhava could transform himself in order to ensorcell other demons), *Dam-can rdo-legs,* a demon with three hundred and sixty brothers, all of whom were conquered by Padmasambhava, and, at the extreme right, a fury named *bStan-ma;* bottom row: *K'yab-ajug Rā-hu-la,* lord of the rākṣasas, *Tan-lha,* a deified mountain, *Gañs-c'en mc'ed lña* ("Five Brothers of the Great Glacier"), another deified mountain, and *kLu-i bu-mo,* the snake virgin, a serpent queen.

194 607. The Severing of the Hair-tuft. Temple banner. XVIII century A.D. *Musée Guimet, Paris.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

608. Maṇḍala of the Buddha Amitāyus. XVIII or 212,227n
XIX century A.D. Temple banner; painting on cotton cloth, 30⅞ in. × 23 in. Obtained in Tibetan Amdo, Chinese Kansu province. *Carter D. Holton Collection, Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

609. Tibetan stūpa (*mTshorten*) at Darjeeling. 6,211,254
P: *Martin Hürlimann.*

610. The Ādi Buddha, Vajrasattva, and his 112,187,
Śakti, Prajñāpāramitā. Late XVIII century A.D. In- 194,195
scribed in Chinese: "Reverently made in the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung [1736–95]." Cast brass, tinted in blue and red, and gilt, H. including base, 1 ft. 3 in. The manuscript is kept inside the hollow image, rolled and tucked up through the hollow base. From Chamdo, Khams Province, East Tibet. *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

611. Closeup of figure in Plate 610.
P: *Eliot Elisofon.*

Chinese Turkistan

612. Qyzyl (Kucha). Fresco from Cave XIX, the 186n,203
so-called Māyā cave: King Ajātaśatru learns of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. *c.* VI century A.D. H. 3 ft. 7.3 in.; W. 5 ft. 3.8 in. *Formerly in the (now destroyed) Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*
P: *From Albert Grünwedel, "Alt-Kutscha" (Veröffentlichung der preussischen Turfan-Expeditionen; Berlin, 1920), by courtesy of the publisher, Otto Elsner Verlagsgesellschaft.*

613. Bezeklik (Turfan). Fresco detail from Cave 186n,201
XX. Praṇidhi scene. *c.* VIII century A.D. H. 7 ft.; W. 4 ft. 9 in. *Formerly in the (now destroyed) Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.*
P: *The Rubel Asiatic Research Bureau, Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass. Courtesy of Dr. Benjamin Rowland.*

The Far East

See also Text Plates B8, B9, B11.

614. China. Kwan-yin (Avalokiteśvara). Late 183
Sung dynasty, 960–1279 A.D. Painted wood, H. 3 ft. 10¾ in.; W. 3 ft. 1½ in. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*
P: *Courtesy of the Museum.*

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